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Massachusetts Volunteers. 1862-1865, by Henry S. Burrage et al.**

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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH
REGIMENT MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS. 1862-1865 ***

HISTORY
OF THE
THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS.
1862-1865.

BY A COMMITTEE OF THE REGIMENT.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF ROCKWELL AND CHURCHILL.
89 ARCH STREET.
1884.

TO
Our Comrades
OF THE
THIRTY-SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS
THIS RECORD OF A COMMON EXPERIENCE
IS
AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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*Ah, never shall the land forget
How gushed the life-blood of her brave,—
Gushed, warm with hope and courage yet,—
Upon the soil they sought to save.*

*Now all is calm, and fresh, and still;
Alone the chirp of flitting bird,
And talk of children on the hill,
And bell of wand'ring kine, are heard.*

*No solemn host goes trailing by,
The black-mouthed gun and stag'ring wain;
Men start not at the battle-cry;
Oh, be it never heard again!*

—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

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PREFACE.

Not long after the close of the war a plan was proposed, by some of the officers of the regiment, for the preparation of a history of the Thirty-sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers; but the plan was not carried into execution. At the regimental reunions, in subsequent years, parts of such a history were read by Comrades White, Ranlett, and Hodgkins, and the desire for a complete history of the regiment, which found expression on these occasions, was so strong that, at the reunion of the regiment at Worcester, in September, 1876, a committee, consisting of Comrades White, Ranlett, Burrage, and Hodgkins, was appointed to procure materials for a history of the regiment.

Some progress was made by the committee in the performance of the work thus assigned to them; but it was not so great as they, or their comrades of the Thirty-sixth, desired. At the reunion, September 2, 1879, the matter was again considered, and it was finally voted, "that Comrades White, Ranlett, Hodgkins, Burrage, and Noyes, be chosen a committee to have charge of the compiling, revising, and printing the history of the regiment, to be ready for delivery at our next reunion; and that the committee have power to procure any help they may need."

Many difficulties were encountered in the progress of the work, and it was found that it would be impossible to prepare, within the limit of time prescribed, such a history as would be worthy of the regiment. The different members of the committee, amid the activities of busy lives, could give to the work only such intervals of leisure as they could find amid their daily tasks. At the annual reunions of 1880, 1881, and 1882,—testing the patience of their comrades who had entrusted to them this important task,—they were compelled to report progress only. In September, 1883,—the last reunion,—however, they were able to say that the work was already in press, and would be ready for delivery in the course of a few weeks.

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In the table of contents will be found the names of the authors of the different chapters. The work of Comrades White, Ranlett, Olin, and Noyes, entitles them to the hearty thanks of all their companions in arms. Especially, however, are such thanks due to Comrade W. H. Hodgkins, not only for his own contribution to the history, but also for his careful attention to the innumerable details which the preparation of such a work required. Indeed, without his unwearied endeavors in gathering materials, securing the coöperation of others, and attending to the business of publication, the history would not so soon, and might never, have been completed.

To the writer of these lines was assigned the editorial supervision of the work. From the materials placed in his hands he arranged the history of the regiment as it now appears. Two proofs of the entire work have passed under his eye, and in this part of his task he has had the invaluable assistance of Major Hodgkins. The history, of course, is not free from errors of statement; and it will doubtless be found that there are omissions which the writers of the different chapters, as well as their comrades, will deeply deplore. Yet, with all its imperfections, this volume is believed to be substantially a faithful history of the part which the regiment had in the great conflict for the preservation of the National Union, which was waged during the years 1862-1865; and, as such, it is certainly a history of which all those who participated in it may well be proud.

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H. S. B.

PORTLAND, ME., Sept. 26, 1883.

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**THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT,
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS.**

CHAPTER I.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIMENT.

Early in July, 1862, when the war of the rebellion had been in progress a little more than a year, President Lincoln issued an order for three hundred thousand volunteers, to serve three years, or during the war. It was a time of sore discouragement and general depression throughout the loyal States. Our army in Virginia, under General McClellan, during a seven days' fight near the Chickahominy, had met with such reverses that it had been compelled to "make a change of base," and fall back to the James river, near Harrison's Landing. Nobly, however, and cheerfully, did the people of the North respond to the President's call for reinforcements. On every hand was heard the chorus:—

"We're coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more."

Massachusetts was not behind her sister States in raising her quota, which was fifteen thousand men. In a general order, dated July 7, 1862, Governor Andrew announced the call which had been made upon him by the President, stated the number of men which every city and town would be required to furnish, and closed with these words: "The government demands new regiments, and our brave men who have so nobly upheld the honor of Massachusetts call loudly from the battle-fields of the South to their brethren at home to come forward at once and fill their decimated ranks, and take the places of the brave men who have fallen and suffered in the cause of the Union and of American Constitutional Liberty." Like the blast of a trumpet this order stirred the hearts of the people in all parts of the state, and cities and towns vied with each other, in patriotic endeavors to hurry forward the work of enlistment.

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A subsequent order, dated July 16, 1862, containing instructions relative to the new recruitment, designated Camp John E. Wool, at the city of Worcester, as the general rendezvous for the counties of Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, Hampshire, and Worcester. Colonel George H. Ward, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, who had lost a leg at the battle of Ball's Bluff, and was now at home on account of disability, was placed in command of the camp.

The order of July 7th contained this announcement: "The new regiments now partly formed, and to be formed, are the Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-seventh. To complete these regiments to the maximum standard, the Thirty-second regiment requires 300 men; the Thirty-third, 650 men; the Thirty-fourth, 800 men; and the Thirty-fifth, 850 men." It was accordingly ordered that recruiting for the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh regiments should not commence until the four first named were filled. The order, however, was not strictly observed.

The first detachment for the Thirty-sixth entered Camp Wool August 1st, and was a part of the quota of the town of Fitchburg. This detachment consisted of sixty-four men, under the command of Captain T. L. Barker. Recruits for the regiment had been received at Camp Wool previous to August 1st; but this was the first organized company in camp, and, in the organization of the regiment, it was assigned to the right of the line, and known as Company A. As early as August 6th this company had its minimum number of recruits; and, in a few days, others, from Fitchburg, Leominster, and adjacent towns, raised the number to the maximum.

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Company B, Captain John B. Norton, was recruited in Charlestown during the month of July. It was at first intended that this company should be attached to the Thirty-fourth Regiment as a flank company, and the officers at first received commissions in that regiment; but the requisite authority for such a company could not be obtained at the War Department, and the company was transferred to the Thirty-sixth, and the officers recommissioned. For a time, very naturally, it was a disappointment to the members of this company that they could not remain in the Thirty-fourth; but of the survivors there is, doubtless, not one who is not satisfied that the record of the company was made with the Thirty-sixth.

Recruiting for Company C was commenced in the city of Worcester, August 8th, and on the 12th the company was full. Eight days after, under the command of Captain Arthur A. Goodell, the company entered Camp Wool. No other company in the regiment was raised in so brief a space of time.

Company D was recruited principally in the towns of Templeton and Winchendon. The first detachment entered Camp Wool, August 4, under the command of Captain Amos Buffum, of Baldwinville, late second lieutenant in the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers. In a few days the ranks of this company were full.

The men of Company E were recruited from the towns of Palmer, Monson, and the western towns of Worcester County. The first detachment entered Camp Wool, August 10th, under the command of First Lieutenant R. M. Cross. Captain S. C. Warriner, who had been discharged from the Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers, in order to accept a captain's commission in the Thirty-sixth, arrived in camp about the 20th of August, and assumed command of the company, and completed its organization.

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Company F was formed principally of recruits from Milford and vicinity, with a detachment from Sutton. The first detachment arrived at Camp Wool August 10th, under the command of Second Lieutenant A. S. Tuttle. He remained in command of the company until September 17, when Captain William F. Draper, promoted from first lieutenant in the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts

Volunteers, joined the regiment then in the field, and assumed command of the company.

Company G was organized from unassigned recruits, representing the eastern towns of Worcester County. S. Henry Bailey, of Northboro', was commissioned captain of the company August 22d.

Company H was formed by adding to the quotas of Gardner and Orange the unassigned recruits then in camp; and Christopher Sawyer, of Templeton, who had entered Camp Wool as first sergeant of Company D, was commissioned captain of this company August 22d.

Company I was recruited in Berlin, Marlboro', Upton, Uxbridge, and adjoining towns, and entered Camp Wool in the early part of August, under the command of Captain Christopher Hastings, of Berlin. The company was filled to the maximum a few days after entering camp. Indeed, Captain Hastings recruited men enough nearly to fill two companies.

Company K, like G and H, was formed of unassigned recruits from the various towns whose quotas reported at Camp Wool. James B. Smith, late first lieutenant in the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers, was commissioned captain of the company.

On the 27th of August these ten companies, constituting the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, having completed their organization, were mustered into the United States service, for three years, unless sooner discharged.

The field, staff, and line officers were not mustered into the service until September 2d, the day the regiment left Camp Wool for the seat of war. Indeed, for the most part, the field officers were not appointed until after the mustering in of the regiment.

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Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Kimball, of Fitchburg, then serving in the Fifteenth Regiment,—a true and accomplished officer,—was commissioned colonel of the Thirty-sixth, August 11th, and application was made by Governor Andrew for his discharge from the Fifteenth, in order to accept promotion. But, in the critical state of affairs at that time, it was not deemed advisable by the authorities at Washington to grant the governor's request. Consequently, on the 22d of August, Major Henry Bowman, of the Thirty-fourth regiment, then at Camp Casey, on Arlington Heights, was promoted to the colonelcy of the Thirty-sixth; and, receiving his discharge from the Thirty-fourth, he at once joined his command at Camp Wool.

Captain John B. Norton, of Charlestown, who entered Camp Wool as captain of Company B, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, August 28th, and on the same day, James H. Barker, of Milford, was commissioned major.

James P. Prince, of Lynn, was commissioned surgeon, with Warren Tyler, of North Brookfield, and Albert H. Bryant, of Natick, as assistant-surgeons. Rev. Charles T. Canfield, of Worcester, was commissioned chaplain, and F. B. Rice, also of Worcester, as first lieutenant and quartermaster. An adjutant was not appointed until a later date.

The regiment was now nearly ready for the field. Most of the men had been hurried into camp, with the promise of a few days' furlough before leaving the State. Many of them had left their business affairs unsettled and their families unprovided for. But all applications for furlough were denied by the United States officer at Boston, who was in charge of mustered regiments. Colonel Ward endeavored to secure a furlough for the men; but his efforts proved unavailing. Colonel Bowman, on joining the regiment, and learning the condition of affairs, renewed these efforts, stating his unwillingness to leave the State until the pledge which had been given to the men had, in a measure at least, been redeemed.

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On Saturday, August 30th, Colonel Bowman received orders to have the Thirty-sixth Regiment ready to leave for Washington as early as September 2d. At the same time he was given permission to grant to his men furloughs for twenty-four hours, one-half of the regiment only to be absent from camp at the same time. This order was not received by Colonel Bowman until late Saturday afternoon. Accordingly, furloughs were granted first of all to those men whose homes were at the greatest distance from the camp. These were to return Monday morning, when the rest of the men would receive their furloughs. This second half of the regiment, by some mysterious process, became very small Saturday evening and on Sunday. The sentinels paced their beats, but in some instances so absorbed in their duties as seemingly to have lost the sense both of sight and hearing.

A sergeant, with a comrade, making the rounds of his guard late on one of these nights, found a faithful son of Erin walking his beat with soldier-like precision. As they approached he promptly challenged: "Who goes there?" and was as quickly answered, "Friend, with the countersign." As they approached to give the countersign, the sergeant asked, in confiding tones, "Could anyone get out here?" The sentinel, as confidingly, asked, "Would ye bring a little whiskey? Be jabbers a pint of whiskey might make a man both blind and *dafe!*" He then turned his back, and marched away.

But while it was a great disappointment to the men to lose the few days' furlough which had been promised to them, and especially to those who had important business interests that demanded attention, leading in some cases to a seeming disregard of discipline, yet all of the companies were in camp on Tuesday morning. At an early hour on that day the company commanders drew arms (Enfield rifles) and equipments for their men, and these were at once distributed among them. All was bustle and confusion throughout the camp. Few of the men had had any experience as soldiers, and the selection and adjustment of their arms and equipments, as well as the brief space of time allotted for these and other preparations for moving, made it look still more difficult and annoying.

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Late in the forenoon the regimental line was formed, and a beautiful national flag was presented to the regiment by Honorable P. Emory Aldrich, Mayor of Worcester. In presenting the flag the Mayor said:—

"*Colonel Bowman*,—Your friends, and the friends of your command in this city, have procured this beautiful banner, and requested me to present it to you as the worthy commander of the Thirty-sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers for the war. It will be seen that its azure fold is studded with the full constellation of stars, representing the undivided Union, and that not one of the original stripes is omitted or erased, showing that, however much your friends may deplore the present unhappy condition of our distracted and bleeding country, they still firmly believe that, when the clouds of war that now lower upon us shall have passed away, these stars will again shine as from a clear and cloudless sky with none of their ancient lustre lost or obscured. And permit me to say that this flag, still unchanged and radiant, signifies, in the truest and highest sense, the kind of service expected of you and this noble regiment you are about to lead from this comparatively peaceful camp of preparation to the stern and heroic duties of the field; that you are to aid, by force of arms, in restoring the Union, which traitors have temporarily impaired, and in reestablishing the supremacy of the constitution and laws over every portion of territory lying within the acknowledged boundaries of the Union, from the great lakes to the gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, so that, when you and your brave comrades return, as we trust you will, with this flag, soiled and rent it may be by the smoke and leaden hail of battle,^[1] you shall bring it back, not as the sign of a shattered constitution, and dissevered Union, but as the proud emblem of a reunited and indivisible republic, and then it shall continue to be known and honored throughout the civilized world, and everywhere become a free and safe passport to all men of every race who have the right to claim protection beneath its ample folds.

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[1] "Soiled and rent," its staff shattered, this flag, which was carried by the regiment throughout its entire period of service, is now preserved in the State House, in Boston, with the flags of the Massachusetts regiments.

"In delivering this proud ensign of our nationality into your hands, your friends know they are entrusting it to one who is not only familiar with the ordinary duties of the soldier, but to one who has been tried and not found wanting amidst the perils and carnage of the battle-field, and who has suffered what is more intolerable to every true soldier than any dangers of field or camp, and that is captivity and confinement for weary months in the loathsome prisons of the enemy; and now, after protracted and vexatious delays, you have but recently been relieved from your parole, so that you can, without dishonor, enter again the military service of your country; and, having availed yourself of the earliest opportunity to return to avenge your own and your country's wrongs, may a propitious Providence and all good influences attend you, and protect you, and your command in every hour of trial and danger.

"Yours is the fourth regiment which has been organized within this enclosure, which may now very properly be called our *Campus Martius*, and the fifth that has gone out from our city within the last twelve months. The Fifteenth, beginning its brilliant career at Ball's Bluff,—where, indeed, it encountered a repulse for which neither its officers nor men were responsible,—has with signal gallantry fought its way over many a bloody field to a high position on the roll of fame. And the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth, being with each other in the performance of patriotic duty, and in the memorable race for military renown, have made Roanoke and Newberne, and other fields, wherein they have exhibited the highest qualities of the soldier, ever memorable both to friend and foe. And it is not altogether improbable that the Thirty-fourth, which took up its line of march but a few days since from this camp, under the accomplished Wells,^[2] may have already found itself involved in the smoke of its first battle, and taking its first lesson in the art of war. And scarcely will your regiment have left our presence, before another will encamp within the limits of the city. And we bid you tell our brethren in the field that thus shall regiment after regiment, in endless succession, be sent to their aid until this accursed rebellion is utterly extinguished.

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[2] Colonel Wells was killed near Cedar Creek, Va., Oct. 13, 1864.

"The lateness of the hour, the necessity of your moving at once, admonish me that I should omit a portion of what I had proposed to say on this occasion; but this is of little account, and I would not delay your march for a single moment to listen to any poor words of mine. Words in this hour are simply air. Action—instant, resistless, heroic action—is the only thing that can avail us in this perilous crisis. And I can only add that, while you and these brave men who are to follow you, will do your full duty in upholding and restoring the authority of the constitution and its laws, you can never fail in loyalty, and the great idea of liberty which now inspires the hearts and nerves the hands of all the loyal men of the land; and that, when you have marched through rebel districts, none but loyal and *free men* shall be found. And now accept this standard, proffered by friendly hands, and let it be borne in your regiment as the emblem of liberty and law. And should you or any of

those, your comrades in arms, fall in its defence, your memories shall be held in grateful remembrance, and history will preserve their names among those of heroes and martyrs who have died to defend or consecrate a great and noble cause. Remember that the life is longest which best answers life's great end, and that to die upon the battle-field in defence of the liberties of mankind is the most cherished road to immortality."

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The band played the "Star-Spangled Banner," and Colonel Bowman responded in patriotic terms. The several companies of the regiment then marched to Agricultural Hall,—a large building on the camp ground,—where a bountiful collation had been provided by the friends of the regiment. Then followed the filling of haversacks, the packing of knapsacks, and all were soon in readiness for the order to move.

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CHAPTER II. TO THE FRONT.

There was no delay. At noon, Tuesday, September 2d, the assembly was sounded, the line was formed, and the Thirty-sixth, with a large number of the friends of the regiment, who had come to say a long and perhaps a last farewell, left Camp Wool amid the cheers of a great throng of people assembled along the line of march to witness the departure of the regiment, and moved up Highland street, through Main street, to the Common. There cars were in waiting. These were soon filled, the horses and baggage were taken aboard, the last farewells were spoken, and, about two o'clock, followed by the loud cheers of the multitude, and the waving of adieus, the long train drew out of the station, and hurried toward Boston. On the arrival of the regiment in Boston the line was again formed, and the Thirty-sixth, receiving a brilliant ovation from the citizens, marched through Washington street, down State street to Battery wharf, where the steamer "Merrimac," a new and large ocean steamer, was in readiness to receive us. One-half of the steamer had been assigned to the Twentieth Maine, Colonel Adelbert Ames, and his regiment was already on board, having arrived from Portland earlier in the day. In the crowded condition of the steamer there was, necessarily, some delay in getting the companies into the places to which they were assigned, and also in transferring the horses and baggage; and it was not until late in the evening that the embarkation was accomplished; then the steamer dropped out into the stream. Early the next morning, September 3d, the "Merrimac" left her anchorage and steamed down the harbor into the bay.

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We soon learned that our destination was Alexandria, Va. The voyage throughout was a pleasant one, and the men of the two regiments mingled in friendly companionship. On the second day out, on the quarter-deck, some of the men of Company B gave an exhibition, consisting of singing, declamations, etc., which was greatly enjoyed by a large and enthusiastic audience. Friday noon we reached the capes of the Chesapeake, had a glimpse of Fortress Monroe, and, moving up the bay, many of us looked upon the "sacred soil" for the first time; the steamer entered the Potomac river about ten o'clock in the evening, and shortly after midnight came to anchor. At five o'clock Saturday morning we again were under way, and had a most delightful sail up the Potomac, with both shores in full view. At length we passed Mt. Vernon, once the home and now the grave of Washington, and soon after, about noon, we were at the wharf in Alexandria.

Here we learned that the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts, which left Worcester August 15th, was doing guard duty and building fortifications near Alexandria. The Twentieth Maine was landed, but we remained on the steamer during the night. The next morning, Sunday, September 7th, we were transferred to the steamer "City of Norwich," in which we proceeded up the river to Washington, and landed not far from the Navy Yard.

Lee, in the last days of August, had defeated Pope within sound of the capitol, and was now pushing his victorious columns northward with the purpose of carrying the war into the Union States. The forces under General McClellan, who was again in command of the army, were also moving northward, but through Maryland, in order to intercept Lee's columns and give him battle. We encamped near the capitol until September 9th, when, having been assigned to General Burnside's command, the Ninth Corps, we left Washington, and marched to Leesboro'. But Burnside was no longer there, and several days were lost in obtaining further orders. September 12th the regiment left Leesboro' at an early hour, and marched about twelve miles, to Brookville, near which we went into camp on a beautiful grassy slope belonging to the estate of Hon. John Hall, formerly of the United States Post-Office Department. Near us was the camp of the First Rhode Island Cavalry.

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On Sunday, September 14th, we held our first religious service in the field, and the chaplain preached. On that day the distant sound of artillery was heard, and we knew that, somewhere beyond us, the two armies had again met. It was the day of the battle of South Mountain, in which General Burnside, it will be remembered, gained an important battle, carrying the mountain pass which Lee had directed his forces to hold "at every hazard."

On Monday, September 15th, Colonel Bowman received from a mounted orderly a note written in pencil, which purported to be an order from General McClellan, signed "R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff," directing all troops on the road to hurry forward as rapidly as possible. Colonel Bowman doubted the genuineness of this hasty scrawl, and the more so on account of the appearance of suspicious persons about the camp the night before. Not knowing the result of the battle of the previous day, and afraid that an attempt might be made to capture his regiment in its isolated position, he decided not to move his command until he received further instructions or had better information concerning the state of affairs at the front. This delay undoubtedly prevented our participation in the battle of Antietam, which was fought September 17th. On that day, having learned that the road was open, we left Brookville, and, moving forward rapidly, we encamped at night about three miles beyond the village of Damascus. On the following day we marched through Unity, Monrovia, Newmarket, and Frederick, and encamped about a mile beyond the latter place. During the day, while on the march, we passed the men of Colonel Miles' command at Harper's Ferry, who, on the 15th, were surrendered to Stonewall Jackson and paroled,—in all, five or six regiments, containing about five thousand men. They were now on their way to Annapolis. It was not a pleasant sight to see so many of our soldiers going to the rear; but they cheered us with reports of the battle on the 17th, in which our army was victorious.

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September 19th we resumed the march about ten o'clock in the forenoon, crossed the Catoctin mountains to Middletown, enjoying the magnificent prospect at the summit, and encamped beyond the town at the place where, on the Sunday before, General McClellan and General Burnside had their head-quarters during the battle of South Mountain.

On the following day we crossed South Mountain. Here and there by the roadside were newly-made graves,—in one place we counted twenty-six,—and the trees and fences bore marks of the recent fight. We passed also long trains of ambulance wagons, loaded with wounded men from the battle-field at Antietam, and also many of the wounded on foot, who were on their way to the hospitals in Frederick. Places of interest were pointed out to us on our way. One was the spot where, just at the close of the action on Sunday, General Reno fell. Another was the ground where the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts formed, and over which it made its brilliant charge, driving the enemy from the woods beyond.

Descending into a valley, we passed through Boonsboro', where was a hospital full of wounded rebels, and encamped at Keedysville, about two miles east of the Antietam battle-ground. Everywhere around us were the sad memories of the terrible conflict that was waged on that hard-fought field. Houses, barns, sheds, places of shelter of all kinds, were filled with the wounded, and on the field where the battle was fought, hundreds of the dead still lay unburied, although a large force had been steadily engaged in this service since the preceding Wednesday. Looking upon these scenes we were brought face to face with the dread realities of war. Among the wounded we found many friends and acquaintances who belonged to other Massachusetts regiments, and whose sad condition enlisted our warmest sympathies, and drew from many the expression, "If there be glory in war, it is dearly bought."

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September 21st we left Keedysville in the afternoon, crossed the famous stone bridge from which Burnside, on the 17th, gallantly dislodged the enemy, passed through Sharpsburg, which bore the marks of our shot and shell, and encamped a short distance beyond, near General Burnside's head-quarters.

Here the Thirty-sixth was assigned to the Third Brigade of the first division of the Ninth Corps. In the brigade were the Forty-fifth and One Hundredth (Roundheads) Pennsylvania regiments, to which we soon became warmly attached, and with which we were to be associated during nearly our whole period of service. Than these two regiments there were no better in the Ninth Corps; and our regard for both officers and men increased as common experiences drew us nearer together. Indeed, they became to us almost as brothers, and we have reason to believe that this feeling was mutual. Colonel Welch, of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, commanded the brigade, and General O. B. Willcox, the division.

September 23d, about half-past three o'clock in the morning, there was a general alarm. "Fall in! Fall in!" resounded through the camp, and for two hours we stood in line of battle on the edge of an adjoining cornfield; but it was only an alarm, and about half-past five we returned to our quarters.

On the 25th we were ordered to be in readiness to march. The tents were struck, our regimental baggage was packed, all of our preparations for a movement were completed; but about four o'clock in the afternoon the order was countermanded, and we pitched our tents on our former camp ground.

The next morning we received orders to be ready to march at one o'clock P.M. We were in line at that time, but as the whole corps was in motion, and we were in the rear, there was some delay for us. It was a beautiful sight, as the several brigades and divisions of the corps, with the long train of baggage-wagons, moved over the hills. At length our brigade started. We crossed Antietam Creek at Isabella Furnace, the troops passing over the bridge, and the wagons fording the stream. Just at sundown we encamped near Antietam Iron Works, about five miles above Harper's Ferry. The tents of the men were soon up, and the camp-fires lighted. A more brilliant scene can hardly be imagined than that presented by these fields around us, illuminated by innumerable camp-fires.

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By order of General Willcox, Sunday, September 29th, was observed by the division as a day of special religious service, to give thanks to God for our recent victories in Maryland. The whole division was brought together, and the services were conducted by Chaplain Canfield, of the Thirty-sixth, and other chaplains of New York and Pennsylvania regiments. The band first played "Old Hundred." The 46th Psalm was then read, and a hymn sung to the well-known tune of Balerna. Remarks were then made by four chaplains belonging to the division. The services were very interesting and solemn throughout. In the afternoon Chaplain Canfield preached.

On Tuesday, September 30th, there was a division review in the forenoon, and monthly regimental inspection in the afternoon. On Friday, October 3d, the corps was reviewed by President Lincoln and General McClellan. We formed our regimental line at seven o'clock, then marched to a field in the rear of our camp, and were assigned to a position on the left of our brigade. The President arrived on the ground shortly after nine o'clock, and passed us in review about ten. This visit gave many in the regiment their first opportunity to see Mr. Lincoln, and the day was one of great interest.

On Tuesday, October 7th, the Thirty-sixth experienced what was as yet its most difficult and trying march. We had received orders to move at daylight. The *reveillé* was sounded at three o'clock. At half-past five we left camp. The head of the column was toward Maryland Heights, which we were to cross into Pleasant Valley. The road was a narrow mountain road, in many places quite steep, and during the recent movements it had been obstructed by fallen trees. At

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length we reached the summit, where there was a magnificent view; and then we commenced the equally difficult descent. The day was intensely hot, and the men, completely exhausted, fell out in large numbers, and at a halt about half-past two, Colonel Welch ordered the roll to be called. About four o'clock we encamped in a most delightful and beautiful locality in Pleasant Valley, on a wooded bank, which sloped gradually down to a clear stream of running water, ten or twelve feet wide, near which were cool springs of pure water sufficient for all our wants. Harper's Ferry, above us, was about ten miles distant, and Knoxville the same distance below us, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

While the regiment was at dress parade on Saturday, October 11th, we received orders to be ready to move immediately, with haversack, canteen, and overcoat, and without blankets. The line was formed at once. The guns were loaded, and with the Forty-fifth and One Hundredth Pennsylvania, and a section of artillery, we marched down the road to Weverton, a little station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where platform cars were awaiting us. The Thirty-sixth took a train by itself, and left the station at seven o'clock. When the cars stopped, about midnight, we found that we were at Frederick. Leaving the cars we marched into the town, and were ordered to make ourselves as comfortable as we could upon the cold sidewalks. No fires were allowed, and it was impossible to keep warm in the chilly night air. At six o'clock we marched to a field on the edge of the town, where we took breakfast, and where we remained until noon, when we took a new position on the Washington road. We now learned the object of this movement. Stuart's cavalry were on their return from a raid into Pennsylvania, and it was supposed that they would attempt to destroy the government stores at Frederick, of which there was a considerable quantity. At five o'clock they were at Newmarket, eight miles distant; and the presence of our brigade at Frederick undoubtedly led them to turn aside. Moving toward the Potomac they at once crossed the river, and so made their escape, with the loss of a few prisoners brought in by our cavalry.

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Late in the afternoon, while we were awaiting orders upon the Washington road, it began to rain, and there was the promise of a cheerless night. Just at dark we marched to the station. The train left about seven o'clock, our destination unknown. At length we reached Point of Rocks, where the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strikes the Potomac. Leaving the cars we marched up the road a short distance in the darkness and rain, and halted. Companies A, B, and C were advanced to picket the heights above the station. The rest of the regiment, officers and men alike, sought shelter wherever it could be found. The morning revealed some of these luckless sleepers emerging from the two apologies for houses near at hand; some from beneath them; some from the pigsty and hen-house; many from beneath the shocks of corn in adjacent fields; while others had made no attempt to sleep, but had travelled about all night, stumbling over their comrades. The line was formed, and we moved out about half a mile, to a pleasant field near the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and encamped. There we remained until Wednesday, October 15th, when we had orders to return to our camp in Pleasant Valley. We left Point of Rocks at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon, and, following the towpath of the canal, we reached Weverton at half-past three. After some delay in waiting for the rest of our brigade we reached our old camp about five o'clock.

On Tuesday, October 21st, the regiment was inspected by an officer on Gen. McClellan's staff. On Friday following there were indications of a forward movement, which, it seemed, could not now long be deferred.

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CHAPTER III. IN VIRGINIA.

Sunday morning, October 26th, we were aroused at half-past three o'clock, and ordered to be ready to move at daylight. We struck our tents in a pouring rain, had breakfast, but did not leave our camp until after seven. Then we marched down the river to the little village of Berlin, where a pontoon bridge had been thrown across the Potomac. There we halted until afternoon. It was a general movement. Not only were the regiments of our own brigade with us, but a large number of other regiments. For hours, while the cavalry was crossing, we were obliged to stand in a drenching rain awaiting the crossing of the infantry, which was to follow. At length our line was in motion, and the long column of infantry, having reached the Virginia shore, continued the march, dragging its weary length through the mud, ankle deep, and such mud as only Virginia can boast. About four o'clock, and after advancing several miles from the river, we turned into a field which had been sown with winter wheat, and on which the wheat was two or three inches high. A more disagreeable and uncomfortable place could hardly have been found; and there, in the mud, wet, cold, and weary, we were ordered to halt, stack arms, and make ourselves comfortable for the night. This order, however, was at length countermanded, and the men removed to the fences and the grassy fields adjoining. Although it was still raining, and a cold north wind was blowing a gale, the orders were not to take rails for fires. But there was no other wood at hand, and it was not long before bright fires, made of the rails from the fences around, were blazing along the whole line, and every man was doing his best to make his condition tolerable. For fatigue, discomfort, and vexation, that first day's experience on Virginia soil was rarely exceeded in the history of the regiment. It is but just to state that for the selection of this camp the officers of the Thirty-sixth were in no way responsible.

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About ten o'clock the next forenoon the clouds parted, and the sun came out bright and beautiful. With warmth and rations came good cheer to the men. On the following day large numbers of troops joined us, and we were expecting to move at any moment. But we remained in camp until the next day, Wednesday, October 29th, when, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we received orders to march. We advanced through a beautiful country, the farms looking more like New England farms than any we had seen; and, passing through the village of Waterford in the early evening, we encamped a short distance beyond the village, and about ten miles from Snicker's Gap. Here we remained until Sunday.

Pleasant days were those which we spent at Waterford. Saturday afternoon, November 1st, we had orders to be in readiness to move on the following day. Our preparations were made in the early morning, but we did not move until eleven o'clock. It was a bright, sunny day, and quite warm. We reached Hamilton about two o'clock in the afternoon; and, after a short rest, continued our march until eight o'clock, when we encamped in an oak grove at Philemont. Ahead of us there was cannonading throughout the day.

On Monday, November 3d, we continued our march at one P.M., our course being nearly parallel to the Blue Ridge. At Union, Gen. Burnside passed us with his staff. At seven o'clock we halted for the night. The next day some quartermaster's stores were issued to the men, and one day's rations. About noon there was heavy firing in advance of us, but still distant. Wednesday, November 5th, the bugles sounded at five o'clock, and we were ordered to be in readiness to march; but it was eight o'clock before the column moved. Heavy firing was heard most of the forenoon. About half-past one in the afternoon, having arrived at Manassas Gap Railroad, we encamped a short distance beyond Rectortown. While on this march Corporal Parker, of Company D, died in the ambulance, probably of apoplexy. He died within sound of cannon, yet not on the field of battle. About sunset he was buried under a tree near our camp, his company and the officers of the regiment following his remains to the grave. It was the first death in the regiment; and this, with the circumstances of his lonely burial, cast a shadow of sadness over us all.

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On Thursday, November 6th, we resumed our march at an early hour. As we passed through Salem there were so many evidences of disloyalty that the bands played Yankee Doodle for the edification of the inhabitants. The afternoon march was a severe one. There were few rests, and those were short; and toward night many of the men fell out from exhaustion. About six o'clock we encamped at Orleans. The night that followed was intensely cold, and water froze. In the morning, November 7th, it began to snow. At noon, when we received orders to march, it was still snowing, and there were two or three inches of snow on the ground. We advanced only a few miles, and encamped on the north bank of a branch of the Rappahannock, not far from Waterloo.

Late that night a special messenger from the War Department arrived at Gen. McClellan's headquarters, with the following order:—

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5, 1862.

By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take command of that army.

By order of the Secretary of War,
E. D. TOWNSEND, *Ass't Adj't Gen.*

We remained in camp on Saturday and Sunday, November 8th and 9th, suffering from the cold,

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and knowing nothing of the important change thus announced. On Sunday, morning and afternoon, special religious services were held among the regiments of our division, by order of our commanding general. Gen. Burnside's order, assuming command of the Army of the Potomac, was now prepared, and was as follows:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
WARRENTON, VA., NOV. 9, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 1.

In accordance with General Orders No. 182, issued by the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac.

Patriotism and the exercise of my every energy in the direction of this army, aided by the full and hearty coöperation of its officers and men, will, I hope, under the blessing of God, ensure its success.

Having been a sharer of the privations, and a witness of the bravery, of the old Army of the Potomac in the Maryland campaign, and fully identified in their feelings of respect and esteem for General McClellan, entertained through a long and most friendly association with him, I feel that it is not as a stranger that I assume this command.

To the Ninth Corps, so long and intimately associated with me, I need say nothing; our histories are identical.

With diffidence for myself, but with a proud confidence in the unswerving loyalty and determination of the gallant army now entrusted to my care, I accept its control with the steadfast assurance that the just cause must prevail.

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General Commanding.

This order was not received by us until Tuesday, November 11th, and while we were still in camp near Waterloo. We shared in the general esteem in which General McClellan was held throughout the army; but we loved Burnside, and had confidence in his ability to lead us on to victory. On this day there was no bread for the men. Our supply-train had been delayed, and for several days the ration for each man was two ears of corn and a small piece of fresh meat. This place will always be known to the survivors of the Thirty-sixth by the suggestive name of "Hungry Hollow."

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On Thursday, November 13th, the supply-train arrived, and the Thirty-sixth received eight boxes of hard bread. In the morning of that day Corporal Perry, of Company G, died. He had been sick only since Saturday. The burial occurred that night.

November 15th, while at breakfast, we received orders to march; and, with the rest of our division, now under the command of General W. W. Burns (Colonel Welch commanding the brigade), we moved forward to White Sulphur Springs,—a noted watering-place, whose buildings had been nearly destroyed by General Sigel's troops in an engagement with the enemy in passing through the place in August. While on the march we heard sharp musketry ahead, and as we approached the Springs a few shots were fired. We accordingly left the main road, and formed in line of battle behind a hill; but the enemy fell back, and in a little while we received orders to go into camp.

Sunday, November 16th, we were aroused early with orders to march. The teams were sent off before light, but the regiment did not leave camp until ten o'clock. At noon we rested at Fayetteville. The afternoon's march was a most wearisome one; and it was not until after dark, when near Warrenton Junction, that we halted for the night.

The next day, November 17th, we marched at noon, and were four hours on the road without any rest. The whole corps seemed to be in motion. The artillery and wagons occupied the road, while the infantry moved in two columns, one on each side of the road. A rainy night followed.

Tuesday, November 18th, we were called by the bugles at half-past three, and at quarter-past five we were on the march. At twelve we encamped, having advanced about fourteen miles toward Fredericksburg. General Willcox, now our corps commander, passed us on the road, and was warmly cheered. An order was received from General Burnside assigning the Ninth Corps to the right grand division of the Army of the Potomac, under the command of Major-General Sumner. General Burnside and staff encamped near us about two o'clock.

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November 19th we commenced our march about eight o'clock. Private Pierce, of Company D, died just before we left our camp, and the pioneer corps were directed to remain and bury the body. It was a rainy, drizzly day, and the march was a wearisome one. We had a fine view of the camp of the Second Corps as we approached Falmouth. About one o'clock we were opposite Fredericksburg, and encamped in an open field, in the mud. A part of the regiment received orders to go on picket. For two days and nights it continued to rain, and our camp became one vast mud-puddle.

On Sunday, November 23d, at the regular service, the chaplain read the Thanksgiving proclamation of Governor Andrew to the Massachusetts soldiers in the field, and also his proclamation to the people of the State. The day before Thanksgiving, Wednesday, November 26th, the Ninth Corps was reviewed by General Sumner. It had rained the night before, and it was somewhat uncomfortable standing three hours in mud and water waiting for the appearance of the general. At length he passed us in review, and we were dismissed.

Thursday, November 27th, was Thanksgiving. The day opened gloriously, the sun rising unclouded. Many were the efforts which the men made to prepare from army stores a suitable feast for the day. About eleven o'clock, in the midst of these efforts, we received orders to change the location of our camp. We moved only a few hundred yards, but to a young pine forest, which proved to be a much more agreeable spot than that which we had hitherto occupied. The day closed as brightly as it opened. Having arranged our new camp, the regiment resumed daily drills, and the usual routine of camp duty. On Friday, November 28th, we had our first dress-parade since leaving Waterford.

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November 30th, which was Sunday, special religious services were held, by request of President Lincoln. In our brigade the services were conducted by Chaplain Canfield and the chaplain of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. At night Companies E and H went out on fatigue duty, and worked on fortifications near the Lacy House. Private Sager, of Company B, died in the regimental hospital this morning.

December 1st, S. Alonzo Ranlett, orderly sergeant of Company B, was commissioned first lieutenant, and subsequently was appointed adjutant of the regiment.

Meanwhile General Lee was fortifying the heights back of Fredericksburg; and on the part of our soldiers there was not a little of impatience expressed at General Burnside's delay in advancing upon the enemy. This delay, however, could not be avoided, on account of the necessity of opening communications with Aquia Creek, and also of procuring pontoons with which to cross the river. Indeed, the preparations for the movement upon the enemy, urgent as General Burnside was, were not completed until December 10th. On that day the Thirty-sixth received orders to be ready to move. At night, the Stafford Heights, and the left bank of the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg, were occupied by one hundred and forty-seven pieces of artillery; and before dawn our pontoniers were busily employed in preparations for laying five bridges, upon which the troops were to cross.

The Thirty-sixth was early in line on the morning of the 11th, and, with the brigade, moved down toward the river, and there remained during the rest of the day, while the attempt was made to lay the bridges under cover of our artillery. But the workmen near the Lacy House were greatly hindered in their efforts by sharp-shooters advantageously posted on the opposite bank of the river; and a terrific shelling of the city did not succeed in dislodging them. At length, from the regiments near at hand, volunteers were summoned to cross the river in boats, and drive the rebel sharp-shooters from their position. Men from the Seventh Michigan, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, answered the summons; and with men from the Fiftieth New York, as boatmen, crossed the river. Then, darting up the bank, in a few minutes they compelled the enemy to withdraw. The work of laying the pontoons was soon pushed rapidly forward, and late in the afternoon the bridges were completed. The army then began to cross, Lee being unable to oppose its advance on account of the commanding position afforded our batteries by the Stafford Heights. Franklin's grand division crossed below the city, and formed the left wing of the army. Sumner's crossed at the upper bridges, and formed the right wing. Hooker's grand division was held in reserve on the northern bank of the river, ready to reinforce either Sumner or Franklin. Most of the troops crossed on the 12th. That morning the several divisions of the Ninth Corps were early in line; and, as they reached the Fredericksburg side of the river, they were placed in position on the left of Sumner's grand division, and just below the city. In the crossing, a few men were killed or wounded by the enemy's shells that fell short of our batteries, at which they were aimed. Two men of the Thirty-sixth were in this way slightly wounded.

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That night we moved up into the city, and, stacking arms in the street, spent the night on the sidewalk and in the deserted houses in rear of the guns. Early in the morning of December 13th preparations were made for the approaching battle. Burns' division of the Ninth Corps, to which our brigade belonged, was assigned to a position below the city. There, across Hazel Run, behind a rise of ground, we remained under arms in reserve, listening to the roar of artillery and musketry as the battle raged along the line from left to right, expecting every minute to be called to participate in the terrible conflict; but no orders came until afternoon, when we moved further down the river, crossed Deep Run, and were placed in position in front of the Barnard House, covering the lower pontoon bridge. At dark the Thirty-sixth moved forward, and supported a battery in front of the Sligo House.

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During the day General Meade, with his division, won a temporary success on the left, but was at length compelled to fall back, for the want of adequate support. In rear of the city the divisions of French, Hancock, and Humphrey successively endeavored to carry Marye's Heights, but were repulsed with great loss. General Burnside was greatly disappointed at the result of the day's fighting. It seemed to him that there was lack of spirited leadership, and he accordingly determined to renew the battle early in the morning, and lead his old corps, the Ninth, in person, in an assault on Marye's Heights, with the right and left vigorously supporting. In reference to this proposed attack, Colonel Leasure of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, who commanded our brigade, says: "I received an order, through General Burns, from General Willcox, stating that the Ninth Corps would assault the enemy's works on the next day, and that my brigade, the Third, would lead the attack; and I was requested to submit a plan of attack, subject to the approval of the commanding general. Consequently, I submitted the following: I would advance my own regiment, the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, or Roundheads, in the darkness of night, as close as possible to the enemy's works, as skirmishers and sharp-shooters, supporting them as nearly as possible with the remainder of my brigade,—the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts,—which, in turn, were to be supported by the remainder of the division and the other divisions of the corps. In the gray of the morning the One Hundredth should advance

suddenly, driving in the enemy's pickets, or capturing them, and as much as possible pick off their gunners, then charge their works in the confusion, throwing in brigade after brigade. This plan was sent to General Burns as the one most feasible; but with it went my most solemn protest against the inevitable destruction of my brigade if it should be adopted, and it was sent to General Burnside with the protest endorsed on it by the commanding officer of the corps and also by General Sumner. But, notwithstanding, it was early morning before the assault was abandoned." In fact, the Third Brigade took position at the front in accordance with the above plan, the Thirty-sixth, with the Forty-fifth on its right, being in line of battle behind a steep, wooded bank, above which, in the early dawn, the outlines of the enemy's works were plainly visible. The One Hundredth was well up toward the enemy's lines, lying low. And here we remained on our arms, expecting every moment to charge the rebel works on the left of the open field, where so many of our brave comrades had fallen the day before, when, unexpectedly to all, we were ordered back to our old position below the city. At daylight, after rations were issued, our whole division moved up to the city, where the Ninth Corps was massed in five lines, near the river. No further advance was made, and there we remained throughout the day. At night we moved back again to our old position below the city, where we remained during the night and all the next day.

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It is easy to criticise General Burnside's plan of battle. It is plain, however, that, if our soldiers had carried Marye's Heights, Burnside could not have occupied them, as they are commanded by still higher ground in their rear. But it should be remembered that General Burnside designed that the weight of his assault, December 13th, should fall upon General Lee's right, and his mistake seems to have been that his force at that point was not greatly increased, and placed under the command of an officer from whom he could expect the most hearty support.

About dark on the 15th we were again in line. The One Hundredth Pennsylvania and the Second Michigan, old and tried regiments, were ordered out, while the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania and the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts remained under arms awaiting orders. To secure strict silence, the men were not to speak, and to avoid coughing as much as possible. This, together with the ominous injunction of Colonel Leasure to his old regiment, as they joined him: "Now do your duty, Roundheads," was interpreted as meaning serious work near at hand. About ten o'clock in the evening the rest of our brigade moved up into the city quietly, where, to our surprise, we found the place was nearly deserted, there being in the streets, at this point, only one regiment, the Eighty-ninth New York, and that had just been withdrawn from the picket-line. Several batteries were near the river, limbered up and all ready to move. The Thirty-sixth relieved the Eighty-ninth New York, and waited for the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, which was on the extreme front of the picket-line. So we were among the last troops to leave the city. We crossed unharmed, and returned to our old camp, back of the Phillips House, on the morning of December 16, sharing, with the rest of the army, the disappointment that was felt on account of the repulse and the serious losses sustained by many of our regiments, yet feeling that, while the fruitless task that was assigned to others had not fallen to our lot, we had done all that was required of us as faithful soldiers.

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On the 17th general inspection was ordered. The Thirty-sixth mustered about six hundred and fifty guns. Of the remaining three hundred and fifty of our comrades who left Massachusetts with us, quite a large number were detailed on special duty, many were on the sick-list, and ten had died.

As soon as the men had arranged their quarters, and with as much comfort as they were able, the usual round of camp and picket duty was resumed. The pickets of both armies had hitherto been very friendly, and they now became more friendly than ever, often exchanging courtesies, and chatting freely on matters pertaining to the war. Many of the soldiers received boxes from home, and there were a few Massachusetts visitors at our camp.

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January 16th orders were received to be ready to move the next day, at an early hour, with three days' rations, and sixty rounds of ammunition. It was also announced that General Sedgwick had been assigned to the command of the Ninth Corps. The following day was clear and cold, but there were no orders to move. Nor were any received on the 18th, and we had a quiet Sunday. On Monday, too, all was quiet on the Rappahannock. At noon on Tuesday, January 20, however, orders came for us to be in readiness to move early the next morning. It was now evident that another movement was to be made across the river. General Hooker's and General Franklin's grand divisions of the army were already in motion in our rear. At dress parade that night, an order from General Burnside was read by Colonel Bowman to the regiment, informing us that the Army of the Potomac was about to meet the enemy once more, and calling upon officers and men to coöperate with him in securing a victory. When the order had been read, three cheers were given for our commanding general. Just at night a cold, north-east storm set in, the wind increased to a gale, and the rain fell in torrents. Late in the evening orders came for the Thirty-sixth to be ready to move at three o'clock the next morning, January 21st. At that time the men were in line, and remained standing four hours in the drenching rain, with the mud ankle-deep. At about ten o'clock the regiment was ordered on picket. The storm continued through the day. Tuesday, January 22d, it was still raining, and the mud deeper than ever. Hooker and Franklin were literally "stuck in the mud." Artillery caissons, guns, ambulances, and army wagons were immovable. To go forward was impossible; and finally, from sheer necessity, all hope of further advance was abandoned.

Thus again was Burnside compelled to witness the defeat of his plans. Never did the Army of the Potomac suffer more severely, and never was experience more demoralizing than during these three days of constant exposure to wet and cold, in midwinter, without shelter of any kind. Weary

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and disheartened, the men of Franklin's grand division struggled back to camp, singly or in squads. Many had thrown away everything but haversack and canteen, and curses on everything and everybody filled the air. It is said that the army in Flanders swore terribly. So did the demoralized soldiers of the Army of the Potomac as they struggled back to their old camp.

In the meantime the rebels appeared on the opposite bank of the river, greatly elated at the discomfiture of our army, and amused themselves by offering to come over and extricate our men from the mud, to aid them in crossing, and to show them around on the other side.

A few days of sun, rations, and rest, however, brought about a better state of feeling among our men; and the Army of the Potomac settled back into its old quarters, and resumed the usual routine of duty.

Now there followed another change in commanders. General Burnside had become convinced not only that he did not have the coöperation of a large number of his subordinate officers of high rank, but that some of them were doing all in their power to thwart his plans. He accordingly prepared an order dismissing from the service Generals Hooker, Brooks, Cochrane and Newton, and relieving from their commands, Generals Franklin, W. F. Smith, Sturgis, Ferrero, and Col. Taylor. Proceeding to Washington, he asked the President to approve of this order or to accept his resignation. The President referred the order to his military advisers, who declined to recommend its approval. Accordingly, unwilling to accept his resignation, the President relieved General Burnside of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and not long after assigned him to the command of the Department of the Ohio. General Hooker was made General Burnside's successor, and the change was announced to the army January 26th.

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In taking leave of the army Gen. Burnside issued the following order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
FALMOUTH, VA., Jan. 26th, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 9.

By direction of the President of the United States, the commanding general this day transfers the command of the army to Major-General Joseph Hooker.

The short time that he has directed your movements has not been fruitful of victory or any considerable advancement of our lines; but it has again demonstrated an amount of courage, patience, and endurance that, under more favorable circumstances, would have accomplished great results. Continue to exercise these virtues, be true in your devotion to your country and the principles you have sworn to maintain, give to the brave and skilful general who has so long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and coöperation, and you will deserve success.

In taking an affectionate leave of the entire army, from which he separates with so much regret, he may be pardoned if he bids an especial farewell to his long-time associates of the Ninth Corps.

His prayers are that God may be with you, and grant your continual success until the rebellion is crushed.

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General.

Mr. Lincoln's letter to General Hooker, informing the latter of his appointment, did credit alike to the President's head and heart, and is worthy of a place here:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D.C., January 26th, 1863.

Major-General Hooker:—

I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons. And yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm. But I think that, during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong both to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear the spirit you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness! beware of rashness! but, with

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energy and sleepless vigilance, go forward and give us victories.

Yours, very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

January 27th we received General Hooker's address to the army, also General Sumner's farewell, he having been relieved of the command of the right grand division at his own request. January 29th, our Major, James H. Barker, also at his own request, received an honorable discharge, and on the following day he left for his home in Massachusetts. He was a faithful officer, a man of sterling integrity, of upright life, and his departure we greatly regretted.

On Thursday, February 5th, we received orders for the Ninth Corps to proceed forthwith to Fortress Monroe, under General Smith. On the following day the Third Division took cars for Aquia Creek. On Sunday, February 8th, General Willcox assumed command of the First Division, General Burns having been ordered West. In the afternoon Colonel Ward, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, who was in command of Camp Wool during the organization of the Thirty-sixth, visited our camp, and was cordially greeted by officers and men. February 10th, about noon, orders came for us to pack up and be ready to move immediately. At ten o'clock we marched to the station, the Thirty-sixth leading the brigade. The cars left at five o'clock, and at half-past six we were at Aquia Creek, where we embarked on steamer "South America." About eight o'clock the next morning we started down the Potomac; but, on account of a storm, the captain found it necessary to anchor in the middle of the afternoon at the mouth of the St. Mary's river. The next morning we started again; and at night, just at dark, we arrived off Fortress Monroe, and anchored. Early the next morning Colonel Bowman went ashore with the captain of the steamer, and reported our arrival. On their return, about ten o'clock, we weighed anchor, passed the steam-frigate "Minnesota" and the iron-clad "Nahant," and landed at Newport News, a few miles above. About the middle of the afternoon we went into camp about a mile and a half from the landing, and on a high bluff overlooking the James river. All of the regiments of the corps were furnished with **A** tents, and the camp throughout was the most perfect in its arrangements of any that we occupied during the war. The quarters of the Thirty-sixth were regarded by the men with especial pride.

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Here the regiment remained for six weeks. During this time much attention was given to regimental, brigade, and division drills. About five hours each day were devoted to these exercises, and they were of great value in perfecting the discipline and adding to the efficiency of the regiment.

On Wednesday, February 18th, we learned that Captain Goodell, of Company C, had been commissioned major of the regiment, vice Barker, resigned. February 25th, General Dix, who was in command at Fortress Monroe, reviewed the Ninth Corps. The day was a beautiful one, and the review a most brilliant and successful affair. Colonel Bowman and Lieutenant-Colonel Norton both being absent, Major Goodell commanded the regiment,—his first appearance in his new rank.

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On Sunday, March 1st, Chaplain Canfield preached on the character of Washington. It was our first religious service since New Year's. March 11th, with other regiments in our brigade, we attended a flag presentation at the quarters of the Eighth Michigan. Unexpectedly, on the evening of March 18th, we received orders to be in readiness to move with five days' cooked rations.

Great had been our enjoyment of the sunny side of a soldier's life which we experienced at this place; and it was not without regret that we received the order to leave the comfortable quarters on which so much time and labor had been expended. Many pleasant circumstances had combined to make this a most desirable encampment. In the first place, we were in convenient communication with our friends at home; some of them visited us, also the wives of several of the officers, and the camp had quite a home-like appearance. Then, too, we received, from time to time, many well-filled boxes, and numerous other tokens of regard which friends at home had prepared for us. A severe and protracted storm delayed our departure, and some of these boxes which had been anxiously awaited, and which we should have failed to receive had it not been for the delay, made the closing days of our camp-life at Newport News almost a continual feast. The scenes that followed the arrival of these boxes were often amusing as well as touching. For example: a day or two before our departure several boxes were received by a squad of about fifteen men from one town. At the opening of the boxes all were present, and as their contents were distributed these sun-browned and apparently rough men, in the gladness of their hearts, laughed, sung, and chatted like children. Impromptu speeches were made, abounding in the most extravagant praise of those who had joined in filling these richly-laden boxes. In the midst of this hilarity one proposed seriously that God should be acknowledged in this reception of these generous gifts. In a moment all heads were uncovered and bowed in reverent silence, while one of the number gave thanks to the Giver of all good for favors so kindly bestowed; and then, in tenderest words and choked utterance, commended to His protection and care, the loved ones at home who had been so thoughtful of them.

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The storm having passed, we struck our tents on the afternoon of March 22d, and marched to the landing at Newport News. There seven of the companies embarked on the steamer "Kennebec," the remaining three companies,—B, C, K,—on the steamer "Mary Washington," with the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

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CHAPTER IV. THE KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN.

We left Newport News early the next morning, March 23d, and sailed up the bay to Baltimore, where we arrived about three o'clock on the morning of the 24th. The "Kennebec" hauled in at Pier No. 1, but we did not land until afternoon. Cars then were in waiting for us, and we learned that we were to go west by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Cincinnati, Ohio, being our destination. At Eutaw street soft bread was issued to the men, and then, about six o'clock, we started on our long journey. The freight-cars in which we were packed were crowded with rough board seats, so that there was no room in which to lie down; but the scenery through which we passed was of the wildest and grandest description, and the journey throughout was one of thrilling interest to all. In the early part of it we passed through Point of Rocks, Berlin, Sandy Hook, and Harper's Ferry,—all familiar places. At Harper's Ferry, where we arrived early in the morning of the 25th, we had bread and coffee. For miles beyond the track had been torn up by the rebels in the preceding year, and here and there the rails, twisted by fire, lay in heaps by the roadside, unfit for further use.

The country grew mountainous as we advanced. We reached Cumberland about four o'clock in the afternoon. At Piedmont, which we reached at six o'clock, we were most cordially entertained by the Fourteenth Virginia regiment, which was guarding the railroad at this point. The utmost good feeling was manifested; and, as we left our Virginia comrades, to resume our journey, all joined in three rousing cheers. After a most fatiguing ride, with little rest or sleep, we arrived at Parkersburg on the Ohio river, about five o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, March 26th. There we embarked on the steamer "Bostonia," a fine, commodious boat. We left the landing about ten P.M. It was a beautiful moonlight evening, and all greatly enjoyed the change from the crowded cars. The next day was cool, but pleasant, and we were delighted with the charming scenery through which we passed as we rapidly glided down the river. At almost every place on the Ohio side, and at some points on the opposite shore, we were greeted with much enthusiasm. The people flocked *en masse* to the banks of the river, cheering and waving flags, and bidding us God-speed in our efforts to win victory and peace.

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We reached Cincinnati about seven o'clock in the evening. The regiment remained on the boat during the night, only the officers being allowed to go ashore. Nor were the men allowed to land the next day. That they were moved to indignation by this restriction was a natural result. Other regiments of the corps, which had preceded us, had been most cordially received by the citizens, and most hospitably entertained. The sons of Massachusetts resident in the city were prepared to give the Thirty-sixth a no less hearty welcome, and had provided a breakfast to which the regiment was invited on the morning of the 28th. Expectation ran high, and the regiment was putting on its finest airs in anticipation of the reception, and especially at the prospect of one good "square meal" after the long and tedious journey, when, for some then unaccountable reason, the colonel declined the invitation, and peremptorily refused to allow the men to go ashore. When this became known the indignation of the men was almost unbounded, and their disappointment found expression in words of bitter complaint, more especially as this refusal seemingly cast a reflection on the good name and discipline of the regiment. In this feeling of disappointment the citizens most heartily shared, many of them visiting the boat, and expressing their regrets. It was afterwards ascertained that, on account of the bad conduct of some regiment that preceded us, General Burnside had issued an order that no more regiments should stop in the city. This relieved Colonel Bowman of the responsibility for the disappointment of the men of his command; but the disappointment was no less keenly felt.

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March 28th we crossed the river to the Kentucky shore, and landed at Covington. There was some delay in procuring transportation; and, as there was a large amount of whiskey near the station, some of the men became not a little demoralized. One of this number had complained for some time of severe lameness, and the surgeon, who had been puzzled by his case, after watching him carefully, was about to secure his discharge from the service. But, under the exhilaration of the hour, forgetting his lameness, the man marched off so smartly that Colonel Bowman informed him that the game was up; and, providing him with a gun, ordered him back to his company.

Leaving Covington at night, we found ourselves the next morning, Sunday, March 29th, at Lexington, ninety-eight miles from Covington. Here we encamped in a grove of black walnut trees, adjoining the beautiful cemetery, in which a magnificent monument has been erected over the remains of Kentucky's illustrious son, the brilliant orator and statesman, Henry Clay. The shaft is of gray limestone, one hundred and thirty-two feet in height, and is surmounted by Clay's statue. Ashland, the residence of Henry Clay, is about a mile and a half distant.

Colonel Leasure, commanding the Third Brigade, was assigned to the command of the post. In the days that followed, the Thirty-sixth was engaged in doing provost duty in the city, and in building a fort. The camp, although very attractive, and kept scrupulously clean, did not prove a healthy one. The cold April weather, and the naturally moist ground, as we were without fires in our tents, caused much sickness from colds, chills, and intermittent fevers.

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On the 30th of March a pleasant surprise was given to the colonel, in the presentation of an elegant equipage for his horse, by the sergeants of the regiment. The horse had previously been presented to the colonel by the commissioned officers.

Nothing of especial interest occurred until Sunday, April 5th. On that day a brigade service had been appointed, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the Thirty-sixth and the One Hundredth Pennsylvania assembled. In the midst of the service, orders came for us to break camp immediately. We struck our tents, and marched to the depot, where cars were in waiting. Our baggage was put on board, and we were off for Cincinnati at half-past five. We reached Covington shortly after midnight, but remained in the cars until morning. We then marched to an open field near the station, and stacked arms. The colonel reported the arrival of the regiment to General Burnside, and learned that it was election day in Cincinnati, and we were there to quell any disturbance that might arise at the polls. But no disturbance occurred. We remained all day in the field near the depot, suffering not a little from the cold, bleak wind. Tuesday morning, about half-past seven o'clock, we left Covington, and reached Lexington about half-past three in the afternoon, when we marched to our old camp-ground, and spent the rest of the day in rearranging our quarters. On the journey we received a hearty greeting from the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, at Paris, where the regiment was stationed, and also from the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, at Lexington, on our return.

The next morning, April 8th, greatly to our surprise, we received orders, about eight o'clock, to strike tents. All was soon in readiness, and the brigade, the One Hundredth Pennsylvania in advance, marched through Lexington. The Thirty-sixth never made a better appearance than in the streets of Lexington that day. We reached Nicholasville about five o'clock in the afternoon, and encamped just beyond the town. The next morning we resumed our march, about seven o'clock. The men became quite footsore as we advanced, and many fell out. About one o'clock we crossed the Kentucky river. The scenery was most attractive, high rocky cliffs overhanging the river. We reached Camp Dick Robinson, near Bryantsville, about four o'clock. The camp had been occupied by the rebel General Bragg, who retreated on the approach of the Union troops, having been informed by a citizen that a large force was approaching.

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April 13th, General Welch, formerly colonel of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, but recently promoted, arrived at Camp Dick Robinson, and assumed command of the First Division. On the same day, Rev. C. M. Bowers, of Clinton, Mass., reached our camp, on a visit to the company from that town. When he returned home, a few days after, many of the men sent by him money which the paymaster had just left in their hands, and most kindly and faithfully he attended to the many little details of business thus confided to him.

The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania rejoined the brigade at this place. April 20th, Colonel Norton, who had been home on leave of absence, arrived in camp. The next day, April 21st, Colonel Bowman received orders to select four hundred men from his command, and to be ready to move the next morning in light marching order. The battalion, commanded by Colonel Bowman, left camp about six o'clock A.M., April 22d, in a drenching rain, which continued until noon, when the sun came out very warm, and made the march in the mud a fatiguing one. But the change from the routine of camp-life to a march through a wild and beautiful country was most exhilarating. At about three o'clock in the afternoon the battalion reached Harrodsburg, an aristocratic town, largely in sympathy with the rebellion, and encamped for the night on a beautiful green slope just outside of the town. In the morning we marched through the town again, exciting much curiosity and some enthusiasm. From Harrodsburg the march was continued ten or twelve miles, through a most delightful country, to the beautiful town of Danville, where we arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and halted for dinner. A leisurely march of about eight miles brought us, in the early evening, to our quarters at Camp Dick Robinson. The purpose of this march has never been disclosed. Colonel Bowman was not told. He was ordered to move; the roads, the halting-places, etc., were designated, but concerning the end in view he was not informed.

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The regiment, with the brigade, remained at Camp Dick Robinson until April 30th, when we were aroused at four o'clock A.M., with orders to move at six. At the appointed time we were on the march. It was a beautiful day, and the roads were in excellent condition. We passed through Lancaster about noon, and halted for dinner. Later in the afternoon we encamped about a mile beyond Stanford. On the next day, May 1st, we remained in camp until one o'clock P.M., when we continued our march, and encamped about a mile beyond Hustonville. May 2d we advanced about ten miles in the afternoon, and encamped at Middleburgh, which is situated on a branch of the Green river.

On these marches amusing incidents were of frequent occurrence. One day the Twenty-seventh Michigan, a new regiment, had the advance; and, like all new troops, the men marched too fast, and too long a distance without rest. The next day the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania had the lead, and the Twenty-seventh Michigan was sandwiched in between the Forty-fifth and the Thirty-sixth. These two regiments had an agreement in reference to the day's march. The Forty-fifth started off with a long swing, and the Thirty-sixth followed up "right smart," in rear of the Twenty-seventh. The result was that the Twenty-seventh had a hard day of it. Many of the men fell out on the march, and laid down by the roadside, exhausted. Of course it was a good pull for the old regiments. One man in the Thirty-sixth fell down and fainted apparently. His eyes closed, and he seemed to be in a bad way. However, his case was not considered a serious one. The next morning the surgeon, who had some suspicions that the man was "playing it," asked him some amusing questions, and dismissed him without giving any decision in his case. "What shall I mark him?" asked the sergeant; "excused from duty, or not?" "Mark him for the land of Canaan," said the surgeon.

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May 3d, the day after we reached Middleburgh, two colored boys came into camp, one of whom Captain Raymond hired, and the other was hired by the non-commissioned staff. The boys had just been arrayed in United States blue when the master of Captain Raymond's boy made his

appearance with a cavalry officer, and, showing a writing, demanded his slave. The boy was frightened at the sight of his master, and said he would rather be shot where he was than go back to the whipping that awaited him. But we had no authority to detain him, and the master took him by the collar, and led him off. After he had gone, the other boy, finding that we could give him no protection, thought he had better go home voluntarily. So he started. Such, at that time, was the "peculiar institution" in Kentucky.

On the same day a Mr. Markham and three daughters—refugees from East Tennessee—visited our camp. In September, 1861, they were living in Scott County. One day a party of rebels approached the house in search of the father, who was a Union man. One of the rebels came forward to reconnoitre, and asked one of the daughters where her father was. She declined to answer. He then advanced toward her with bayonet fixed. To defend herself she seized an axe, and endeavored to parry his thrusts, but he succeeded in forcing the bayonet into her skull, just above the eye, putting out the eye, and causing the brain to protrude. The father, hearing her cries, rushed from his hiding-place, and shot the rebel dead. He then made his escape immediately. One of the sisters ran to the house to warn her cousin to flee also; but, the rest of the rebels coming up, he was soon killed. Two of their neighbors they hung, and left on the tree. This was a new side of the war to us,—a side of which we were to see more at a later period, when the regiment was in East Tennessee.

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May 4th we moved our camp forward about a mile, in order to get upon better ground. On the following day our regimental baggage was reduced. Only three tents were allowed at headquarters, while the line officers had five tents instead of ten, as heretofore. Wednesday, May 6th, at dress-parade a despatch from General Willcox to General Welch, announcing cheering news from the Rappahannock, was read. Not until two days later did we receive the tidings of Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville. On Sunday, May 10th, there were rumors of the capture of Richmond. The first came early in the afternoon. Not long after dress-parade Colonel Bowman received a despatch, stating that Hooker, reinforced, had recrossed the Rappahannock, and that Stoneman and Dix had raised the stars and stripes on the rebel capitol. The news was at once communicated to the regiment, and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. Fires were built on a high hill near the camp, candles were issued to the men, and soon the camp of the Thirty-sixth was all ablaze. Then the several companies, under command of Captain Smith, with candles fixed on their bayonets, marched to the camp of the Twenty-seventh Michigan and One Hundredth Pennsylvania, cheering and receiving cheers from both regiments, which were in line to receive us. When the regiment returned to camp there were congratulatory speeches by Colonel Bowman, Acting Adjutant Hodgkins, Captain Warriner, Lieutenant Brigham, and others. It was a fourth of July occasion. We soon learned that we had exulted too soon.

On Wednesday, May 13th, rumors of a rebel raid by Morgan reached us. The pickets were strengthened and thrown farther out. Two days later a limited number of furloughs were granted in each company, and the men under Captain Raymond left for Stanford on their way home. There was no further information concerning the rebel raid. The division supply-trains moved back to Hustonville, also Edmunds' Battery.

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We remained at Middleburgh until Saturday, May 23d. On that day, at noon, orders were received to move. The Thirty-sixth led the brigade column. We encamped at night, about nine miles beyond Liberty, on the banks of the Green river. There we remained over Sunday. On Monday, May 25th, the bugles called us out at half-past three in the morning, and at five we were on the road. Our march was through a thick forest during a greater part of the day. About three o'clock in the afternoon we encamped a short distance from Neatsville. On the following day, May 26th, the *reveillé* was sounded at half-past two in the morning, and we marched at half-past three. As on the preceding day, our route lay through an almost unbroken forest. At half-past nine o'clock in the forenoon we encamped about a mile from Columbia.

May 27th we had orders to be in readiness to march at seven P.M., in light marching order. At that time we left camp, with the One Hundredth Pennsylvania and a section of Edmunds' Battery, Colonel Leasure in command. Before reaching Columbia a squadron of cavalry joined us. It was understood that we were in pursuit of Morgan's guerillas. Passing through the town, we took the Waynesburgh road; but, after marching a mile or so, we faced about, returned to town, and took the road to Glasgow. It was a beautiful moonlight evening. The road was somewhat rough, and mostly through woods. We reached Gradyville about one o'clock on the morning of the 27th, and bivouacked for the rest of the night. Later in the morning we marched to a grove of magnificent beeches, on a hillside near by. There we remained all day, while the cavalry scoured the neighborhood. About noon they brought in two rebel officers. At night it commenced to rain, but we made ourselves as comfortable as possible.

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The next day, Friday, May 29th, we marched about eight o'clock, and found the road very rough as we advanced. Notwithstanding the rain, we pushed on to Breedingsville, fourteen miles from Columbia and sixteen from Burkesville, on the Cumberland river. Weary and wet, we sought shelter for the night in the out-buildings of a farm-house, while our cavalry scouts set out for the river.

The next day, May 30th, the scouts having returned, we turned our faces toward Columbia, which we reached between eleven and twelve o'clock in the evening, having marched forty-seven miles during our absence from camp, and captured twenty-five prisoners.

Meanwhile a serious accident had occurred at the camp. The armorer was repairing some guns. One, which was not supposed to be loaded, he put into the fire for some purpose, and the gun was discharged. The ball entered the tent of Quartermaster-Sergeant Joseph H. Sawyer, and

struck one of his knees. The wound was so severe that amputation was deemed necessary, and the operation was skilfully performed by Surgeon Prince.

Monday, June 1st, Colonel Bowman was assigned to the command of the brigade, which now consisted of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Seventeenth and Twenty-seventh Michigan regiments. That night we received orders to march, and at once proceeded to Jamestown, commonly called "Jimtown," on the Cumberland river. It was twenty miles from Columbia, and we reached the place about four o'clock Tuesday morning. We had hardly stacked arms on a wooded hillside near the town when a sharp skirmish fire was heard on the road at our right, and presently a squad of our cavalry dashed up the road toward the town, followed closely by a company of rebel horsemen. Our men were quickly in line of battle, under a ridge running parallel with the road, and Companies A and F were thrown out as skirmishers. But the rebels, at the first sight of our men, wheeled and made good their escape. They had evidently intended to make a dash into the town, but the timely arrival of our brigade was an unexpected episode in the morning's adventure.

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One of the rebels a citizen soon brought in as a prisoner. It was found that he had been thrown by his horse, and that the horse had escaped. The citizen met the rebel as he was crossing a brook, after losing his horse, and kindly offered to hold his gun—one of Colt's revolving rifles—until he was over. The rebel innocently handed the gun to the citizen, who at once informed him that he was his prisoner, and marched him into our camp. Colonel Bowman gave the citizen the rifle as a reward for his strategy. According to the prisoner, his party consisted of three hundred men. He was a conscript from East Tennessee, he said, and belonged to Pegram's command.

Upon assuming command of the new brigade, which had been formed in consequence of the reorganization of the division, Colonel Bowman appointed First Lieutenant Raymond as acting assistant inspector general, and Second Lieutenant Hodgkins as acting assistant adjutant general of the brigade. The last-named officer had performed the duties of adjutant of the regiment during the illness of Adjutant Ranlett, from January 19th, until his appointment upon the brigade staff, when the latter resumed his duties as adjutant.

We remained at Jamestown until Thursday, June 4th, when at noon, to the surprise of all, we received orders to proceed at once to Lebanon, which was sixty miles away, our nearest railroad connection with the North. Although we had had little or no rest for a week, in forty-eight consecutive hours, including halts and sleep, we made the sixty miles, arriving at Lebanon at noon, June 6th. And this long journey was accomplished in heavy marching order, under a scorching sun, and in dust which was almost insufferable.

As his limb had not sufficiently healed, we were obliged to leave Quartermaster-Sergeant Sawyer at Columbia. Private James E. Spear, of Company B, remained with him, and both eventually succeeded in reaching our lines in safety, having been paroled by John Morgan, who, with his cavalry, drove out our cavalry two days after we left.

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At Lebanon we learned that our destination was Vicksburg, Miss., Grant being in need of reinforcements. On the afternoon of the following day, June 7th, we took the cars for Louisville, where we arrived late at night, and the regiment was paid off in the depot. The next day we crossed the Ohio, by ferry, to Jacksonville, Ind. There cars were in waiting, and we proceeded to Cairo, Ill., by way of Seymour, Ind., and Sandoval, Ill. All the way we were received with kindest attentions, in many instances ladies remaining all night at the stations to serve us with refreshments, and cheer us with loyal words. We reached Cairo on the 9th of June.

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CHAPTER V. IN THE REAR OF VICKSBURG.

Late in the afternoon of Wednesday, June 10th, the fine steamer "Meteor," with the regiment (numbering about 760 officers and men), all its camp equipage, and horses, cast off from the levee at Cairo, and steamed down the river. The boat, though large, was somewhat crowded, and deeply laden. A large part of the regiment was quartered on the hurricane deck, which was the most comfortable part of the boat. The officers had the use of the state-rooms and the cabin, and had no reason to find fault with their accommodations.

Many of the regiment had provided themselves with little maps of the river, and, with true Yankee curiosity, studied the various points of interest with the skill and style of veteran tourists. And truly these points were not rare, for this region had already become famous in the war's history. Before sunset the boat had passed the battle-field of Belmont, Mo., the scene of General Grant's first battle of the war, and Columbus, Kentucky. At the latter place the boat was brought to by a shell across its bows, the captain, through neglect or ignorance, failing in compliance with the rules of the river to report to the commander of the place before passing. A short distance below Columbus the boat was moored to the shore for the night, it not being considered safe, at this season of low water, to move a heavily laden boat at night.

The following day passed somewhat slowly, the country through which the Mississippi winds being low, monotonous, and with few features of interest, Island No. 10 alone being worthy of note. Officers and men amused themselves in various ways,—reading, writing, cards, etc. All military duties being necessarily abandoned, it was a season of welcome rest to all.

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At nine o'clock P.M. the boat arrived at Memphis, Tenn., where it remained three days to await the remainder of the corps, which was delayed up the river. This time passed rather heavily. On two occasions the regiment landed, and the boat was thoroughly policed, the change serving as a rest for all. General Potter, with his staff, came aboard at Memphis. At six P.M. of June 14th the boat cast off, and steamed down the river until dark, and then lay to for the night. All day of the 15th moving rapidly South we reached Helena, Ark., where a brief landing was made for forage and provisions. At night the boat stopped near White River; and, being now in a thoroughly hostile region, a picket was posted on shore, Captain Sawyer, of Company H, being in command. Not long after dark, by some nervous sentry, an alarm was given, which proved needless. "All quiet on White River" was the watchword as the men lay down to rest for the night.

The fleet, on leaving Memphis, consisted of five heavily laden steamers, carrying the entire First Division of the corps, with all its artillery, baggage, and animals. As the river, at certain points, is narrow and densely wooded, affording excellent positions for ambuscades of hostile parties, a guard was mounted on the upper deck of each boat, with loaded rifles, and orders to scan the shore carefully at such points. This was called the "guerilla guard."

On the morning of the 16th, when the fleet got under way, a river gun-boat joined us as escort, bringing up the rear of the line. Its importance was soon felt by all. These boats were iron-clad, having roofs slanting like the gable-roof of a house, with port-holes, out of which grimly peeped the muzzles of some 10-pounder Parrott guns. About eleven A.M., while in the neighborhood of Columbus, Ark., the "Meteor," being in the van of the fleet, suddenly received from the western shore a sharp volley, the bullets striking the boat in several places, fortunately doing no serious injury. The boat following the "Meteor," at the same time, was also fired on, and was less fortunate, one man of the Seventeenth Michigan being wounded, and two horses killed. The gun-boat and the "guerilla guards" immediately opened a heavy fire. The enemy found the place rather hot, and soon their gray-clad forms could be seen running "helter-skelter" from their ambush. Whatever damage was done them we never knew; but it is doubtful if they all escaped the Minies and bursting shells which for a few minutes flew in volleys after them. This incident tended to vary the monotony of life on board, and the usual good fortune of the Thirty-sixth seemed to attend it still. Late in the afternoon the fleet arrived at Lake Providence, and remained over night. This place was famous for the feat of engineering which, by means of a short canal, had shortened the river very much, by diverting the channel from one of its great bends. The First Kansas and Sixteenth Wisconsin regiments were stationed here, and the Massachusetts boys were soon fraternizing with the hardy Western pioneers, armed in the same good cause.

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June 17th the boat entered the Yazoo river, and, at eleven A.M., arrived at Snyder's Bluff, where the regiment debarked, and then marched about four miles, passing Haines' Bluff. On every hand were fortifications crowned with cannon, encampments of troops, army wagons, etc., etc.

This day, to a part of the regiment, was one of peculiar import. Company B, of Charlestown, had in its ranks many who were lineal descendants of the men who made the 17th of June glorious in our history; and to them the booming of the cannon, heard from early in the day, was a grim reminder of many a holiday at Bunker Hill, where, to use a trite expression, "the day was ushered in with the ringing of bells and firing of guns."

The first impressions of the men upon landing, far from favorable, were never changed, except for the worse. In many places the soil was so dry and parched with the heat that it seemed to have cracked open like a blistered skin beneath the tropical rays of the sun. The wind blew hot from every point of the compass, bringing clouds of dust along with it. Gnats and flies made night hideous, and drove sleep from the weary. Venomous snakes and other reptiles infested the woods

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and thickets. Lizards soon became no novelty, and even the resort of keeping them out of one's boots, by wearing them day and night, would not prevent their crawling down one's back occasionally, causing a sensation like an animated icicle.

But these were minor inconveniences. It is not pleasant to have a thunder-squall burst almost from a clear sky and find the guys of one's tent slacked up for air. Any old soldier knows the result of such negligence. It means a sudden breaking up of house-keeping, and a wet day to move.

During the 18th, 19th, and part of the 20th of June, the regiment lay quietly in camp in a wood somewhere in the township of Milldale, a very pleasant and picturesque spot. The wild magnolia trees, now in full bloom, filled the air with their fragrance. From many of the trees hung the "Spanish moss," which was gathered in large quantities and used for beds, and it proved an agreeable variation from the hard, limestone beds of Kentucky. At three o'clock P.M., of June 20th, the regiment marched about three miles, and went into camp at a cross-road, which proved to be its permanent location during the rest of the siege of Vicksburg. The One Hundred and Fourteenth Illinois Regiment, which had been stationed here, gave way to the Thirty-sixth, and went down into the trenches at Vicksburg.

This point was considered an important one, and the camp of the regiment was arranged in a kind of semicircle, crossing the road leading to Vicksburg, with a strong picket thrown out for about a mile through the forest road which led to the Big Black river. Rifle-pits were dug, and trees cut away to give sweep for a long distance to the artillery. At this point Durrell's Battery of the First Division was placed in position commanding the different approaches. These precautions were rendered necessary by the presence of a large rebel force, under General Joe Johnston, just across the Big Black; and it appeared that to the Ninth Corps was assigned the important duty of watching him and protecting our men before Vicksburg from an attack in the rear. Grant's army, therefore, presented the singular and rather precarious military spectacle of facing in two directions, the one portion attacking Pemberton, shut up with over thirty thousand in Vicksburg, and the other facing Johnston, who, with a force estimated at between thirty and forty thousand, was manœuvring to break in and raise the siege. The latter was liable to be heavily reinforced at any moment, and there was no little anxiety in the mind of the commanding general lest this should come to pass.

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As the Thirty-sixth Regiment was not a part of the line attacking Vicksburg, it is not perhaps necessary to say much concerning the city and its defences.

The Mississippi river, about six miles above Vicksburg, bends suddenly to the north-east, runs in this direction six miles and then turns as suddenly to the south-west. By this bend in the river a tongue of land reaches out from the Louisiana shore, and near the end of this tongue, just below the bend, on the left bank of the river, stands Vicksburg, on a bluff of some two hundred feet or more in height. Being also higher than any ground in its rear, it was a position of unusual strength, completely controlling the river, though Admiral Porter had succeeded, with considerable loss, in running the batteries with a part of his fleet. Stretching away from Vicksburg to the north-east is a range of hills, called Walnut Hills, which terminate at Haines' Bluff, on the Yazoo river. Here the rebels had erected heavy batteries commanding the river, and had forced General Grant to approach Vicksburg from the south. In the great battles at Champion Hill, Raymond and Baker's Creek, Grant had succeeded in separating the forces of Pemberton and Johnston; and, following up the former, had driven him into Vicksburg, at this time getting possession of Haines' Bluff. This gave him a good base for supplies, and direct communication by river with the north. Before commencing a regular siege, it was determined to try and carry Vicksburg by assault. It was thought that the demoralized condition of Pemberton's army, whipped from place to place, would render them hopeless of success, and a long and tiresome siege be avoided. The commanding general, officers, and men, were all of one mind in this matter, and the soldiers were eager for the assault.

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On the 22d of May an attempt was made along the entire line to storm the city, but without success. The rebels, at last driven to desperation, and protected by their ramparts, fought well, and after heavy loss it was found impossible to break through at any part of their lines.

Regular approaches were now commenced by sappers, and General Grant, finding his ranks thinning by the severity of the trench service, the increasing heat of summer, and Johnston, with a large force, threatening his rear, called for reinforcements. Such, briefly, was the condition of affairs, and such were the reasons which found the Ninth Corps and the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts in their present position.

The history of the regiment for the fortnight ending with the fall of Vicksburg can be briefly written. It is a story of discomforts, from causes before enumerated, against which the men fortified themselves by all the means possible. Tents were made comparatively comfortable by cane-pole shades and beds of moss and grass. No duties were required except picket and such as were absolutely necessary. Parties were detailed from time to time to help dig rifle-pits, for it was thought best to be well prepared for any sudden and violent attack of Johnston. A large part of the line held by the Ninth Corps was fortified in this way. But the work was done as much as possible during the cooler parts of the day, morning and night. There was not a dress-parade of the regiment during the Mississippi campaign. Not much can be said of the rations, though they were, perhaps, as good as the men had been in the habit of receiving. On the 26th of June Quartermaster Francis B. Rice was discharged, and Lieutenant Cutter, of Company D, was appointed quartermaster.

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June 29th the whole First Division, with the exception of the Thirty-sixth Regiment and Durrell's

Battery, moved out several miles to the front, and the head-quarters of the brigade were about five miles distant. Company F was at this time on duty at corps head-quarters. Cases of sickness became more numerous every day. Captains Bailey, Sawyer, and Lieutenant Howe, were all sick at this time, the latter with small-pox, which he was supposed to have contracted in visiting a hospital at Memphis. He died July 7th. He was a graduate of Amherst College, where he achieved distinction in the department of mathematics. In character and conduct, during his connection with the regiment, he showed that he was a true man and a faithful soldier. When it became known that this dire disease had broken out among us there was much anxiety and alarm in the regiment, for the possibility of its spreading was great, and there was no way to meet it with usual precaution, the medical department being poorly supplied. A hospital was established at some distance from the regiment, and as soon as any man showed symptoms of the disease he was removed to it. In this way the spread of the disease was checked.

July 2d, burial service, with military honors, was performed over the remains of Private Boswell, of Company C, who died in the regimental hospital, July 1. Each day seemed to have some event of more or less importance to vary the monotony of camp life, which was now about to be disturbed by events of great moment, and from the dull routine of daily life to be changed to the more severe duties of the march and battle-field. Even now, in the distant North, the two great armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia, under Meade and Lee, were grappling with each other on the soil of Pennsylvania, and the fate of the nation was trembling in the balance on the slopes of Cemetery Ridge, at Gettysburg. Massachusetts was pouring out her blood freely on that now historic field, while far away, in the south-west, her sons stood ready to uphold her fame and carry her white flag, side by side with the stars and stripes, to victory. The moment pregnant with heroic effort and sacrifice was at hand.

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For a week prior to the 4th of July rumors of the impending surrender or storming of Vicksburg prevailed in the camp. The last extremity of famine was nearly reached by the beleaguered rebels, who boasted from their ramparts of the tenderness of mule steaks. No hope remained for them save from without, and Lee was too closely occupied with his movement into Pennsylvania to despatch any of his force to Pemberton's relief. Johnston clung to the east bank of the Big Black river. General McPherson's corps had pushed the lines of investment up under the very forts of the enemy, and there seemed to be nothing left but to carry their works by assault, or wait for famine to do its work. The roar of artillery was incessant. Day and night, with scarcely a moment's interval, the heavy booming of the siege guns was heard, and a thick cloud of smoke hung ever like a pall over the doomed city. If a rebel showed so much as a hand above the fortifications he became the target of our vigilant riflemen, and the enemy found it impossible to man and serve his artillery, so deadly was the fire. If morning revealed some place where the rebels had repaired the ramparts and brought some guns into position, ten minutes sufficed for our artillery utterly to destroy the work of the night. Their works were mined; but, wherever they suspected a mine, resort was had to countermining, and for a time spades were trumps at Vicksburg.

At three o'clock P.M., of July 3d, Generals Grant and Pemberton met under a flag of truce. Pemberton proposed that his army be allowed to march out with the honors of war, carrying their muskets and field-pieces, but leaving their heavy artillery. Grant smiled at this proposal. The interview terminated in an hour, with the understanding that Grant should send in his *ultimatum* before ten o'clock that night. This *ultimatum* was, that Pemberton should surrender Vicksburg with all its property, his officers being allowed to retain their side-arms, and the officers and men should be paroled as prisoners of war. It was accepted, and, on the morning of the 4th of July, General Logan's division of McPherson's corps took possession of the works of Vicksburg, the rebels marching out, stacked their arms, and laid their colors on the stacks. The Forty-fifth Illinois Regiment marched at the head of Logan's column, and placed its flag upon the Court-House. The magnitude of this victory is apparent from the fact that it comprised in its results 31,600 officers and men (2,153 of whom were officers, and 15 of these generals), munitions of war sufficient for an army of 60,000, 172 cannon, many locomotives, cars, and steamboats, and large quantities of cotton and other valuable merchandise.

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CHAPTER VI. THE MOVEMENT ON JACKSON.

Hardly had the news of the surrender become known to the regiment, however, before orders came to break camp and prepare for field service in light marching order.

This was in accordance with an order which General Sherman had received directing him to take his own corps, the Fifteenth, the Ninth Corps, to which was temporarily assigned General Smith's division of the Sixteenth Corps, and the Thirteenth Corps, now under General Ord, pursue Johnston, and capture or destroy his army. General Grant's order read as follows: "I want you to drive Johnston out in your own way, and inflict upon the enemy all the punishment you can. I will support you to the last man that can be spared."

Before ten o'clock A. M., July 4th, Sherman's army was in motion, and by various roads moving rapidly toward the Big Black river. Johnston, finding himself suddenly an object of particular interest, commenced a precipitate retreat toward Jackson, feebly disputing our advance in some places where the ground was favorable. Upon the receipt of marching orders the picket of the Thirty-sixth was hastily called in, and the regiment was soon on the march to overtake the brigade, which it did not do, however, until the next day.

A considerable part of the 6th was occupied by the regiment, and men of other regiments in the brigade, in constructing a bridge across the Big Black river at a place called Birdsongs Ferry. This was a good, strong piece of work, and over it a large part of the army passed in safety. General Ord's two divisions crossed at the railroad some distance below, and the Fifteenth Corps at Messenger's Bridge.

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From the 4th to the 10th of July the army pushed steadily on, overcoming many obstacles, skirmishing sharply day and night with Johnston's rear guard, and encountering sufferings from the heat and exposure to sun and tempest and malarial swamps, that are well-nigh indescribable. The rebels, as they retreated, poisoned the wells, or killed animals in the ponds or streams, their putrid carcasses rendering the water unfit for use. Such acts only reacted upon themselves, for it enraged the army from the commanding general down to the private soldier, and they would have saved themselves the pillage and devastation that marked our line of march, had they adopted the rules of honorable warfare. But it seemed, in their case, as if the old proverb was true, that "whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

The rapid advance of the army made it impossible for the supply-trains to keep up, and for days the rations consisted of the unripe corn, roasted in the husks. All fared alike, officers and men. The tents and all the baggage, save blankets, had been left behind, and, during this campaign of three weeks, the regiment slept with the sky for a canopy, exposed to the deadly night-air and frequent tempests. Nights when no humane man would drive a dog out of doors found this entire army in the open field. Late in the afternoon of July 7th, while on the march, a thunder-storm burst upon us that no man of this regiment, then present, will ever forget, and one that the natives call the severest known in that region for years. The storm came apparently from all directions, and lasted over two hours. The lightning struck all around, and the roar of thunder was incessant. The horses became terrified, and officers were forced to dismount and lead them. The mud was ankle-deep, and finally impeded the movement of the artillery, which stuck in the roads up to the hubs and blocked the passage of the infantry. About 10 P.M. the storm lulled, and the regiment went into bivouac in an open field, and the men were ordered to make themselves comfortable. Then came a second edition of the storm,—if possible, worse than the first,—and there, shelterless in that open field, the boys stood in grim despair and let it pelt. Finally, with the stolid indifference of desperation the men laid down in the mud of that old stubble-field and made themselves comfortable. But all things come to an end, and so at last did the storm, when the field was quickly ablaze with camp-fires, and a dipper of hot coffee, innocent of milk or sugar, revived the spirits of the men.

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Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, is situated on the west or right bank of the Pearl river, in a very fertile and pleasant region. Being at the juncture of the Vicksburg and Meridian and Mississippi Central Railroads, it is a position of great strategical importance. The State House, which cost half a million dollars, Executive Mansion, State Lunatic Asylum, and Penitentiary are the principal buildings; but being the seat of government, as well as a considerable commercial mart, there are many fine residences in the town and its suburbs. The site of the town itself is rather level, but back of it the country is undulating and well adapted for defence. It was expected that Johnston had been preparing for the present emergency, and had fortified the place extensively. The moral effect of the loss of the town would be great, and the idea was quite prevalent that it would be desperately defended. Indeed, as the army approached it, the more stubborn resistance of Johnston's forces indicated that they intended to dispute possession of their capital.

In the afternoon of July 10th the Ninth Corps came out into open country in sight of the town. As the different regiments and batteries debouched from the woods the colors were unfurled. It was a beautiful sight, that "battle's magnificently stern array." The sun was about an hour high, and its slanting rays glanced brightly from the muskets and the brass field-pieces. A gentle breeze stirred the silken folds of the standards, and made them float proudly and defiantly. Conspicuous among them could be seen the white flag of Massachusetts, carried by the Twenty-ninth, Thirty-fifth, and Thirty-sixth regiments. Sloping away in front was the valley along which extends the

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track of the Mississippi Central Railroad. Beyond, the ground rose gradually for about an eighth of a mile, and the crest was crowned with a dense wood, in the edge of which could be seen the rebel gray uniforms, and the gleaming of bayonets. The lines were formed. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts held the extreme right of the First Division, having on its left the remainder of the First Brigade, the Seventeenth and Twenty-seventh Michigan, and the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania deployed as skirmishers along the entire brigade front. On the right was Smith's division of the Sixteenth Corps, and connecting with the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts was the Forty-sixth Ohio. What a glorious sight! The old Bay State, with Ohio on her right, and Michigan on her left, Pennsylvania leading, about to close in conflict with Mississippi, and far away on the right stretch the dark blue lines of Sherman's veterans, famous in later times from "Atlanta to the Sea." And now there was a pause, a silence that was ominous. Meanwhile, the intervals were closed, and alignments rectified. Curiously we peered into the distant wood, wondering whether it masked the rebel artillery. Where could they find a better place to use grape and canister? In the rear the splendid battery of the First Division was preparing for action. Lieutenant Benjamin's famous twenty-pounder rifled Parrotts, Battery E, Second United States Artillery, whose iron throats had carried dismay and death into the rebel ranks in other fields, far away in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, were about to speak. Breathlessly all awaited the puff and the angry flash. It came, and over the valley, with a scream and whir-r-r, was hurled the iron messenger of death. It struck exactly on the crest of the hill, and exploded. Scarcely had the reverberation ceased, when the order was passed along the line: "Battalion forward! Guide centre, march!" With a simultaneous movement the lines advanced, slowly at first, but more rapidly as they approached the railroad. Behind us the Parrotts were talking in thunder tones that shook the very earth, and the shells were screaming overhead. The gallant Forty-fifth crossed the railroad, and their thin line was soon seen pushing up the hill. The Thirty-sixth followed in steady line of battle. The suspense was awful. Why don't they open fire? On the rebel side, save a few scattering Minies, that sang harmlessly by, all was silent. Suddenly the men became enthusiastic. With a "Hurrah," the men rushed up the hill. The rebels fired a scattering volley, and fell back upon their second line. The wood was gained, and with no loss. A few moments sufficed to re-form the lines, which again moved forward, passing the State Lunatic Asylum,—a large, white marble building, whose inmates, wild with the excitement of the unusual scene, raved at the regiment from the iron-barred corridors. A guard was placed upon the building, to protect the unfortunates. The lines moved cautiously forward, until the skirmishers were checked, and the rebel line developed. But the shades of night were now darkening the landscape, and orders were received to establish a strong picket, and hold the position until morning. Weary with the march and exciting close of the day, all gladly improved the opportunity for rest, laid down with loaded rifles by their side, or gathered in groups, and discussed the events of the day, or speculated upon the morrow. And some, alas! laid down that night to happy sleep, who, ere another came, were lying in a soldier's grave. Save occasional sharp firing by the pickets, the night passed quietly.

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At three o'clock A.M. of the 11th the men were noiselessly aroused, and coffee, prepared by the company cooks, was served out. With the earliest streak of dawn the lines again moved forward, and the skirmishing opened sharply. The rebels yielded ground stubbornly, but were forced back into their main line of defence,—a formidable work constructed of cotton bales. Here they opened a heavy fire of grape and canister, against which it was impossible to advance. But not an inch was yielded. The brigade laid flat on the ground, and the iron storm passed over, doing little damage. The line was formed in a wood, in front of which was an open field, the other side of which, about two hundred yards distant, was held by the rebels, and their riflemen were in trees, picking off our men, wherever exposed. The skirmishers of the Forty-sixth Ohio suffered considerable loss, being less sheltered by the wood than those of our brigade. Nothing farther could be done until artillery could be brought up; but the ground was unfavorable for it, and matters came to a pause.

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Lieutenant Benjamin reconnoitred the ground and the position of the enemy, but could not find any position which gave him room to work his guns. All day the regiment lay under a constant and galling fire awaiting orders.

Companies A and F were sent out to skirmish, relieving the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. Captain Draper was ordered to connect with the skirmishers of Smith's division, who were said to be in position in a wood at our right, and several hundred yards to the front. In our own front was an open field, sloping toward the enemy's position. The two companies promptly deployed, and went forward on the double-quick, driving in the rebel pickets, only to find that the line supposed to be General Smith's skirmishers was the rebel main line. They opened fire, killing two and wounding six of Company F, who, with Company A, returned the fire. Seeing that some mistake had been made, and to prevent needless sacrifice, Captain Draper ordered a retreat, halting at a point midway between the enemy's line and our own, where the ground afforded some protection. Here the two companies held their position nearly all day until relieved.

The rebels during this time were unable to send out any more pickets, owing to our fire; but several adventurous men among them tried to observe our movements, and take an occasional shot by climbing trees inside their lines. Our boys had the good fortune to bring two or three of them to the ground during the day, Sergeant Daniel Wright, afterwards lieutenant, making one of the successful shots. The loss in Company F was two killed and six wounded. George H. Ellis, of Milford, one of the killed, was shot through the breast. This young man, the only son of a widowed mother, was a favorite in his company and with all who knew him. He had been acting as clerk at head-quarters until just prior to the commencement of this movement, and by his cheerful and gentlemanly conduct had won the regard of all the officers there. His death was deplored by all. Amos Hoyt was also killed, shot through the stomach. O. Howard, James Smith,

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T. L. Ellsworth, J. C. Higgins, D. Perham, and E. W. Anson, were wounded. Company A, being less exposed, met with no loss, though it also received a heavy fire from the rebel sharpshooters.

This loss in Company F can only be considered as an unnecessary one. No impression was made upon the enemy; the main line was not advanced, for the First Division was now close upon the enemy, and any advance would have brought on a general engagement, which, it seems, General Sherman did not desire. There was evidently some misunderstanding between Generals Sherman and Parke, for the latter had made all his disposition for an assault on the morning of the 11th. This may have been caused by the check met with by the Thirteenth Corps, on the right. One division of this corps, General Lauman's, had been roughly handled, and repulsed with a loss of over five hundred men and some colors. The position of Johnston's forces was stronger than had been expected, and his troops fought well. There was much anxiety on the part of both Colonel Bowman, commanding the brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Norton, commanding the Thirty-sixth Regiment, when Companies A and F were ordered out without supports, and only positive orders prevented Colonel Norton from going out with his regiment to the support of these companies when it was learned what their position was. If a reconnaissance was the object it was eminently successful; but otherwise the brave advance of Company F can only be cited as a proof of the good fighting qualities of the men, and a credit to their discipline.

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The skirmishers upon the right of the First Brigade were not more than two rods in advance of the position held by the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, and it was with this line that Companies A and F were to connect. There were some very dangerous intervals between the different brigades, considering the near proximity of the rebel force, and only good luck, or the concealment afforded by the woods, prevented their being observed and taken advantage of by the enemy.

Toward night a thunder-squall came up, and for over an hour the battle raged with even greater fury, the booming of man's artillery seeming to vie with Heaven's. It was a perfect pandemonium of sound. The rain fell in torrents, the lightning flashed, thunder pealed incessantly, and shot and shell from the rebel guns fell and burst around. It seemed as if "man fought on earth, and fiends in upper air." At four P.M. Companies A and F were relieved by E and K. The latter had hardly taken position when they were handsomely charged upon by the rebel skirmishers, who were as handsomely repulsed, Captain Warriner being in command of the picket. That night the men lay on their arms quietly, and on the morning of the 12th the brigade was relieved by a brigade of the Second Division, and marched to the rear, taking a position near the Lunatic Asylum.

The movement now settled down into the nature of a siege. General Sherman, being desirous of saving life, resolved upon regular approaches by rifle-pits to force a surrender of the city. During the 12th and 13th the regiment lay quietly in the rear, resting and keeping as cool as possible in the shelter of a piece of wood. Occasionally the rebels would throw a thirty-two pound shot over into our neighborhood, creating some excitement, but doing no harm.

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On the 14th and 15th the regiment was again at the front, and occupied the rifle-pits, Major Goodell being in command. No loss was suffered during these two days, the men having good shelter and having learned not to expose themselves unnecessarily. The heaviest fighting seemed to be upon the extreme right, the lines of investment having the Pearl river on both flanks.

Some exciting incidents occurred, from time to time, to vary the monotony. One day the men of the Second Michigan lost their temper; and with the idea, perhaps, of taking Jackson alone, made a gallant charge, breaking through two lines of rebels, greatly to the astonishment of the second line, whose arms were stacked and the men here and there, not expecting callers. Not being supported, they were compelled to fall back, which they did, very coolly, bringing their killed and wounded.

Even a battle is not without its laughable side. One day, while the regiment was in reserve, the men occupied in various ways to kill time, suddenly shouting and firing were heard on the right. The noise rapidly increased and approached, and, its cause being doubtful, the men fell in on the stacks. Presently there came dashing along a black pig, one of the semi-wild species which wander about in this region, and had rashly approached the lines, not being aware that pork was a favorite dish. He met with a warm reception. A sharp fusillade was opened upon him, and piggy fell, covered with glory, having almost attained the honor of breaking through the lines of the Fifteenth Corps. Ere the echo of his dying squeal had fairly ceased he was broiling in steaks over the camp-fires.

July 12th news was received of the fall of Port Hudson, the battle of Gettysburg, and the defeat of Lee. The cheering along the lines was deafening, and the drooping spirits of all were roused by the glorious tidings. Early on the morning of the 13th the rebels made a sudden and vigorous sortie in front of Colonel Griffin's command. They were repulsed with severe loss, and did not repeat the attempt.

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On the 16th General Potter, with the Second Division and Smith's division, made a reconnaissance. They advanced until the enemy opened heavily with shell and canister, when they fell back, having accomplished the desired end of discovering the exact position and strength of the enemy. This day General Sherman received a large supply of ammunition, of which he had run very short, and it was determined to bombard the works and assault them on the 17th; but during the night the enemy's artillery and wagons could be distinctly heard moving through the town, and, when morning dawned, a white flag was seen on the rebel earthworks. General Ferrero's brigade, in which was the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, entered Jackson, placed guards over the public property, and sent out parties to pick up stragglers from the retreating rebels. One thirty-two pounder was found in their works, about one thousand stand of arms, and

a large quantity of munitions of war. One officer and one hundred and thirty-seven men were captured. The railroad depot, and a few buildings containing public property, were destroyed. The flag of the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts waved from the dome of the capitol of Mississippi.

General Johnston, in his "Narrative" (page 209), says his army retreated east, to Brandon, where some soldiers, who had been asleep when he evacuated Jackson rejoined him late in the day, "and reported that at the time they left Jackson, at seven or eight o'clock, the enemy had not discovered his [Johnston's] retreat." This is incorrect. In the report of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, 1863, the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts reports as follows: "*At about daylight*, discovering that the enemy's works were evacuated, moved forward," etc. The writer of these pages recorded, in a diary written on the spot, the following: "*At daylight* this morning the Second Division, being in front, heard loud cheering, and learned that the rebels had evacuated Jackson." In a letter written home at the time, I also find these words: "*At six o'clock* this morning it was found that the enemy had abandoned Jackson, and General Ferrero's brigade *at once* entered the city." Certainly this should dispose of the charge of lack of vigilance on our part. It seems that these men did not report how they got across Pearl river, the bridges of which were destroyed by Johnston's rear guard before daylight, and if they were not aroused by their own comrades movements it is not very strange that the retreat was not discovered by our pickets. In this engagement Johnston had about 28,000 by his own admission,^[3] though the rebel Secretary of War reported his force at 34,000. Johnston reported his army drawn from different commands, as follows: From Pemberton, 9,831; Bragg, 7,939; Beauregard, 6,283; in all, 24,053. He also had a force of about 2,500 cavalry under General Jackson. These figures are no doubt nearly correct. The lines around Jackson were defended by these troops in four divisions,—the right, under General Loring, extending from Pearl river to the Canton road; General Walker's division, from the Canton road to across the Clinton road; General French's division, from the Clinton road to the New Orleans Railroad, and the left, under General Breckenridge, extended from the railroad to the river. That part of the line held by General Walker was in front of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts.

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[3] Johnston's "Narrative," page 195.

General Johnston reported his loss in the battle 71 killed, 504 wounded, and 25 missing. As we captured 138 prisoners, there seems to be a wide discrepancy between their *missing* and our *captures*. It is, therefore, quite probable that the rebel losses were much greater than their general admits in killed and wounded.

The losses on our part, according to General Sherman's report, were as follows: Thirteenth Corps, 762 killed wounded, and missing; Ninth Corps, 37 killed, 258 wounded, 33 missing; Fifteenth Corps, a few; number not stated. General Sherman also adds that he captured, in all, over 1,000 prisoners during the battle. These captures must have been made by the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Corps. The latter, Sherman's own corps, consisted of the First and Third Divisions, under Generals Steele and Tuttle, and held the centre; the Thirteenth Corps, as before remarked, being on the right. Why this fine corps, the Fifteenth, was held back, and allowed to take so little part in this battle, as is evident from their slight loss, is among the mysteries of the war. The battle seemed to be one of disjointed attacks, first in one place and then another. It was the general opinion among the officers that a simultaneous and vigorous assault of Johnston's lines on the first day of the fight would have carried them. It is possible that General Sherman feared to risk the consequences of a repulse so far from any base or reinforcements. The movement up to the attack upon Jackson was a bold one, and boldly pushed. Much dissatisfaction was expressed that an affair that might have been settled in a day should have dragged along a week in this most trying season of the year for such work. General Johnston felt well satisfied to be able to draw off his army safely from what might have been made a second Vicksburg.

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It was hoped that the capture of Jackson would be the close of the campaign, the impolicy of pursuing a demoralized enemy further at this season being apparent to all. But there was hard work yet to do. Scarcely was it known that the city was in possession of our forces ere marching orders were received, and together with the other regiments of the First Division the Thirty-sixth marched about eight miles north, to a place called Grant's Mills, where we bivouacked for the night. Early on Saturday, the 18th, we marched five miles and struck the Mississippi Central Railroad. During this day and until ten A.M. of the 19th the regiment was engaged in destroying this railroad. Tough work it would have been, even in the coolest weather and under the most favorable circumstances; but under a burning July sun, with no shelter, the work was terribly exhausting. The method of proceeding was to tear up the rails and lay them crosswise with alternate rows of sleepers. When a pile was built as high as the rails could be lifted, a fire was kindled beneath, and the rails, red-hot, were warped and ruined by the weight of the mass of rails and sleepers above. Another way was to heat the middle of a rail red hot and twist it around a tree. In this way about ten miles of this railroad were destroyed by the division in two days, rendering a main line of transportation useless and seriously crippling the rebel communications.

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At noon of the 19th, after setting fire to a depot which burned like a tinder-box, we commenced the return march to Jackson. The fatigues and sufferings of this march were partially forgotten in the glad tidings which there awaited us, that the Ninth Corps was under orders to proceed North at once.

At three A.M., July 20th, the regiment was on the march, and with the exception of a halt from eleven A.M. to three P.M. marched till dark, in all a distance of eighteen miles.

In recalling this day and the one following no man of the Thirty-sixth can fail to be overcome with the memories to which it will give rise. The regiment was a mere wreck. When it halted for the

night, on the 20th, one man of Company E dropped down and died of exhaustion, and while on the march one of Company H died from the same cause in an ambulance. When the regiment halted at noon of the 21st it did not stack one hundred guns, and, for no apparent reason whatever, on these two days, the regiment marched a distance of thirty-two miles. The heat and dust were overpowering, and officers forgot all discipline and straggled with the rest. The ambulance and teams were crowded with exhausted men. At nine P.M. of the 21st the regiment halted about a mile from the Big Black river, bivouacking in a cornfield; a delightful place in some respects, because lying between the hills one could not easily roll out of bed, and the savory diet on which the regiment had regaled for about three weeks could be picked in all its luxuriance from the bed-posts. The single objection to cornstalks two or three inches in diameter for bedding is that they have a depressing influence upon the bones of the hips and back.

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July 22d the regiment did not move until noon, and then only four miles, crossing the Big Black river, and camped in a shady wood, with plenty of water at hand. It appeared to have dawned upon some one in command of this division or corps that there is a limit to man's endurance. July 23d *reveillé* was sounded at two A.M. and, marching at four, we pushed on rapidly, the day being unusually comfortable, and at eleven o'clock A.M., after a march of fourteen miles, arrived at the old camp at Milldale.

The condition of the regiment at this time was miserable indeed. Sixteen cases of small-pox and varioloid, three being officers, were under treatment, and the regimental hospital was filled with sick. The adjutant's morning report of July 24th was as follows: 6 officers and 98 men present sick, and 63 men absent in hospitals, 25 officers and 343 men present for duty.

It was a season of general depression among all, and the only thing to relieve the gloom was the prospect of a speedy departure for the North,—an event most anxiously awaited and desired. To add to the general discouragement, a number of officers of the regiment who had resigned received their discharge. Colonel Bowman, Lieutenant-Colonel Norton, and Lieutenants Tucker and Holbrook left for the North August 2d, making six officers lost to the regiment since its arrival in Mississippi. Major Goodell took command of the regiment July 30th. The resignation of Colonel Bowman left the brigade in command of Colonel David Morrison, of the Seventy-ninth New York "Highlanders," and the brigade was now composed of the Seventy-ninth New York, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Eighth and Seventeenth Michigan, and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts,—the entire brigade numbering hardly five hundred men fit for service.

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CHAPTER VII. THE RETURN TO KENTUCKY.

The days between our arrival at Milldale and the departure for the North were devoted to rest and recruiting the shattered strength of the men. Never was rest so welcome, never so necessary, as now. Various diseases prevailed. Mumps and chills and fever spread rapidly, and it is safe to say that there was not an officer or man in the regiment who could call himself well and hearty. Whiskey, doctored with quinine, was served out at this time as a protection against chills. Although it was of the genuine "lightning" brand "commissary" it probably did little good, the mischief being already done, and the "ounce of prevention" came too late.

August 2d all the sick who could be moved were sent off to a hospital boat, and Surgeon Prince went in charge of them. On this day also the following Special Order was received from General Grant:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, July 31st, 1863.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 207.

In returning the Ninth Corps to its former command, it is with pleasure that the general commanding acknowledges its valuable services in the campaign just closed. Arriving at Vicksburg opportunely, taking position to hold at bay Johnston's army, then threatening the forces investing the city, it was ready and eager to assume the aggressive at any moment. After the fall of Vicksburg it formed a part of the army which drove Johnston from his position near the Big Black river into his entrenchments at Jackson, and, after a siege of eight days, compelled him to fly in disorder from the Mississippi valley. The endurance, valor, and general good conduct of the Ninth Corps are admired by all, and its valuable coöperation in achieving the final triumph of the campaign is gratefully acknowledged by the Army of the Tennessee. Major-General Parke will cause the different regiments and batteries of his command to inscribe upon their banners and guidons "Vicksburg and Jackson."

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By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.
T. S. BOWERS, *A. A. General.*

At eight o'clock A.M., August 4th, orders were received to break camp and proceed to the landing. Never was an order obeyed with more joy and alacrity than this. The regiment was quickly on the march, and, though the day was hot and the road dusty, the march of seven miles was cheerfully borne, for we could not be sufficiently thankful to get away from Mississippi. Upon arriving near the landing, it was found that the boats had not arrived, but were taking in fuel at Vicksburg, and another night must be spent here. A worse, more uncomfortable night the regiment did not experience in Mississippi. As if to improve their last opportunity, swarms of gnats, of the most savage description, attacked the regiment, and few will ever forget that sleepless night. It was indeed a fitting close of the campaign.

The boat arrived in the night, and the forenoon of the 5th was employed in loading her with the baggage, horses, and guns, of Battery E, Second United States. At three o'clock P.M. the regiment marched aboard the fine steamer "Hiawatha," in company with the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Twenty-seventh Michigan, and the regulars of Battery E, which crowded the boat most uncomfortably, though her accommodations were large. About four P.M. the boat cast off, and, steaming down the Yazoo, entered the Mississippi at sunset, and as her course was directed northward a worn but happy band of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts laid down to rest, thankful, after all their trials, to have been spared through that short but fatal campaign.

All night of the 5th the boat moved slowly North, being very heavily laden, and her crowded condition made it very tedious for all. Late in the afternoon of the 6th the boat passed Columbus, Ark., noteworthy as the place where the regiment received a "guerilla" salute, on its way down the river.

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August 7th, all day we were moving slowly up river, and at sunset we stopped about twenty minutes at Helena, Ark., for provisions.

We arrived at Memphis on the forenoon of the 8th, and the men were landed on an island a short distance above the city, where they remained while the boat was thoroughly cleansed, and at five P.M., we reëmbarked, and were off again. August 9th was Sunday, and in the forenoon divine services were held by the chaplain of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. Private M. H. Fay, of Company G, died this day on board, and at night the boat stopped at New Madrid, Mo., while his body was buried ashore.

Monday, August 10th, at nine o'clock A.M., two months to a day from the time the regiment left Cairo, it arrived there and landed, glad enough to step once again on Northern soil. Late in the afternoon the regiment was transferred to cars of the Illinois Central Railroad, rode all night, all the next day, and late in the evening reached Vincennes. All along the road the troops were received with great enthusiasm. The well-known old Ninth Corps, fresh from its new triumphs, received the cordial greeting of a grateful people. This was most gratifying to the soldiers, and partially repaid them for their sufferings. Flowers were literally showered by fair ladies upon the

bronzed veterans, collations were provided wherever the cars stopped, and the course of the regiment through Illinois was one continuous ovation.

At noon, August 12th, the regiment arrived at Cincinnati, and after a bountiful collation at the Fifth-street Market, provided by generous citizens, we crossed the river to Covington, Ky., and went into quarters in some barracks. The baggage was delayed, and many of the officers slept this night on as soft a board as they could find, with no covering, and did not suffer with the heat.

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Major Goodell, having left for home "on leave" for twenty days, the regiment was now under command of Captain Barker, of Company A. For four days the regiment lay in camp at Covington, and had its first dress-parade for a period of three months. The adjutant's walk from the right to the centre was a very short one.

Every day the effect of the southern campaign was shown in the increasing number of the sick. Many were sent to hospitals, and the regiment rapidly decreased. Chills and fever were most prevalent, and a disease similar to scurvy broke out, and caused the death of several, whose flesh actually fell from their limbs before death relieved them from their sufferings. All complained of a feeling of exhaustion, and officers and men dragged themselves painfully and slowly about the camp.

Of the officers who had been left behind on account of sickness two died. Second Lieutenant Frederick H. Sibley, of Company A, died in hospital at Louisville, Ky., August 17th. He had been commissioned First Lieutenant, but died before receiving his commission. Captain Christopher S. Hastings, of Company I, died September 8th, in hospital at Mound City, Ill. Both were true, faithful men, and their loss was deeply lamented.

August 17th the regiment took cars, and, after riding all night, arrived at Nicholasville at daylight. Marching out about three miles from the town, we encamped in a fine shady grove, with plenty of water at hand. Here we remained ten days, and enjoyed a most welcome rest.

The paymaster arrived, and paid off the regiment, August 19th, and more than \$3,000 of their pay was sent to Worcester, by the men, for their families. Dr. Bryant, the only surgeon present, being sick, the surgeon of the Seventy-ninth New York was detailed to attend the sick of the Thirty-sixth.

The regimental musicians, from the ravages of small-pox and other diseases, were now all gone, and for a time it became necessary to obtain the services of musicians of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania to sound the calls for the Thirty-sixth.

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August 27th *reveillé* sounded at three A.M., and at half-past five the regiment was on the march, a large number being left behind, too weak to march. We passed through Bryantsville at half-past nine o'clock A.M., and when the regiment halted for a rest, at ten o'clock, it stacked ninety-eight muskets.

One year ago this day the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts was mustered into the United States service, 1,040 strong. At eleven o'clock we went into camp, at Camp Dick Robinson where the regiment was encamped in the spring.

August 28th we were early on the march, and a very hard one it was for what was left of the regiment, and that was not much. We marched eleven miles, passing through Lancaster with colors flying, and the regiment stacked sixty-eight guns, when it halted at noon four miles beyond Lancaster.

This bare fact seems to render needless all further comment as to the condition of the regiment. It was no longer a regiment, but a worn and weary band, a squad of each company struggling on, fighting bravely against fatigue, and heat, and illness. But what was now left may well be called the very heart and soul of the Thirty-sixth,—men who had never flinched; who had borne all, thus far, cheerfully and bravely, with indomitable spirit. Very many were gone; but enough still remained to guard the colors, to escort them on many a long and weary march, and carry them in the front of many a battle yet to come.

August 29th the march was continued about six miles, to Crab Orchard, where the regiment encamped in the edge of a wood, and remained until September 10th. This brief period was occupied in various camp duties, and preparations for an active campaign, for the corps was under marching orders for Tennessee, and this halt was only to allow the remainder of the corps to come up. Each day there were drills and dress-parade, and men who had been left behind were constantly rejoining the regiment until it began again to present quite a respectable front.

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Saturday, September 5th, the regiment was inspected by Captain Simcoe, Division Inspector General, and the report thereon was briefly: "Equipments much worn, and clothing poor, but muskets in fine order." With the cooler weather of autumn, better rations, and rest from fatiguing marches, the men rapidly improved in health and spirits. Crab Orchard is quite a favorite resort of the people of Kentucky, and is celebrated for its mineral springs, and as a very healthy region. Whether the men tried the waters of the springs or not the writer cannot say; they certainly were not delectable to the taste, and it is very doubtful whether they were used medicinally. Twenty very happy men left here for home, on a furlough for twenty days, greatly envied by their comrades.

It was long ere any of these rejoined the regiment, and some never returned. Lieutenant-Colonel Goodell, having exchanged the golden leaves of Major, for the well-earned silver leaves, rejoined the regiment, August 31st, and was heartily welcomed, as was also Major Draper, upon whom the golden leaves had deservedly fallen, and who returned September 9th, with Dr. J. H. Prince.

CHAPTER VIII. IN EAST TENNESSEE.

At an early hour in the morning of September 10th, the familiar call of "assembly" sounded once more. Camp was quickly broken, and at eight o'clock the regiment was on the march for Tennessee. Having the head of the column we did not find the march a severe one, though the roads were rough; and at five o'clock P.M., after a tramp of eleven miles, we halted for the night at Mount Vernon. More than one hundred and fifty of the regiment were left at Crab Orchard on the sick list, too feeble to march, but most of them rapidly gaining strength; and if the regiment could have remained there a week longer many of them would have been in the ranks again, for active service.

September 11th *reveillé* was sounded at half-past three o'clock A.M., and we marched at five. The sun was hot and the roads rough; country mountainous, and thinly settled. We marched fifteen miles, and at night bivouacked on the bank of Little Rockcastle river. A courier from General Burnside brought stirring news from the front, of the capture of Cumberland Gap, and its garrison of over two thousand rebels.

September 12th the regiment marched eight miles, and went into camp at noon. A severe thunder-shower came up at night; the baggage being far behind, and the field and staff without any tents, Lieutenant Tuttle, in charge of the division ambulance corps, kindly provided a tent for the use of the head-quarters.

September 13th, Sunday, we lay quietly in camp,—a very welcome rest,—for the men were getting very footsore from the rough Kentucky roads. It would be hard to find worse ones even in rocky New England.

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September 14th we were on the march at five A.M., and moving rapidly until after one P.M., a distance of fourteen miles. Between eleven and twelve o'clock the regiment halted by the roadside and witnessed the passage under guard of the rebel prisoners captured at Cumberland Gap. They numbered about twenty-two hundred, and consisted of the Sixty-second and Sixty-fourth North Carolina, Fifty-ninth Georgia, and a Virginia regiment of infantry and some artillery. It was generally conceded that they were a very forlorn-looking set, and would fare much better as prisoners than as fire-eaters. General Frazer, their commander, was with them, riding in an ambulance. It appeared that they had been led to believe that the Ninth Corps had surrounded them, and they were much disgusted to find they had surrendered to the Twenty-third Corps, which was composed of new troops.

Between sunrise and noon of the 15th we marched fourteen miles, and encamped at Barboursville, on the Cumberland river. Before marching this morning, a detail of three officers (Captain Holmes, Lieutenants Hodgkins and Davis), and six men left us, for the purpose of returning to Massachusetts, and bringing out the conscripts assigned to the Thirty-sixth Regiment, according to orders received at Nicholasville.

September 16th the regular order for some days had been *reveillé* at half-past three and move at five A.M., and this day was no exception to the rule. The march was slow and quite easy,—only ten miles. The regiment was in camp by ten o'clock A.M., and had a good long day to rest.

There is very little level ground in Eastern Kentucky, and the luck of the regiment seemed to be to camp on side-hills, where some care had to be exercised to avoid rolling off. To prevent sliding down hill endwise, a log or rail was laid at the foot of the tent and secured. This proved a very good foot-board. We remained at this place until the 19th, and the paymaster arrived. No person was more welcome in camp, or received such general attention. The adjutant gave checks, on the city banks of Worcester, for the large sum of \$3,917.50. This fact is very creditable, and a good index of the solid, frugal character of the men, who, though their wants were numerous and our popular sutler was present with a good stock, did not forget the little family of loved ones at home; but in many cases, to the writer's knowledge, sent home their hard-earned pay to the last dollar.

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September 18th it rained in torrents all day, and seemed very much like the equinoctial storm. The order to march at six this morning was countermanded, though the regiment was up at half-past four o'clock, and all ready.

September 19th, on the march at six A.M. The roads were badly washed by the storm, or rather the places where the roads were; for they could be called little better than cow-paths. We crossed the Cumberland river at Cumberland ford, and encamped at noon. The weather began to be cold and raw as we approached the high region of the Cumberland mountains.

Sunday, September 20th, as usual we were in line at six A.M., and marched until noon, much of the distance up hill, a rather toilsome march of nine miles. Passed through Cumberland Gap at half-past eleven A.M., and encamped in Tennessee at noon. The march was relieved of much of its tediousness by the grandeur of the scenery. As the regiment moved from one height to another of the ranges of hills the scene in every direction was magnificent; and when, at length, the Gap was reached, there was an universal expression of admiration. Standing in the Gap is a large, square, white stone, of the native limestone, which marks the corner boundaries of three States, and at this point the view is grand; the ranges of hills and the valleys of Tennessee stretching away as far as the eye could reach, the great Smoky range of North Carolina bounding

the southern horizon. It seemed incredible to all that this place, a perfect Gibraltar, should have been surrendered as it was. Fortified extensively with bomb-proofs, having only a narrow, winding approach on either side, it seemed as if a few resolute men could hold it against an army. And so they could; but, alas for the South, Frazer was no Leonidas!

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Between five A.M. and five P.M. of the 21st, with a rest of two hours at noon, the regiment marched nineteen miles, and camped near the Clinch river. We passed through Tazewell, a considerable town, but showing signs of its recent occupation by the rebel and Union troops alternately. The absence of the top rails in this region was especially remarked, now that the season for evening camp-fires had arrived.

A long march of twenty-two miles was made on the 22d (a mile for every day of the month), and during the day the Clinch and Holston rivers were forded. This was a very interesting sight, especially to those who had got safely over and looked back to see some luckless wader lose his footing and take an involuntary bath, which, the water being shallow, was attended with no great peril. The bare-legged "Highlanders" seemed to enjoy the temporary necessity for their native costume. The line of march this day was through the most attractive part of East Tennessee. No State in the Union can boast of more beautiful scenery, and the regiment must have been inspired by it; for though one of the longest day's marches on its record, up hill and down and across broad rivers, there was no straggling, and the entire command stacked arms at sunset at Morristown, Tennessee, on the line of the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad.

On the 23d and 24th the regiment made an unnecessary march of twenty miles, owing to the blunder of a telegraph operator, and at ten A.M. of the 24th reëntered Morristown, where it was found that the division had gone to Knoxville, and the Thirty-sixth was ordered to remain and garrison the town in company with the Twelfth Michigan Battery, which it did until the afternoon of the 26th, when it was relieved by the Twelfth Kentucky.

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At ten o'clock P.M. the regiment embarked in the cars, and, riding all night, arrived at Knoxville, marched a half mile, and encamped in a wood in the suburbs, where we remained until October 3d. Captain Smith, of Company K, rejoined the regiment here on the 28th of September, and was warmly received. Rumors prevailed of a severe battle at or near Chattanooga, and the defeat of Rosecrans; and it was also reported that a large force of rebels was concentrating at Greenville for an attack upon Burnside. The few days of rest here were enjoyed by all, and the men improved them in repairing their wardrobes and preparations for more hard work.

Before daylight, October 3d, orders were received to march at eight A.M., in "light marching order, with five days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition per man," the destination being "a point beyond Greenville." As this "point" was known to be the rebel force, the affair savored strongly of a fight. As the regiment passed through Knoxville on its way to the cars, with drums beating and colors flying, it passed the head-quarters of General Burnside, and gave him a marching salute.

We had a long day in the cars, going slowly, as the road was a pretty rickety affair in many places, and about sunset we arrived at Bull's Gap, sixty miles from Knoxville, where a small force was found, consisting of the One Hundred and Third Ohio Infantry and Second East Tennessee Regiment. Large numbers of men were constantly coming in from the east, many of them refugees, and some rebel deserters. The former were mostly anxious to enlist in the Union ranks, and seemed bitterly in earnest in their desire to drive the rebels from here. Their sufferings and privations since the war broke out had been terrible,—their homes destroyed, families scattered or forced to hide in caves in the hills. It is no wonder they welcomed the Union army as their saviors and liberators. Old men and women stood by the roadside and audibly thanked God and blessed the soldiers as they marched past. Little Union flags, made of the roughest material, but with the true colors, that had long been hidden sacredly away, were waved triumphantly, and were greeted with cheers by the Yankee boys, who no less proudly displayed the beloved silken standard that they had followed so long, and which, like them, was beginning to have a war-worn, veteran look.

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A march of four miles, October 4th, brought the regiment to a place called "Lick Creek," where it remained until the 10th, awaiting the arrival of other troops and the Commanding General. The Eighth Tennessee Infantry, and the Ninth Michigan and Seventh Ohio Cavalry were already here, the enemy being in force at Blue Springs, about three miles from this place, closely watched by the cavalry pickets. Probably all who went into camp with the Thirty-sixth this day recall the amusing incident of the grand rabbit-hunt when the regiment broke ranks. The field seemed to be alive with the little animals, and the men, never averse to variety in their bill-of-fare, turned into Nimrods like magic. The bewildered rabbits, headed off in every direction, rushed upon their fate, and game suppers were "*à la mode*."

The Second Brigade of the First Division, and four large regiments and three batteries of new troops under General Willcox, arrived on the 8th, and on this day the cavalry captured a rebel foraging train of thirteen wagons and nine drivers. From them it was learned that a large force, under Generals Breckenridge, Jones, Crittenden, Courcy, and Ransom, was at Blue Springs, in a strong position, and meant fight. The regiment was now small in numbers, but tough and healthy, and certain to give a good account of itself whatever service it might be called on to perform.

The nature of the country about Blue Springs was such that it was easy to conceal a large force of troops, and difficult to reconnoitre. Strips of dense woodland, alternating with open and some hilly country, gave good opportunity for planting and masking artillery, and it was necessary to approach the rebel position cautiously, it being difficult to develop. Early on the morning of October 10th the entire force was on the march, Burnside being present in command, and as

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usual, when he showed himself to his boys, he was warmly and vociferously greeted. The regiment moved slowly until, at about noon, it appeared to be checked, and heavy firing of artillery showed that the engagement was opened. Until about 3 P.M. the fighting was left to the Twenty-third Corps, which, however, seemed to make little or no impression upon the enemy, and was meeting with considerable loss. Up to this hour the First Brigade, of which the Thirty-sixth was a part, was in reserve, within easy rifle-shot of the rebel line, awaiting orders. Not far from the left of the brigade a section of Osborn's New York battery was engaged in shelling a piece of wood at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards in front, where the rebel soldiers were posted, and had all day very obstinately resisted the efforts of the artillery and Twenty-third Corps to dislodge them. Generals Burnside, Willcox, Ferrero, and other officers were near this section, watching the effect of the firing. About half-past three o'clock P.M., General Burnside ordered General Ferrero to advance with his division and clear out this wood at the point of the bayonet. The First Brigade was at once in motion, the Seventy-ninth New York on the right, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts in the centre, and Eighth Michigan on the left; the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, as usual, was deployed as skirmishers. After moving a short distance by the right flank to get the shelter of a wood, the right of the brigade struck the rebel line, and received a heavy fire, from which the Seventy-ninth New York sustained some loss. The brigade then "changed front forward," which brought the Thirty-sixth and Eighth Michigan out into an open field, when the enemy opened a sharp fire of musketry from behind a fence that bordered the strip of wood. But no sooner did the brigade front their position than it dashed forward, and in less time than it takes to tell it drove back the rebel force, killing some and capturing fifteen men of a Georgia regiment. Their entire line broke, fled through the woods over a hill, and took shelter behind their artillery, which now opened fire at short range.

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The brigade followed the retreating enemy until ordered to halt by General Ferrero and await further orders, having done all it was expected to do in a very short space of time. The halting of a charging line of infantry under a heavy fire is a delicate manœuvre. The men, excited by the charge, can more easily be led forward than held steadily in the position taken. At such a moment the example of the officers is indispensable, and it was while in front of the colors, calling upon the regiment to keep the line "steady," that Lieutenant-Colonel Goodell fell, severely wounded by a piece of shell in the thigh. He was carried to the rear, and the command devolved upon Major Draper. There was much sorrow at the loss of the young and favorite colonel, and a desire was expressed to get at the battery that threw the shell.

The regiment lay quietly and coolly under the fire of the rebel guns until dark, and, being sheltered by the slight rise of ground along its front, did not suffer much loss. Lieutenants Holmes and Robinson were wounded, the latter in the head, and three men of Companies A, D, and H; only one severely,—Woodward, of Company H. Considering the severe fire to which the regiment was exposed for more than an hour, its escape from great loss was noteworthy. General Burnside sent an aid down to congratulate the brigade upon the manner in which it carried the wood and unmasked the rebel batteries.

It was thought that the rebels, being so strongly posted and in large force, would hold their ground. During the night earthworks were thrown up along the ridge held by the brigade, and before daylight two guns of Roemer's battery were brought up and trained. With the earliest morn the Eighth Michigan skirmished forward, and found that the rebels had retreated, evidently in haste. The pursuit was at once commenced and pushed rapidly; the regiment marched nineteen miles, and a little after dark halted at a place called Rheatown, eight miles beyond Greenville. All along the route were seen the evidences of the hasty retreat of the enemy, who abandoned their wounded and much baggage. Their rear was harassed by our cavalry, who killed and captured many.

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All day, October 12th, orders were expected to continue the pursuit, and the regiment lay in line. But the cavalry reported the enemy so scattered and broken up that General Burnside concluded not to follow them further with infantry, and the corps was ordered back to Knoxville. The next day the regiment marched sixteen miles, passing through Greenville again,—a considerable town, which is noteworthy as the home of Andrew Johnson, and the place where he is now buried.

October 14th, the Seventy-ninth New York, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, and Companies H and F of the Thirty-sixth, took cars for Knoxville at noon. The rest of the regiment, with the Eighth Michigan, marched to Bull's Gap to take the cars,—a march of fourteen miles,—and arrived at Knoxville late in the night. There was a general idea now prevalent that the corps would go into winter-quarters here; but, after a rest of five days, the regiment marched to Loudon, about thirty miles south-west of Knoxville, on the south bank of the Little Tennessee river, an attack by the enemy from this quarter being threatened.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE RETREAT FROM LENOIR'S AND THE BATTLE OF CAMPBELL'S STATION.

From October 22d to October 28th the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts was encamped at Loudon, but the enemy failed to appear. At half-past two o'clock, on the morning of the 28th, the baggage was sent across the river, the regiment followed, and the pontoons were taken up. The regiment then marched to Lenoir's, about twenty-three miles south-west of Knoxville, and halted for the night. On the following day orders were received to establish a permanent camp for the winter. Never was such an order more welcome. A year of varied and arduous toil was to be followed, it was supposed, by a season of grateful rest.

The place selected for the winter-quarters of the regiment was a thrifty young oak grove, nearly a quarter of a mile east of the little village of Lenoir's. The camp was laid out with unusual care. In order to secure uniformity throughout the regiment, the size of the log-houses—they were to be ten feet by six—was announced in orders from regimental head-quarters. The work of construction was at once commenced. Unfortunately we were so far from our base of supplies—Camp Nelson, Kentucky—that nearly all our transportation was required by the Commissary Department for the conveyance of its stores. Consequently the Quartermaster's Department was poorly supplied, and the only axes that could be obtained were those the pioneers and company cooks had brought with them for their own use. These, accordingly, were pressed into the service, and their merry ringing, as the men cheerfully engaged in the work, could be heard from early morning until evening. Small oaks, four and five inches in diameter, were chiefly used in building these houses. The logs were laid one above another, to the height of four feet, intersecting at the corners of the houses like the rails of a Virginia fence. The interstices were filled with mud. Shelter tents, buttoned together to the size required, formed the roof, and afforded ample protection from the weather, except in very heavy rains. Each house had its fireplace, table, and bunk.

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On the 13th of November the houses were nearly completed throughout the camp; and as we sat by our cheerful fires that evening, and looked forward to the leisure and rest of the winter before us, we considered ourselves the happiest of soldiers. Unless something unforeseen should happen, we thought we were sure of a quiet and pleasant winter at Lenoir's.

That something unforeseen, however, was at hand, and our pleasant dreams were destined to fade away like an unsubstantial pageant, leaving not a rack behind. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 14th, the sergeant-major hurried to the officers' quarters with the order, "Be ready to march at daybreak." The order was at once repeated to the orderly sergeants of the several companies. Forthwith the camp was astir. Lights flashed here and there through the trees. "Pack up! pack up!" passed from lip to lip. "Shall we take everything?" was the eager inquiry on every hand. "Yes, everything," was the reply from head-quarters. Reluctantly the shelter-tents were stripped from the well-built houses, which were justly the pride of both officers and men. Knapsacks and trunks were packed. The wagon for the officers' baggage came, was hurriedly loaded, and driven away. A hasty breakfast followed; then, forming our line, we stacked arms, and awaited further orders.

The meaning of all this is not so dark now as it was then. Lieutenant-General Longstreet, who was in command of the best corps in Bragg's army at Chattanooga, received instructions, November 3d, at a counsel of war, to move his command against Burnside. Bragg's formal letter of instructions was dated November 4th, and on that day Longstreet put his troops in motion, with orders "to drive Burnside out of East Tennessee first; or, better, to capture or destroy him." He had with him more than fifteen thousand men, besides Wheeler's cavalry,—"portions of five brigades" (perhaps five thousand more),—and eighty pieces of artillery. General Grant, who at that time was mustering his forces for an assault on Bragg, at once was informed of the movement. As early as October 26th he had thought of the possibility of such a movement, and had telegraphed to Burnside, "Do you hear of any of Bragg's army threatening you from the south-west?" He now, November 5th, announced to Burnside the departure of Longstreet, saying, "I will endeavor, from here, to bring the enemy back from your right flank, as soon as possible." Accordingly, two days later, he ordered Thomas to attack Bragg. "The news is of such a nature," he said, in his order, "that it becomes an imperative duty for your force to draw the attention of the enemy from Burnside to your own front." But Thomas had no horses with which to move his artillery, and the attack was necessarily delayed. November 12th Burnside telegraphed to Grant: "We will endeavor to hold in check any force that comes against us, until Thomas is ready."

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This force, under Longstreet, was close upon us. The next day, November 13th, Burnside ascertained that Longstreet had reached the Tennessee river at Hough's Ferry, a few miles below Loudon. He at once informed Grant, and proposed to concentrate his forces and fall back on Knoxville, so as to draw Longstreet as far from Bragg as possible. And this was the reason why we were so suddenly called to leave our comfortable winter-quarters at Lenoir's. Longstreet had thrown a pontoon across the river, and was moving across his entire command, except the cavalry under Wheeler, which he had sent by way of Marysville, with orders to seize the heights on the south bank of the Holston river, opposite Knoxville. Knoxville was Longstreet's objective. It was the key of East Tennessee. Should it fall into the enemy's hands we should be obliged to retire to Cumberland Gap. Lenoir's did not lie in Longstreet's path. If we remained there he

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would push his columns past our right, and get between us and Knoxville. It was evident, therefore, that the place must be abandoned, and there was need of haste. The mills and factories in the village were accordingly destroyed, and the wagon-train started north.

The morning had opened heavily with clouds, and as the day advanced the rain came down in torrents. A little before noon our division, then under the command of General Ferrero, moved out of the woods, but, instead of taking the road to Knoxville, as we had anticipated, the column marched down the Loudon road. Grant had telegraphed Burnside: "If you can hold Longstreet in check until Sherman gets up, or, by skirmishing and falling back, can avoid serious loss to yourself, and gain time, I will be able to force the enemy back from here, and place a force between Longstreet and Bragg that must inevitably make the former take to the mountain passes by every available road, to get to his supplies." We, then, were to watch the enemy, and so not only secure the safety of our trains and material, then on the way to Knoxville, but also to have a part in the great work Grant had undertaken in the campaign upon which he had just entered.

A few miles from Lenoir's, while we were halting for rest in a drenching rain, General Burnside passed us on his way to the front; under his slouched hat there was a sterner face than there was wont to be. "There is trouble ahead," said the men; but the cheers which rose from regiment after regiment, as with his staff and battle-flag he swept past us, told the confidence which we all felt in Old "Burnie."

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One incident of that march is still fresh in memory. Captain Buffum's mess had secured several goodly turkeys, which were still fattening for the approaching Thanksgiving. They were entrusted that morning to Jim, the captain's colored servant, with many injunctions to faithfulness. Late in the afternoon Jim was discovered empty-handed. "Where are those turkeys?" thundered the captain. "I don't know, sah," replied Jim; "I was tired, and lef 'em by the road." "O Jim," added the captain, "I knew you would yet ruin me!"

Chapin's brigade of White's command (Twenty-third Army Corps), was in the advance; and, about four o'clock, his skirmishers met those of the enemy, and drove them back a mile and a half. The country became hilly as we advanced, and our artillery moved with difficulty. At dark we were in front of the enemy's position, having marched nearly fourteen miles. Our line was formed in a heavy timber, and we there stacked arms, awaiting orders. It still rained hard; but here and there, we hardly know how, fires were made, to prepare the ever-welcome cup of coffee; and then, weary and wet, we laid down on the well-soaked ground.

During the evening a circular was received, notifying us of an intended attack on the enemy's lines, at nine o'clock P.M., by the troops of White's command; but, with the exception of an occasional shot, the night was a quiet one. The rain ceased about ten.

Two additional despatches had been sent by Grant that day. The first asked, "Can you hold the line from Knoxville to Clinton for seven days?" And again, at ten o'clock, he added, "It is of the most vital importance that East Tennessee should be held. Take immediate steps to that end."

The next morning, at daybreak, our line was noiselessly formed, and we marched out of the woods into the road. But it was not an advance as we anticipated. During the night Burnside had issued orders for his troops to return to Lenoir's. Such was the state of the roads, however, on account of the heavy rainfall of the day before, that it was almost impossible to move our artillery. At one time our whole regiment was detailed to assist Roemer's battery. Near Loudon we passed the Second Division of our corps, which, during the night, had moved down from Lenoir's, in order to be within supporting distance. But the enemy did not seem to be disposed to press us. We reached Lenoir's about noon. Sigfried, with the Second Division, followed later in the day. Our brigade (Morrison's) was now drawn up in line of battle on the Kingston road, to check any movement the enemy might make in that direction. A small force appeared in our front about three o'clock, and drove in the pickets. The Eighth Michigan was at once deployed as skirmishers. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania at the same time moved forward to support the skirmishers, and took a position in the woods, on the left of the road. Just at dark, to feel our position, the enemy made a dash, and pressed our skirmishers back nearly to our line, but declined to advance any further.

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Burnside now made preparations to withdraw from Lenoir's, and fall back on Knoxville. About the station nearly one hundred wagons were drawn up, and as the mules were needed in order to move the artillery, the spokes of the wheels were cut, and the stores and baggage in the wagons were destroyed. At the same time a portion of the Ninth Corps, under Colonel Hartranft, and a body of mounted infantry, were sent toward Knoxville, with orders to hold the junction of the road from Lenoir's with the Knoxville and Kingston roads, near the village of Campbell's Station. The distance was only eight miles; but the progress of the columns was much retarded. Such was still the condition of the roads that the artillery could be moved only with the greatest difficulty. Colonel Biddle dismounted some of his men and hitched their horses to the guns. In order to lighten the caissons, some of the ammunition was removed from the boxes and destroyed; but as little as possible, for who could say it would not be needed on the morrow? Throughout the long night officers and men faltered not in their efforts to help forward the batteries. In the light of subsequent events, as it will be seen, they could not have performed any more important service. Colonel Hartranft that night displayed the same spirit and energy which he infused into his gallant Pennsylvanians at Fort Steadman in the last agonies of the rebellion, when, rolling back the fiercest assaults of the enemy, he gained the first real success in the trenches at Petersburg, and won for himself the double star of a major-general.

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Meanwhile the Thirty-sixth and the other regiments of Morrison's brigade remained on the Kingston road in front of Lenoir's. The enemy, anticipating an evacuation of the place, made an

attack on our lines about ten o'clock P.M.; but a few shots from our pickets were sufficient to satisfy him that we still held the ground. Additional pickets, however, were sent out to extend the line held by the Eighth Michigan. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania still remained in line of battle in the woods. Neither officers nor men slept that night. It was bitter cold, and the usual fires were denied us, lest they should betray our weakness to the enemy. The men were ordered to put their canteens and tin cups in their haversacks, and remain quietly in their places, ready for any movement at a moment's notice. It was a long, tedious, anxious night; what would the morrow bring? It was Sunday night. The day had brought us no rest, only weariness and care. No one could speak to his fellow; and in the thick darkness, through the long, long night, we lay on our arms, waiting for the morning. How many hearts there were among us which, overleaping the boundaries of States, found their way to Pennsylvania and New England homes; how many which, on the morrow, among the hills of East Tennessee, were to pour out their life's blood even unto death!

At length the morning came. It was cloudy as the day before. White's division of the Twenty-third Corps was now on the road to Knoxville; and, besides our own brigade, only Humphrey's brigade of our division remained at Lenoir's. About daybreak, as silently as possible, we withdrew from our position on the Kingston road, and, falling back through the village of Lenoir's took the Knoxville road, Humphrey's brigade, consisting of the Second, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Michigan regiments, covering the retreat. The enemy, Hood's division, at once discovered this movement, but, lingering around the burning baggage and stores, did not press us till we were within about two miles of Campbell's Station. Humphrey, however, held them in check with the loss of a few killed and wounded,—among the former Colonel Smith, of the Twentieth Michigan, —and Morrison moved rapidly on to the point where the road from Lenoir's unites with the road from Kingston to Knoxville. It was evidently Longstreet's purpose to cut off our retreat at this place. For this reason he had not pressed us at Lenoir's, the afternoon previous, but had moved the main body of the force under his command to our right. But the mounted infantry, which had been sent to this point during the night, and which had moved out on this road, were able to hold his advance in check till Hartranft came up.

On reaching the junction of the roads Morrison ordered us into an open field on our left, and the Thirty-sixth was directed to take position in rear of a rail-fence, with our right resting on the Kingston road. The Eighth Michigan was on our left. The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania was deployed as skirmishers. Meanwhile the rest of the troops on the road from Lenoir's, and those which had preceded us, were moving to a position selected by Burnside, a little way beyond the village of Campbell's Station; and we were left to cover the movement. Unfurling our colors we awaited the advance of the enemy. There was little delay. In our front there was an occasional shot, and also to our right; but it was soon evident that the enemy were moving to our left, in order to gain the cover of the woods and obtain a more favorable position for attack. Moving off by the left flank, therefore, we took a second position in an adjoining field. Finding now the enemy moving rapidly through the woods, and threatening our rear with increasing numbers,—Hood's division, that had followed us from Lenoir's, being now up,—we executed a left half-wheel, and, advancing on the double-quick to the rail-fence which ran along the edge of the woods, we opened a heavy fire. The manner in which Major Draper handled the regiment in these trying circumstances was worthy of the highest praise. From this new position the enemy at once endeavored to force us. His fire was well directed, but the fence afforded us a slight protection. Lieutenant J. B. Fairbank and a few of the men were here wounded. For a while we held the enemy in check, but at length the skirmishers of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, who were watching our right, discovered a body of rebel infantry pushing toward our rear from the Kingston road. Colonel Morrison, our brigade commander, at once ordered the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts and Eighth Michigan to face about, and establish a new line in rear of the rail-fence on the opposite side of the field. We advanced on the double-quick, and, reaching the fence, our men, with a shout, poured a volley into the rebel line of battle, which not only checked its advance, but drove it back in confusion. Meanwhile the enemy in our rear moved up to the edge of the woods, which we had just left, and now opened a brisk fire. We at once crossed the fence, in order to place it between us and his fire, and were about to devote our attention again to him when orders came for us to withdraw, it being no longer necessary for us to hold the junction of the roads, as all our troops and wagons had now passed. The enemy, too, was closing in upon us, and his fire was the hottest. We moved off in good order; but our loss in killed and wounded was quite heavy, considering the time we were under fire.

Among the killed was Lieutenant P. Marion Holmes (Co. B), of Charlestown, Massachusetts, of whom it might well be said,

"He died as fathers wish their sons to die."

Lieutenant Holmes had been wounded in the foot at the battle of Blue Springs, October 10th, and, as the wound was not fully healed, had made the march from Lenoir's that morning with great difficulty. But he would not leave his men. On his breast he wore the badge of the Bunker Hill Club, on which was engraved the familiar line from Horace, which Warren quoted just before the battle of Bunker Hill: "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*,"—It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country. In the death of Lieutenant Holmes the regiment sustained a great loss. Frank, courteous, manly, brave, he had won all hearts; and his sudden removal from our companionship, at that moment, will ever remind us of the great price with which that morning's success was bought. His men made a noble endeavor to bear the body from the field; but the enemy were pressing us so hard that they were reluctantly compelled to leave it near the spot where the lieutenant fell. There he was buried, and his grave marked, so that, a few weeks after, friends

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from home found the spot, and took up the remains, and brought them to Charlestown, Mass., where funeral services were held January 18, 1864.

As we left the open field, and entered the woods between us and Campbell's Station, the enemy manœuvred to cut us off from the road, so that we were obliged to oblique to the left. Moving on the double-quick, receiving an occasional volley, and barely escaping capture, we at length emerged from the woods on the outskirts of the village. Our formation by fours was well preserved in this movement, and Major Draper afterwards learned from a rebel officer, that the order and steadiness displayed by the Thirty-sixth under these trying circumstances, prevented an attack upon us which might have led to a serious disaster to our brigade. He said they thought there was a "Regular" regiment among the rest, upon which the others might form.

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Passing through the village of Campbell's Station, we were soon under cover of our artillery, which General Potter, under the direction of General Burnside, had placed in position on high ground, just beyond the village. Campbell's Station is situated between two low ranges of hills, which are nearly a mile apart. Across the intervening space our infantry was drawn up in a single line of battle. Ferrero's division of the Ninth Corps held the right; White's division of the Twenty-third Corps held the centre; and Hartranft's division of the Ninth Corps held the left. Benjamin's, Buckley's, Getting's, and Von Schlein's batteries were on the right of the road. Roemer's battery was on the left. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts supported Roemer.

Longstreet, meanwhile, had disposed his forces for an attack on our position, but was delayed on account of the difficulty experienced in moving his artillery. At noon the rebels came out of the woods just beyond the village, in two lines of battle, with a line of skirmishers in front. The whole field was open to our view. Benjamin and Roemer opened fire at once; and so accurate was their range that the rebel lines were immediately broken, and they fell back into the woods in confusion. The enemy, under cover of the woods on the slope of the ridge, now advanced against our right. Christ's brigade, of our division, at once changed front. Buckley executed the same movement with his battery, and, by a well-directed fire, checked the enemy's progress in that direction. The enemy next manœuvred to turn our left. Falling back, however, to a stronger position in our rear, selected by General Burnside, we established a new line about four o'clock in the afternoon. This was done under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries. Ferrero was now on the right of the road. Morrison's brigade was placed in rear of a rail fence, at the foot of the ridge on which Benjamin's battery had been planted. Several of the Thirty-sixth were wounded by the packing of the shells fired by Benjamin; and by a piece of a shell from the same battery, that burst prematurely, Sergeant Gallup, of Company A, was so severely wounded that he died in a short time. The position for the regiment was a very trying one. The enemy, however, did not seem inclined to attack us in front, but pushed along the ridge, on our left, aiming to strike Hartranft in flank and rear. He was discovered in this attempt; and, just as he was moving over ground recently cleared, Roemer, changing front at the same time with Hartranft, opened his three-inch guns on the rebel line, and drove it back in disorder, followed by the skirmishers. Longstreet, foiled in all these attempts to force us from our position, now withdrew beyond the range of our guns, and made no further demonstrations that day. Our troops were justly proud of their success; for, with a force not exceeding five thousand men, they had held in check, for an entire day, three times their own number, and with a comparatively small loss.^[4] In the Ninth Corps there were twenty-six killed, one hundred and sixty-six wounded, and fifty-seven missing. Of these the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts had one officer and three enlisted men killed, three officers and fourteen enlisted men wounded, and three enlisted men missing.

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[4] General Longstreet, in his official report of this action, says: "As soon as McLaws got up he was ordered to deploy three of his brigades in front of the enemy, and to put the other brigade upon a ridge on our left, so as to threaten the enemy's right. At the same time, Colonel Alexander put his artillery in position, and General Jenkins was ordered with Hood's division around the enemy's left, and, upon arriving opposite the enemy's position, to make an attack upon their flank, while General McLaws was advancing against the enemy's front to follow General Jenkins' attack. The flank movement and the fire of our batteries caused the enemy to retire in some haste. McLaws' division advanced promptly, and brought the enemy to a stand about a mile further toward his rear, in a more commanding position. If General Jenkins could have made his attack during this movement, or if he could have made it after the enemy had taken his second position, we must have destroyed this force, recovered East Tennessee, and in all probability captured the greater portion of the enemy's forces. He attributes his failure to do so to some mismanagement of General Law. Before I could get a staff officer to him to ascertain the occasion of the delay, night came on and our efforts ceased."

At six o'clock P.M. Ferrero's division, followed by Hartranft's, moved to the rear, taking the road to Knoxville. White's division of the Twenty-third Corps covered the retreat. Campbell's Station is a little more than sixteen miles from Knoxville; but the night was so dark, and the road so muddy, that our progress was much retarded, and we did not reach Knoxville till about four o'clock the next morning. We had now been without sleep forty-eight hours. Moreover, since the previous morning, we had marched twenty-four miles and fought a battle. Halting just outside the town, weary and worn, we threw ourselves on the ground, and snatched a couple hours of sleep. Captain O. M. Poe, Burnside's engineer, had been sent from Campbell's Station to select the lines of defence at Knoxville. This, from his familiarity with the ground, he was enabled readily to do; and early in the day—it was the 17th of November—General Burnside assigned the batteries and regiments of his command to the positions they were to occupy in the defence of the place.

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CHAPTER X. THE SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE.

Knoxville is situated on the northern bank of the Holston river. For the most part the town is built on a table-land, which is nearly a mile square, and about one hundred and fifty feet above the river. On the north-east the town is bounded by a small creek. Beyond this creek is an elevation known as Temperance Hill. Still further to the east is Mayberry's Hill. On the north-west this table-land descends to a broad valley; on the south-west the town is bounded by a second creek. Beyond this is College Hill; and still further to the south-west is a high ridge, running nearly parallel with the road which enters Knoxville at this point. Benjamin's and Buckley's batteries occupied the unfinished bastion-work on the ridge just mentioned. This work was afterwards known as Fort Sanders. Roemer's battery was placed in position on College Hill. These batteries were supported by Ferrero's division of the Ninth Corps, his line extending from the Holston river on the left to the point where the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad crosses the creek mentioned above as second creek. Hartranft connected with Ferrero's right, supporting Getting's and the Fifteenth Indiana batteries. His lines extended as far as first creek. The divisions of White and Hascall, of the Twenty-third Corps, occupied the ground between this point and the Holston river, on the north-east side of the town, with their artillery in position on Temperance and Mayberry's hills.

Knoxville at this time was by no means in a defensible condition. The bastion-work, occupied by Benjamin's and Buckley's batteries, was not only unfinished, but was little more than begun. It required two hundred negroes four hours to clear places for the guns. There was also a fort in process of construction on Temperance Hill. Nothing more had been done. But the work was now carried forward in earnest. As fast as the troops were placed in position they commenced the construction of rifle-pits in their front. Though wearied by three days of constant marching and fighting, they gave themselves to the work with all the energy of fresh men. Citizens and contrabands, also, were pressed into the service. Many of the former were loyal men, and devoted themselves to their tasks with a zeal which evinced the interest they felt in making good the defence of the town; but some of them were bitter rebels, and, as Captain Poe well remarked, "worked with a very poor grace, which blistered hands did not tend to improve." The contrabands engaged in the work with that heartiness which, during the war, characterized their labors in our service.

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It was not till after his arrival in Knoxville that General Burnside received a despatch from General Grant, dated November 15th, two days before. It evinced the great anxiety which the General felt in reference to events transpiring in the vicinity of Knoxville. He said, "I do not know how to impress on you the necessity of holding on to East Tennessee in strong enough terms. It would seem that you should, if pressed to do it, hold on to Knoxville, and that portion of the valley you will necessarily possess, holding to that point. Should Longstreet move his whole force across the Little Tennessee, an effort should be made to cut his pontoons on that stream, even if it sacrificed half the cavalry of the Ohio army.... I should not think it advisable to concentrate a force near the Little Tennessee to resist the crossing, if it would be in danger of capture; but I would harass and embarrass progress in every way possible, reflecting on the fact that the Army of the Ohio is not the only army to resist the onward progress of the enemy." On the same day this despatch was received, November 17th, General Grant sent another to General Burnside. He said, "I have not heard from you since the 14th. What progress is Longstreet making, and what are your chances for defending yourself?" Later, on the same day, Grant wrote, "Your despatch received. You are doing exactly what appears to me to be right. I want the enemy's progress retarded at every point, all it can be, only giving up each place when it becomes evident that it cannot longer be held without endangering your force to capture." At ten o'clock that night Grant learned of Burnside's return to Knoxville, and telegraphed to Halleck, "Burnside speaks hopefully." On that day Grant issued orders to Sherman and Thomas for the battle of Chattanooga.

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Longstreet followed our troops very cautiously. At noon his advance was a mile or two from our lines, and four companies of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts—A, B, D, G—were thrown out as skirmishers, the line extending from the Holston river to the Kingston road. But the enemy was held in check at some little distance from the town by Sanders' division of cavalry. The hours thus gained for our work in the trenches were precious hours indeed. There was a lack of intrenching tools, and much remained to be done; but all day and all night the men continued their labor undisturbed, and on the morning of the 18th our line of works around the town presented a formidable appearance.

Throughout the forenoon of that day there was heavy skirmishing on the Kingston road; but our men—dismounted cavalry—still maintained their position. Later in the day, however, the enemy brought up a battery, which, opening a heavy fire, soon compelled our men to fall back. The rebels, now pressing forward, gained the ridge for which they had been contending, and established their lines within rifle range of our works. It was while endeavoring to check this advance that General Sanders was mortally wounded. Our picket line was now advanced so as to make our position as strong as possible. There was some firing on both sides for a short time, and then all was quiet. The night that followed was cold, but clear.

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The enemy did not seem inclined to attack our position, but proceeded to invest the town on the north bank of the Holston. He then commenced the construction of a line of works.

On the morning of the 19th the four companies of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, which had been detailed for picket duty on the morning of the 17th, were relieved by the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. The companies relieved were ordered to College Hill to support Roemer's battery. While on this duty the officers and men were quartered in the buildings of East Tennessee College. Prior to our occupation of East Tennessee these buildings had been used by the rebels as a hospital; but, after a vigorous use of the ordinary means of purification, they afforded us pleasant and comfortable quarters.

The other companies of the Thirty-sixth—C, E, F, H, I, K—took possession of the rifle-pits in front of the Powell house, a short distance to the left of the Kingston road. This was an elegant residence, built of brick, and when the siege commenced fresco-painters were at work ornamenting its parlors and halls. Throwing open its doors, Mr. Powell, a true Union man, invited Colonel Morrison and Major Draper to make it their head-quarters. He also designated a chamber for the sick of our regiment. Early during the siege the south-western and north-western fronts were loopholed by order of General Burnside, and instructions were given to post in the house, in case of an attack, two companies of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts. When the order was announced to Mr. Powell, he said, "All right. Lay this house level with the ground, if it is necessary." A few feet from the south-western front of the house a small earthwork was thrown up by our men, in which was placed a section of Buckley's battery. This work was afterwards known as Battery Noble.

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Throughout the siege both officers and men were on picket duty every third day. During this twenty-four hours of duty no one slept. The rest of the time we were on duty in the trenches, where one-third, and sometimes one-fourth, of the men were kept awake. The utmost vigilance was enjoined upon all.

Meanwhile, day by day, and night by night, with unflagging zeal, the troops gave themselves to the labor of strengthening the works. Immediately in front of the rifle-pits a *chevaux de frise* was constructed. This was formed of pointed stakes, thickly and firmly set in the ground, and inclining outwards at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The stakes were bound together with wire, so that they could not easily be torn apart by an assaulting party. They were nearly five feet in height. In front of Colonel Haskins' position, on the north side of the town, the *chevaux de frise* was constructed with the two thousand pikes which were captured at Cumberland Gap early in the fall. A few rods in front of the *chevaux de frise* was the *abatis*, formed of thick branches of trees, which likewise were firmly set in the ground. Still further to the front were wire entanglements, stretched a few inches above the ground, and fastened here and there to stakes and stumps. In front of a portion of our lines another obstacle was formed by constructing dams across first and second creeks, so called, and throwing back the water. The whole constituted a series of obstacles which could not be passed, in face of a heavy fire, without great difficulty and fearful loss.

Morrison's brigade held the line of defences from the Holston river—the extreme left of our line—to Fort Sanders. The following was the position of the several regiments of the brigade. The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania was on the left, its left on the river. On its right was the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts. Then came the Eighth Michigan. The Seventy-ninth New York (Highlanders) formed the garrison of Fort Sanders. Between the Eighth Michigan and Fort Sanders was the One Hundredth Pennsylvania (Roundheads).

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On the evening of November 20th the Seventeenth Michigan made a sortie and drove the rebels from a house and out-buildings on the Kingston road, a short distance from Fort Sanders. It was a brick house, and afforded a near and safe position for the enemy's sharp-shooters, who of late had become somewhat annoying to the working parties at the fort. The movement was a hazardous one, but was successfully accomplished, with the loss of two men killed. This sortie waked up the rebel batteries, and a few shells were thrown into our lines; but soon all was quiet, and at length the light of the burning buildings went out.

In the afternoon of the 21st the four right companies of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts,—A, B, D, G,—on duty at the East Tennessee College, moved out to the rifle-pits. The siege had now continued several days. The rebels had constructed works, offensive and defensive, in our front; but the greater part of their force seemed to have moved to the right. On the 22d of November, however, they returned, not having found evidently the weak place in our lines which they sought. It was now thought they might attack our front that night, and orders were given to the men on duty in the outer works to exercise the utmost vigilance. But the night—a beautiful moonlight night—passed quietly.^[5]

[5] In his official report General Longstreet says: "On the 22d General McLaws seemed to think his line near enough for an assault, and he was ordered to make it at dark on that night. General Jenkins was ordered to be prepared to coöperate. After night General McLaws reported against the assault, saying that his officers would prefer to attack at daylight."

With each day our confidence in the strength of our position increased, and we soon felt able to repel an assault from any quarter. But the question of supplies was a serious one. When the siege commenced there was in the Commissary Department at Knoxville little more than a day's ration for the whole army. Should the enemy gain possession of the south bank of the Holston our only means of subsistence would be cut off. Thus far his attempts in this direction had failed, and the whole country from the French Broad to the Holston, was open to our foraging parties. In this way a considerable quantity of corn and wheat was soon collected in Knoxville. Bread, made from a mixture of meal and flour, was issued to the men, but only in half and quarter rations.

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Occasionally a small quantity of fresh pork was also issued. Neither sugar nor coffee was issued after the first days of the siege.

The enemy, foiled in his attempts to seize the south bank of the Holston, now commenced the construction of a raft at Boyd's Ferry, above Knoxville. Floating this down the swift current of the stream, he hoped to carry away our pontoon, and thus cut off our communication with the country beyond. To thwart this plan an iron cable, one thousand feet in length, was stretched across the river above the bridge. This was done under the direction of Captain Poe. Afterwards a boom of logs, fastened end to end by chains, was constructed still farther up the river. The boom was fifteen hundred feet in length.

On the 23d the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts moved a little to the left, in order to make room for another regiment in the pits to our right. In the evening the rebels made an attack on our pickets in front of the left of the Second Division, Ninth Corps. In falling back our men fired the buildings on the ground abandoned, lest they should become a shelter for the enemy's sharpshooters. Among the buildings thus destroyed were the arsenal and machine-shops near the depot. The light of the blazing buildings illuminated the whole town.

The next day, November 24th, the Twenty-first Massachusetts and the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, the whole under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkes of the Twenty-first, drove back the rebels at this point, and reoccupied our old position.

Early in the morning of the same day, an attack was made by the Second Michigan—one hundred and ninety-seven men—on the advanced parallel, which the enemy had so constructed as to envelop the north-west bastion of Fort Sanders. The works were gallantly carried; but, before the supporting columns could come up, our men were repulsed by fresh troops which the enemy had at hand. Our loss was severe, amounting to sixty-seven, including Major Byington, commanding the Second Michigan, who was left on the field mortally wounded.

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That night we had orders that neither officers nor men should sleep. It was a long night of watching. There was a total eclipse of the moon during the night, and we were in shadow from two o'clock until four.

On the 25th of November the enemy, having on the day previous crossed the Holston at a point below us, made another unsuccessful attempt to occupy the heights opposite Knoxville. He succeeded, however, in planting a battery on a knob about one hundred and fifty feet above the river, and twenty-five hundred yards south of Fort Sanders. This position commanded Fort Sanders, so that it now became necessary to defilade the fort.

November 26th was our national Thanksgiving day, and General Burnside issued an order, in which he expressed the hope that the day would be observed by all, as far as military operations would allow. He knew that the rations were short, and that the day would be unlike the joyous festival we were wont to celebrate in our distant New England homes; and so he reminded us of the circumstances of trial under which our fathers first observed the day. He also reminded us of the debt of gratitude which we owed to Him who during the year had not only prospered our arms, but had kindly preserved our lives. Accordingly we ate our corn bread with thanksgiving; and, forgetting our own privations, thought only of the loved ones at home, who, uncertain of our fate, would that day find little cheer at the table and by the fireside.

Allusion has already been made to the bastion-work known as Fort Sanders, which was named for the gallant commander of the cavalry who laid down his life in front of Knoxville at the beginning of the siege. A more particular description of this fort is now needed. The main line, held by our troops, made almost a right angle at the fort, the north-west bastion being the salient of the angle. The ground in front of the fort, from which the wood had been cleared, sloped gradually for a distance of eighty yards, and then abruptly descended to a wide ravine. Under the direction of Lieutenant Benjamin, Second United States Artillery, and Chief of Artillery of the Army of the Ohio, the fort had now been made as strong as the means at his disposal and the rules of military art admitted. Eighty and thirty yards in front of the fort rifle-pits were constructed. These were to be used in case our men were driven in from the outer line. Between these pits and the fort were wire entanglements, running from stump to stump, and also an *abatis*. Sand-bags and barrels were arranged so as to cover the embrasures. Traverses, also, were built for the protection of the guns, and in passing from one position to another. In the fort were four twenty-pounder Parrotts (Benjamin's battery), four light twelve-pounders (of Buckley's battery), and two three-inch steel rifle-guns.

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November 27th all was quiet along the lines, except an occasional shot from the rebel pickets, until evening, when cheers and strains of music enlivened the enemy's camp. We now know that the arrival of two brigades of Buckner's command, reinforcements from Bragg's army, was the occasion of their rejoicing; but at the time we could not solve the mystery. Was it possible that Grant had met with a reverse? we hesitatingly asked. Or had the enemy received reinforcements? While on picket that night our men could distinctly hear the rebels chopping on the knob that they had so recently occupied on the opposite bank of the river. They were clearing away the trees in front of the earthwork which they had constructed the day before. Would they attack at daybreak? So we thought, connecting the fact with the cheers and music of the earlier part of the night; but the morning opened as quietly as any of its predecessors. Late in the afternoon the enemy seemed to be placing his troops in position in our front, and our men stood in the trenches awaiting an attack; yet the day wore away without further demonstrations.

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A little after eleven o'clock P.M., November 28th, we were called to our places in the trenches by heavy musketry to the right. It was a cloudy, dark night, and at a distance of only a few feet it

was impossible to distinguish any object. The firing soon ceased, with the exception of an occasional shot on the picket line. An attack had evidently been made on our rifle-pits; but at what precise point, or with what success, was as yet unknown. Reports soon came in. The enemy had first driven in the pickets in front of Fort Sanders, and had then attacked our line, which was also obliged to fall back. The rebels in front of the Thirty-sixth, however, did not advance beyond the pits which our men had just vacated, and a new line was at once established by Captain Buffum, of Company D, our brigade officer of the day. We afterwards learned that the enemy had advanced along the whole line and established themselves as near as possible to our works.

It was now evident that the enemy intended an attack; but where would it be made? All that long, cold night—our men were without overcoats—we stood in the trenches pondering that question. Might not this demonstration in our front be only a feint to draw our attention from other parts of the line, where the chief blow was to be struck? So some thought. Gradually the night wore away.

A little after six o'clock the next morning the enemy suddenly opened a furious cannonade. This was mostly directed against Fort Sanders; but several shells struck the Powell House, in rear of Battery Noble. Roemer immediately responded from College Hill. In about twenty minutes the enemy's fire slackened, and in its stead rose the well-known rebel yell in the direction of the fort. Then followed the rattle of musketry, the roar of cannon, and the bursting of shells. The yells died away, and then rose again. Now the roar of musketry and artillery was redoubled. It was a moment of the deepest anxiety. Our straining eyes were fixed on the fort. The rebels had reached the ditch, and were now endeavoring to scale the parapet. Whose will be the victory,—oh, whose? The yells again died away, and then followed three loud Union cheers,—"Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!" How those cheers thrilled our hearts, as we stood almost breathless at our posts in the trenches! They told us that the enemy had been repulsed, and that the victory was ours. Peering through the rising fog toward the fort, not a hundred yards away,—oh, glorious sight!—we dimly saw that our flag was still there.

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Let us now go back a little. Longstreet had learned of the defeat of Bragg, and, in opposition to the advice of his generals, determined to make an assault on General Burnside's lines. "Our only safety," he said to them, "is in making the assault on the enemy's position." Fort Sanders was made the point of attack, as it was evidently the key of the defences. Accordingly, having seized our rifle-pits, Longstreet, under the cover of the ridge on which Fort Sanders was built, formed his columns for the assault. The men were picked men,—the flower of his corps. "The force which was to attempt an enterprise which ranks with the most famous charges in military history," says Pollard, in his "Third Year of the War," pages 161, 162, "should be mentioned in detail. It consisted of three brigades of McLaws' division: that of General Wolford, the Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-fourth Georgia Regiments, and Cobb's and Phillip's Georgia Legions; that of General Humphrey, the Thirteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third Mississippi Regiments; and a brigade composed of General Anderson's and Bryant's brigades, embracing, among others, the Palmetto State Guard, the Fifteenth South Carolina Regiment, and the Fifty-first, Fifty-third, and Fifty-ninth Georgia Regiments." One brigade was to make the assault, two brigades were to support it, and two brigades were to watch our lines and keep up a constant fire. Five regiments formed the brigade selected for the assaulting column. These were placed in position "in column by division, closed in mass." When the fire of their artillery slackened, the order for the charge was given. The salient of the north-west bastion was the point of attack. The rebel lines were much broken in passing the *abatis*. But the wire entanglements proved a greater obstacle. Whole companies were prostrated. Benjamin now opened his triple-shotted guns. Nevertheless, the weight of their column carried the rebels forward, and in two minutes from the time the charge was commenced they had reached the ditch around the fort, and were endeavoring to scale the parapet. The guns, which had been trained to sweep the ditch, now opened a most destructive fire. Lieutenant Benjamin also took shells in his hand, and, lighting the fuse, tossed them over the parapet into the crowded ditch. "It stilled them down," he said. One of the rebel brigades in reserve, with added yells, now came up in support, and the slaughter was renewed. The ditch was filled, and several rebel flags were planted on the parapet. But the Highlanders and the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers in the fort swept off with their muskets those who attempted to scale the parapet. The men in the ditch, satisfied of the hopelessness of the task they had undertaken, now surrendered. They represented eleven regiments, and numbered nearly three hundred. Among them were seventeen commissioned officers. Over two hundred dead and wounded, including three colonels, lay in the ditch alone. The body of General Humphrey was found near the ditch, while the ground in front of the fort was strewn with the bodies of the dead and wounded. Over one thousand stands of arms fell into our hands, and the battle-flags of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Mississippi and Sixteenth Georgia. Our loss was eight men killed and five wounded.^[6] Never was a victory more complete, and achieved at so slight a cost. Never, too, were brighter laurels won than were laid that morning on the brow of the hero of Fort Sanders, Lieutenant Benjamin, Second United States Artillery.^[7]

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[6] Longstreet gives his total loss from November 14th to December 4th as 198 officers and men killed, 850 wounded, 248 missing; total 1,296. His loss in the assault on Fort Sanders, November 29th, he gives as 129 killed, 448 wounded, and 226 missing; total, 803.

[7] The following account of this assault is taken from a history of the Sixtieth Alabama Regiment, published at Montgomery, Ala., in 1867:—

"At about three or four o'clock in the morning the regiment was gotten under arms. The atmosphere was damp and penetratingly cold; the men were thinly clad, and numbers of them barefoot. Their sufferings while standing under arms, clasping with numbed hands

the cold barrels of their muskets, can be appreciated by those alone who have experienced similar hardships. But, despite of cold, hunger, nakedness, and approaching peril, the brave fellows were full of spirit, and stout hearts beat hopefully beneath each ragged gray jacket. General Gracie, while riding through his brigade on the day before, had pointed significantly towards Knoxville, and remarked, 'There are shoes over there, boys,' and visions of comfortable brogans were floating through the minds of those barefoot Confederates.

"There was no noise, save the low hum of subdued voices, the rumbling of moving artillery, and the steady tramp of different bodies of troops advancing to their allotted positions. The night was dark; but the enemy, anticipating our movement, filled the heavens with streams of artificial light, which threw the shadow of our columns far to the rear, and was reflected back by many an unsheathed sword and burnished barrel.

"At length, the ominous silence was broken by the discharge of a single piece of artillery from the brow of a hill to our right. Artillery had been planted on each of the hill-tops in the vicinity,—some being occupied by the enemy, and some by ourselves,—and now, in a few moments after the discharge of this pioneer piece, a brisk fire was opened from them all. Thunder peals burst forth and answered each other in quick succession; and, like destroying angels, the huge missiles flew through the dense atmosphere with an unearthly shrieking. Under the exhilaration of this stirring martial serenade, and the animating words of the colonel of the regiment (who seemed everywhere present), the line was put in motion, and, encountering a creek, plunged through, regardless of the cold.

"After ascending a hill, and advancing a few hundred yards in the open field beyond, the command was suddenly ordered to fall back, and accordingly faced about and moved in retreat to the brow of the hill just passed, where it occupied a line of rifle-pits located at that point. This retrograde movement, suggestive of ill, and at first inexplicable, was soon accounted for in a manner that filled every heart with sorrow, and shrouded every countenance in gloom. We had been in the rifle-pits but a short time when day began to dawn. The firing ceased for the most part; only a stray shell now and then ricocheted through our line, or burst above our heads. While thus waiting in the rifle-pits, expecting, with much solicitude, the denouement, a solitary litter was seen advancing toward us over the field in our front; then another and another, and anon a sad procession was silently threading its way to the rear. No words were required to convey the sad tidings. The blood dripping from the litters, and the occasional groans of their mangled occupants, who had led in the charge, as they passed through our line on their way to the rear, apprised us, more unmistakably than language could have done, of the woful fact of the morning's disaster. The charge, though gallant, was unsuccessful, and five hundred noble Mississippians lay dead or dying in the moat that surrounded the fort upon which the attack had been made. A truce had been early secured, and all day long the sad procession moved on, silently and mournfully, in the discharge of its duty.

"Among the many inexpressibly sad days of our military career, no member of the regiment will, I am sure, fail to recognize this, the 29th day of November, 1863, as one of the most sad. All through that dismal day the words were ever recurring—"These are they who have passed through great tribulation."—pp. 24-27.

Our only loss in the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts was private Haven, of Company G, who died of wounds received from a shell. [Pg 114]

Longstreet had promised his men that they should dine that day in Knoxville. But, in order that he might bury his dead, General Burnside now tendered him an armistice until five o'clock P.M. It was accepted, and our ambulances were sent to assist the rebels in removing the bodies to the enemy's lines. At five o'clock two additional hours were asked, as the work was not yet completed. At seven o'clock a gun was fired from Fort Sanders, the rebels responded from an earthwork opposite, and the truce was at an end.

General Longstreet, in his official report, says: "On the 26th and 27th we had various rumors of a battle having been fought at Chattanooga, the most authentic being from telegraph operators. There seemed to be so many reports leading to the same conclusion that I determined that I must attack, and, if possible, get possession of Knoxville. The attack upon the fort was ordered on the 28th, but, in order to get our troops nearer the works, the assault was postponed until daylight of the 29th. The line of sharpshooters along our entire front were ordered to be advanced at dark to within good rifle-range of the enemy's lines, and to sink rifle-pits during the night in their advanced positions, so that the sharpshooters along our whole line might engage the enemy upon an equal footing, whilst our columns made the assault against the fort. Our advance at night was very successful, capturing sixty or seventy prisoners without any loss. The assault was ordered to be made by three of General McLaws' brigades, his fourth being held in readiness for further operations. General Jenkins was ordered to advance a brigade a little later than the assaulting columns, and to pass the enemy's lines east of the fort, and to continue the attack along the enemy's rear and flank. Two brigades of Major-General Buckner's division, under Brigadier-General B. R. Johnson, having arrived the day before, were ordered to move in rear of General McLaws, and, at a convenient distance, to be thrown in, as circumstances might require. On the night of the 28th General McLaws' letter of that date was received. General McLaws' letter was shown to General Leadbetter, and my answer was read to him. General Leadbetter then suggested the postscript which I added to the answer. The assault was made, at the appointed time, by Generals Wofford's, Humphrey's, and Byron's brigades. The troops were not formed as well to the front as they should have been. Their lines should have been formed close upon our line of rifle-pits, which would have given them about two hundred yards to advance under fire. Instead of this, the lines were formed several hundred yards in rear of the pits. My orders were that the advance should be made quietly until they entered the works, which was to

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be announced by a shout. The troops moved up in gallant style. As I approached the troops they seemed to be in good order at the edge of the ditch, and some of the colors appeared to be on the works. When in about five hundred yards of the fort I saw some of our men straggling back, and heard that the troops could not pass the ditch for want of ladders or other means. Almost at the same moment I saw that the men were beginning to retire in considerable numbers, and very soon the column broke up entirely and fell back in confusion. I ordered Buckner's brigades halted and retired, and sent the order for Anderson's brigade, of Hood's division, to be halted and retired; but the troops of the latter brigade had become excited, and rushed up to the same point from which the others had been repulsed, and were soon driven back. Officers were sent to rally the men, and good order was soon restored."^[8]

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- [8] Rev. J. William Jones, D.D., Secretary of the Southern Historical Society, kindly permitted the writer, when in Richmond, Va., in April, 1880, to copy from General Longstreet's letter-book two letters, which are of interest in this connection. The first is as follows:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS, Nov. 28, 1863.

"GENERAL,—Your letter is received. I am not at all confident that General Bragg has had a serious battle at Chattanooga; but there is a report that he has, and fallen back to Tunnel Hill. Under this report I am entirely convinced that our only safety is in making the assault upon the enemy's position to-morrow at daylight; and it is the more important that I should have the entire support, and all the force that you may be possessed of, in the execution of my views. It is a great mistake to suppose that there is any safety for us in going to Virginia, if General Bragg has been defeated, for we leave him at the mercy of his victors; and with his army destroyed, our own had better be also, for we must not only be destroyed, but disgraced. There is neither safety nor honor in any other course than the one that I have already chosen and ordered.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"J. LONGSTREET, *Lieutenant-General*.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCLAWS, *Commanding*.

"The assault must be made at the time appointed, and must be made with a determination which will ensure success.

J. L."

The second letter is as follows:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS, Nov. 28, 1863.

"GENERAL,—Your letter is received. The work of the enemy is not enclosed. The ditch is probably at some points not more than three feet deep, and five or six feet wide. At least, we so judged it yesterday in looking at a man walk down the parapet and over the ditch. I thought that you saw the man, as you had been with us. I have no apprehension of the result of the attack, if we go at it with a determination to accomplish it. We should avail ourselves of everything, however, that may aid or relieve us.

"After our first brigade has gained the enemy's lines, I desire that it should wheel to the left, and pursue the attack to the left along the enemy's rear, and on to his right, and your other brigade should conform to this movement. Johnson's division will be ordered to follow it.

"Keep your men well at their work, and don't listen to the idea of failing, and we shall not fail. If we go in with the idea that we shall fail, we will be sure to do so. But no men who are determined to succeed can fail.

"Let me urge you not to entertain such feelings for a moment. Don't let any one fail, or anything.

"Most respectfully,
"J. LONGSTREET, *Lieutenant-General*.

"GENERAL M. JENKINS, *Commanding Division*."

We spent the day following the attack on Fort Sanders in strengthening our rifle-pits. The lines were now much nearer to those of the enemy. In some places not more than one hundred yards separated them. Our shells troubled the rebels when they relieved their picket in the forenoon. In the afternoon we received official notice of Bragg's defeat at Chattanooga. The night that followed was bitter cold, and our thinly clad men suffered much.

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The next day, December 1st, General Burnside issued an order thanking his troops for their endurance and bravery, and congratulating them on their recent successes, and the success of Grant at Chattanooga. At noon, by order, a single gun—we were short of ammunition—was fired from Battery Noble, and the troops, standing in the trenches, gave three cheers for the victories we had won. They were hearty cheers, as the rebels across the ravine could testify. And they knew, too, what those cheers meant. Having defeated Bragg, General Grant was hurrying troops forward to relieve the besieged in Knoxville. Finding General Granger, whom he had selected for that task, lacking in energy, he turned the command over to General Sherman, November 29th, with orders to push on as rapidly as possible.^[9] At the same time he sent a despatch to General Burnside congratulating him on the tenacity with which he had held out against vastly superior forces, and informing him of the movements in progress for his relief. By order of General Grant a copy of this despatch was suffered to fall into the enemy's hands, and from it, December 1st, Longstreet learned of Sherman's advance. Burnside did not receive the despatch till the following day. Longstreet now saw that the siege must be raised at once, and he made his preparations accordingly.^[10]

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[9]

MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN:—

News was received from Knoxville to the morning of the 27th. At that time the place was still invested, but the attack on it was not vigorous. Longstreet is evidently determined to starve the garrison out; Granger is on the way to Burnside's relief, but I have lost all faith in his energy or capacity to manage an expedition of the importance of this one. I am inclined to think, therefore, I shall have to send you. Push as rapidly as you can to the Tennessee, and determine for yourself what force to take with you from that point; Granger has his corps with him, from which you will select in conjunction with the force now with you. In plain words, you will assume command of all the forces now moving up the Tennessee, including the garrison at Kingston, and from that force organize what you deem proper to relieve Burnside. The balance send back to Chattanooga. Granger has a boat loaded with provisions, which you can issue, and return the boat; I will have another loaded to follow you. Use, of course, as sparingly as possible from the rations taken with you, and subsist off the country all you can.

It is expected that Foster is moving, by this time, from Cumberland Gap, on Knoxville. I do not know what force he will have with him, but presume it will range from three thousand five hundred to five thousand. I leave this matter to you, knowing that you will do better acting upon your discretion than you could trammelled with instructions. I will only add, that the last advices from Burnside himself indicated his ability to hold out with rations only to about the 3d of December.

Very respectfully,
U. S. GRANT, *Major General Commanding*.

- [10] In his report, General Longstreet says: "As our position at Knoxville was somewhat complicated, I determined to abandon the siege, and to draw off in the direction of Virginia, with an idea that we might find an opportunity to strike that column of the enemy's forces reported to be advancing by Cumberland Gap. The orders to move in accordance with this view were issued on the 2d of December."

December 2d it was rumored that General Burnside's resignation of his command had been accepted at Washington, and that he was to be relieved by General Foster, who was said to be at Tazewell,—a rumor by no means pleasing to the Ninth Corps. At nine o'clock in the evening there was an alarm, and we stood in our places in the trenches expecting an attack.

On the following day the enemy were very quiet, and we thought there were some indications that they were preparing to raise the siege. The number of their pickets was manifestly less than usual. The fact was that their wagon-trains were that day put in motion, and on the night of December 4th the rebels withdrew from their lines around Knoxville, crossed the Holston, and moved up the north bank of the river. The retreat was discovered early in the morning by the pickets of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, under Captain Ames, of Company B, who had the honor of first reporting that the siege of Knoxville was raised.

Sherman was then at Marysville, and December 5th sent the following note to Burnside: "I am here, and can bring twenty-five thousand men into Knoxville to-morrow; but Longstreet having retreated, I feel disposed to stop, for a stern chase is a long one. But I will do all that is possible. Without you specify that you want troops, I will let mine rest to-morrow, and ride in to see you." Accordingly Sherman halted his troops, except two of Granger's divisions, and December 6th he entered Knoxville, and reported in person to General Burnside.

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In his official report General Sherman says: "On the morning of December 6th I rode from Marysville into Knoxville, and met General Burnside. General Granger arrived later in the day. We examined his lines of fortifications, which were a wonderful production for the short time allowed in their selection of ground and construction of work. It seemed to me that they were nearly impregnable. We examined the redoubt named 'Sanders,' where, on the Sunday previous, three brigades of the enemy had assaulted and met a bloody repulse. Now, all was peaceful and quiet; but a few hours before the deadly bullet sought its victims all round about that hilly barrier."^[11]

- [11] *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, Vol. I., pp. 382, 383.

The emergency having passed, General Burnside was of the opinion that General Sherman should return to Grant, leaving Granger's command. The necessary orders were given, and General Sherman put his columns in motion southward again. Too much praise cannot be awarded to General Sherman for the promptness with which he came to our relief; as General Burnside said, it was Sherman's approach that raised the siege.

In his official report of this campaign General Grant said: "The armies of the Cumberland and Tennessee, for their energy and unsurpassed bravery in the three days' battle of Chattanooga, their patient endurance in marching to the relief of Knoxville, and the army of the Ohio, for its masterly defence of Knoxville and repeated repulses of Longstreet's assaults upon that place, are deserving of the gratitude of their country." That gratitude they received. Thanks to Grant and his officers and men were voted by Congress, and a gold medal was struck, to be presented by the President to General Grant "in the name of the people of the United States of America." It was also voted that "The thanks of Congress be, and they hereby are, presented to Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, and through him to the officers and men who have fought under his command, for their gallantry, good conduct, and soldier-like endurance." On the 7th of December President Lincoln issued a proclamation referring to the raising of the siege of Knoxville, "under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position," and recommending that "all loyal people do, on receipt of this

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information, assemble at their places of worship, and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause."

The noble bearing of General Burnside throughout the siege won the admiration of all his troops. December 11th he transferred the command of the Department of the Ohio to General Foster, the announcement of which was made in the following order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO,
KNOXVILLE, TENN., Dec. 11, 1863.

GENERAL FIELD ORDERS No. 38.

In obedience to orders from the War Department, the Commanding General this day resigns to Major-General John G. Foster the command of the Army of the Ohio.

On severing the tie which has united him to this gallant army he cannot express his deep personal feeling in parting from men brought near to him by their mutual experiences in the eventful scenes of the past campaign, and who have always, regardless of every privation and of every danger, cheerfully and faithfully performed their duty. Associated with many of their number from the earliest days of the war, he takes leave of the army not only as soldiers, to whose heroism many a victorious battle-field bears witness, but as well-tried friends, who in the darkest hours have never failed him. With the sincerest regret he leaves the department without the opportunity of personally bidding them farewell.

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To the citizen soldiers of East Tennessee, who proved their loyalty in the trenches of Knoxville, he tenders his warmest thanks.

With the highest confidence in the patriotism and skill of the distinguished officer who succeeds him, with whom he has been long and intimately connected in the field, and who will be welcome as their leader by those who served with him in the memorable campaign in North Carolina, and by all as one identified with some of the most brilliant events of the war, he transfers to him the command, assured that under his guidance the bright record of the Army of the Ohio will never grow dim.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE,
LEWIS RICHMOND, A.A.G.

In a speech at Cincinnati, a few days after, with that modesty which characterizes the true soldier, Burnside said that the honors bestowed on him belonged to his under-officers and the men in the ranks. Those kindly words his officers and men will ever cherish; and in all their added years, as they recall the widely separated battle-fields, made forever sacred by the blood of their fallen comrades, and forever glorious by the victories there won, it will be their pride to say, "We fought with Burnside at Campbell's Station and in the trenches at Knoxville."

The following general orders are inserted as a fitting conclusion to this chapter:—

HEAD-QUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, NINTH ARMY CORPS,
KNOXVILLE, TENN., Dec. 4, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 82.

The General Commanding has again the proud pleasure of congratulating the officers and men of this division upon their splendid behavior. During the campaign of the last three weeks they have endured privations and fatigue that soldiers are seldom called upon to experience.

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Leaving their comfortable quarters at Lenoir's at a moment's notice and seeking the enemy in his own camp; the return to Lenoir's, and checking him at that place; the rapid march to Campbell's Station, at which place they repulsed with heavy loss a superior force; the wearying night march, after a hard day's march and fight, to this place, where, hemmed in for nearly three weeks by a large army full of determination to drive us from East Tennessee or capture us,—they have borne the brunt of nearly all the fighting, and endured days and nights of labor and watching, on a scanty allowance of provisions, without complaint.

The conduct of those who were fortunate enough to be of the small number that repulsed the determined assault on Fort Sanders, on the 29th, ult. cannot be too highly praised. They drove back two brigades of the enemy with terrible slaughter, captured three stands of colors, and maintained the high reputation of their division. Fortunate is the country that can produce such soldiers, and proud of his position is the general commanding them.

Our work is not yet done. We will be called on to fight more battles and probably to endure more hardships. Let us go forward with strong hearts and willing hands, and we cannot fail.

By command of Brigadier-General FERRERO,
GEO. A. HICKS, *Captain and A.A.G.*

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO,
KNOXVILLE, TENN., Dec. 6, 1863.

GENERAL FIELD ORDERS No. 36.

The Army of the Ohio will commemorate the series of victories, all culminating in the redemption of a loyal district, by inscribing on their colors and guidons the comprehensive words, expressive of the grand result,

"EAST TENNESSEE."

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE,
LEWIS RICHMOND, *A.A.G.*

CHAPTER XI.

SUBSEQUENT MOVEMENTS IN EAST TENNESSEE.

There was some delay in following up the retreating enemy. On the morning of December 7th, however, we were called early, and notified that orders had been received to march at seven o'clock. At that hour we were in motion, marched through the town, and advanced twelve miles on the Newmarket road, the whole of the Ninth Corps with us. About two o'clock we went into camp, found plenty of forage, and built good fires. The march was continued on the 8th; and on the 9th, shortly after noon, we went into camp about a mile south of Rutledge.

December 11th, while we were still near Rutledge, Lieutenant Hodgkins, who had been home on leave of absence and detached service at Cumberland Gap, rejoined the regiment, and brought not a little cheer to all hearts by the announcement that a large mail and supplies were at Tazewell. The supply-train arrived on the 13th, and once again we had a taste of bread, coffee, and sugar. The mail reached us on the following day.

We had orders during the night to be ready to march at early dawn; yet the 14th passed and we still remained at Rutledge. But there was trouble ahead. Longstreet had attacked our cavalry at Bean's Station, and had compelled it to fall back, leaving a wagon-train in his hands. At the close of the day we had orders to march at a moment's notice. About midnight a part of the Twenty-third Corps passed our camp, moving to the front.

December 15th tents were struck soon after breakfast, and about eleven o'clock we moved back a few hundred rods and formed in line of battle. There we remained during the day, ready for the enemy if he should appear, and about nine o'clock in the evening we took the road to Knoxville. On account of the bad state of the roads we were nearly six hours marching six miles. It was a bitter cold night, and the men built fires of fence-rails at our numerous halts. At length we bivouacked in a field at the roadside, where we managed to get about an hour's sleep in front of our fires.

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About half-past nine, December 15th, we renewed our march, and halted at noon at Blain's Cross Roads. The enemy followed, and there was some skirmishing at the outposts. About three o'clock in the afternoon we formed a line of battle, and constructed a breastwork of rails. Companies A and B, of the Thirty-sixth, were sent out on picket. But the enemy did not attempt to advance. Indeed, as we soon learned, Longstreet withdrew his forces to the other side of the Holston, and, marching to Morristown, ordered his men to make themselves comfortable for the winter.

We, too, at Blain's Cross Roads, which has well been called the Valley Forge of the Rebellion, endeavored to make ourselves comfortable; but it was not an easy matter. Very few of our men had overcoats; indeed, they were poorly clothed in every respect. For the lack of shoes many were obliged to protect their feet with moccasins made of rawhide. Rations, too, were short. A few spoonfuls of flour were served out as the daily allowance, and, had it not been for the corn picked up here and there, sometimes where the mules were corralled, the men would have suffered severely. Foraging parties were sent out on every hand, but the natives generally "were plumb out"; there was "not a dust of meal" in the house, they said.

December 27th we moved our camp a short distance, and built as comfortable houses as the means at hand would allow. The days that followed were uneventful, for the most part. January 8th the Eighth Michigan started home, the men having reënlisted on the promise of a furlough. The One Hundredth Pennsylvania followed January 12th. No more inspiring sight can be imagined than that of the remnant of a once full regiment at the expiration of its three years of service, and living on quarter rations of corn-meal, with occasionally a handful of flour, standing forth under the open skies amid a thousand discomforts, and, raising loyal hands toward heaven, swearing to serve the country yet three years longer!

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January 15th clothing arrived and was issued. Though the quantity was small, there was enough to be of much benefit to our shivering men. On the following day the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania started home, its term of service also having nearly expired. At ten o'clock we broke camp and marched to Strawberry Plains, about sixteen miles north of Knoxville. It is at this place that the railroad crosses the Holston river. We went into camp, and on the following day built houses.

But on the 17th there were rumors of an approach of the enemy, and we had orders to march the next morning at seven. When the morning came, however, these orders were countermanded, and we were then ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. That night two or three inches of snow fell. On the following day, January 19th, we remained at our quarters until night, when we were ordered to the station to load cars with batteries and ammunition. January 21st no rations, except of fresh beef, or rather of bones, as the men said, were issued. About midnight we were ordered to be ready to march at daybreak. Wagons came at two o'clock, and our baggage was packed and sent off to Knoxville. About noon on that day, the 21st, we moved into the woods. Not long after, the rebels appeared on the opposite side of the river and opened fire from a battery, to which our guns responded. No rations were issued that day, but our men obtained some corn and pork which the Twenty-third Corps Commissary had left at the station. The bridge across the river was destroyed by our troops, also about forty wagons. Early the next morning we set out for Knoxville, Morrison's brigade forming the rear guard. The rebel cavalry followed us closely, and we were obliged to form in line of battle frequently, and offer fight, in order to keep the enemy at a respectful distance. Late in the

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afternoon we halted about three miles from Knoxville, and bivouacked for the night.

The next day, January 23d, the rebels retired and we moved into the woods for protection from the cold. Here we hoped to have a little rest; but in the morning—it was the Sabbath—we found that a Sabbath-day's journey was before us. We marched through Knoxville, passed Fort Sanders and the trenches that the siege had made so familiar to us, and went into camp near Erin's Station, about five miles from the city.

Rumors now became rife that the Ninth Corps was soon to leave Tennessee and go east, to be under the command once more of General Burnside. The thought was an inspiring one to both officers and men.

Having completed our camp preparations, company and battalion drills were resumed January 27th. January 31st the Thirty-sixth received about one hundred recruits from the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts,—the portion of the regiment that had not reënlisted. The remainder of their period of service these men were to fill out with us. That evening we received orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice. We did not move, however, until late in the afternoon of the following day, February 1st, when our whole division marched through Knoxville, crossed the Holston, and encamped on the heights beyond. It was very muddy, and we had much difficulty in climbing the hills in the dark. Our bivouac that night was a cheerless one, and the next morning, it having been discovered by somebody that there were no rebels within thirty miles, we were ordered back to our camp at Erin's Station.

General Foster, about this time, asked to be relieved of the command of the Department of the Ohio, on account of the reöpening of an old wound; and February 9th General J. M. Schofield reached Knoxville, having, at General Grant's request, been appointed to succeed Foster.

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February 15th we broke camp at Erin's Station in a pouring rain, and marched to Knoxville, where we encamped just outside of the city, and not far from Fort Sanders. The rifle-pits occupied by the rebels during the siege extended along the rear of our camp. The object in making this change in such a storm was not apparent; and, as this was our first acquaintance with General Schofield, the impression received was not a very favorable one. Yet, like good soldiers, we made ourselves as comfortable as the circumstances would allow.

Three days later orders came for us to move in the afternoon. This time it was a mile only, to a position between the Jacksboro' and Tazewell roads. Here we had again made ourselves as comfortable as possible when, February 20th, shortly after dress-parade, we received orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice. The next morning we were up early, the mules were harnessed to the wagons all day; but night came, and we still remained in camp. February 22d most of the regiment were engaged in strengthening the fortifications at Knoxville. On the following day Captain Smith, Lieutenant Brigham, and ten men were detailed to go to Massachusetts for recruits. At night we were told to hold ourselves in readiness to march at daybreak, in light marching order, with sixty rounds of ammunition per man. This looked like business.

A little after sunrise the next morning, February 24th, we left our camp, and took the road to Strawberry Plains, General Willcox being in command of our division. On the march we passed the Twenty-third Corps. General Schofield and his staff accompanied the troops. We marched about twenty miles, and at night encamped in the woods three miles beyond the railway station at Strawberry Plains. On the following day we received orders to lay out a camp, as it would be necessary for us to remain where we were several days. A pontoon came up on the train from Knoxville, and everything indicated a vigorous movement against the enemy.

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February 27th we broke camp about eight o'clock in the morning, and marched to the river. As there was neither time nor men to construct a pontoon bridge, preparations had been made to carry the troops across the Holston in barges. Two ropes were stretched from bank to bank,—a distance of about one hundred yards,—and by means of these the barges, filled with men, were drawn across the stream. There were seven barges in all, and in less than three-quarters of an hour our brigade was transferred to the opposite shore. The passage of the entire command occupied the whole forenoon. When we had crossed, we moved down the road two miles and halted in an oak grove. Meanwhile our supply train and artillery were crossing at the ford below. Late in the afternoon, when we had pitched our tents for the night, orders came for the regiment to pack up, as we had been assigned to picket duty. So we packed up and moved out to the front.

The next morning, Sunday, February 28th, nine deserters came into our lines. They reported Longstreet as falling back; said they were tired of the war, and that there was much dissatisfaction in the rebel ranks. We marched about eleven o'clock, Morrison's brigade in advance, and halted late in the afternoon about a mile beyond Mossy Creek, having advanced thirteen miles.

That night it rained, nor did the rain cease with the darkness. We marched at seven in the morning, February 29th, the rain still falling. The roads were very muddy, and we had a toilsome, disagreeable march. Early in the afternoon we reached Morristown,—a march of thirteen miles,—and encamped just beyond the town. The ground was well-watered, but we pitched our shelter-tents, obtained some boards from an old camp near by, and endeavored to make ourselves comfortable for the night. A flag of truce came in from the rebels, and it was understood that they were in force about six miles distant.

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We expected to advance the next morning, March 1st, but it still rained in torrents. Our shelter-tents afforded little protection in such a deluge, and officers and men drew largely on the hospitality of the town in seeking comfortable quarters. Some curious expressions were caught

up from the people in this region, and long lingered in the regiment. A few of our men were at a farm-house, and, as they sat down at the supper-table, the good mistress of the house apologized for the quality of the fare in these terms: "Our butter is gin out, but you can wobble your corn-dodgers in the ham-fat if you choose." A forager asked a woman if she had any molasses. "Well," she replied, "we haven't many, but we have a few!"

To our great surprise, the next day, March 2d, we moved back to Mossy Creek. Why, we knew not, as there was no enemy threatening us. We reached Mossy Creek about ten P.M., and encamped on the same spot where we pitched our tents when on the way to Morristown. We were snug in our blankets that night when orders came for us to be ready to march at a moment's notice. A little after midnight Col. Morrison rode up and startled us all with the order, "Fall in, Thirty-sixth!" In less than five minutes we were on the march. We moved down to the creek and there halted. The troops of the Twenty-third Corps were crossing. Citizens and contrabands had reported that Longstreet was advancing. We built fires and awaited further orders. Not long after daylight we returned to the camp we had left so suddenly.

March 5th a brigade of rebel cavalry was reported near, and Companies B, C, and F of the Thirty-sixth went out on a reconnoissance. After feeling of our position, however, the cavalry left. While our men were out they were drawn up in a line of battle under the brow of a hill, well concealed. Col. Morrison, who accompanied the scouting party, was a slight distance in advance, reconnoitring, when a rebel lieutenant, who had lost his reckoning, being overcome with whiskey, rode up to the brow of the hill. The colonel drew his revolver and ordered the drunken lieutenant to dismount. He had on one of our overcoats, and when Gen. Parke came up, not long after, he gave orders that it should be given to one of our own men. A goodly-sized knife was the only weapon that the lieutenant carried.

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On the following day we again had orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice. March 7th we changed our camp, though we still remained at Mossy Creek.

Orders for a movement were received March 11th, and the *reveillé* was sounded at three o'clock the next morning. We marched at five, Morrison's brigade having the advance. It was a beautiful winter's day, and we reached Morristown about eleven o'clock. Passing through the town, we encamped about two miles beyond, on the Chucky Valley road. The railroad bridge at Strawberry Plains had now been repaired, and the trains were running to Morristown.

March 13th we had a quiet Sunday, and were to have a brigade dress-parade at night, when word came from our cavalry pickets that the rebels had appeared. The Thirty-sixth was ordered out in the direction indicated; but the enemy had already retired, and we returned to our camp.

The next morning our cavalry had a short fight. One rebel was killed, two were wounded, and nine were taken prisoners. About eleven o'clock we had orders to fall in, and our brigade moved out on the Chucky Valley road. The Seventy-ninth New York was left at the cross-roads, about five miles from our camp. We halted at the river, while the Twentieth Michigan, throwing off their knapsacks, advanced a couple of miles further. The cavalry sent in one prisoner. As he joined us he said he had never fought against "you-uns." The Twentieth Michigan at length returned, and the brigade marched back to Morristown, where we arrived about dark. Several corn-cribs along the line of march that day, and one especially at the river, added somewhat to the daily ration.

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The 15th was a cold, raw March day. Just at night there was an alarm, and our brigade moved out hastily to support the cavalry pickets; but we were not needed, and soon returned to camp.

The following day brought a confirmation of the rumors which for some time had been rife among us. The Ninth Corps was ordered to Annapolis, Md., and we were to commence our eastward journey on the morrow. We could hardly credit the good news, and joy beamed in every countenance. Had it been possible for us to forecast the future our joy would have been considerably lessened.

March 17th the *reveillé* was sounded at four o'clock, and we marched at six. It was a morning without clouds, and we were all in excellent spirits. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts led the brigade; and as we left our old camp the brigade band, which was with us, struck up a lively air, and we were as happy almost as if we were marching homeward. That night we encamped at Newmarket,—a march of twenty miles.

The next morning the *reveillé* was sounded at half-past four, and we marched at half-past six. Our brigade was still in advance. We crossed the Holston, at Strawberry Plains, on a pontoon. At half-past four we pitched our tents seven miles from Knoxville, having marched nineteen miles.

Early the next morning we resumed our march, and about half-past ten in the forenoon, having passed through Knoxville, we encamped near Fort Sanders. That day and the next we remained at Knoxville. We now learned that we were to march over the mountains into Kentucky, leaving the sick and the shoeless to be transported by cars. An inspection of the regiment was accordingly ordered, and the names of the men whose shoes were in such condition as not to allow them to make so long a journey were placed in the list of those for whom transportation was to be furnished. The rest—about two hundred officers and men—were the toughened remnant of the one thousand who left Massachusetts a year and a half before. All were animated with high hopes, and the rough road before us was one which, even at that inclement season of the year, we were exceedingly eager to travel.

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The next morning, March 21st, we took our last look of scenes with which we had become so familiar since November 17th, and commenced our long march. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts

led the corps. We advanced eighteen miles, and encamped at Clinton.

The next day, in a snow-storm, we were ferried across the Clinch river in scows. Then, in a raw wind and over icy roads, we marched seventeen miles, and encamped about four miles from Jacksboro'. Some of us remembered that it was just a year before that we left Newport News. The next morning, March 23d, we marched through Jacksboro', and soon after commenced to ascend the mountains back of the town. It was a beautiful sight, as the long line of troops moved up the zigzag road, with muskets glittering in the bright sunlight. We marched that day thirteen miles. March 24th we advanced eighteen miles. The road led us up and down mountains without number. The next morning snow covered the ground. We marched at half-past six. About eleven o'clock we reached the Kentucky line. Rain set in early, but we pushed on and advanced eighteen miles. A rainy night was followed by snow on the morning of March 26th. During the forenoon the clouds broke and we had fair weather. At noon we met a wagon-train, loaded with rations which had been sent out to us from Camp Burnside. That day we marched nineteen miles. The next morning, at half-past six, we were again on the road, and about ten o'clock we reached Camp Burnside. From Jacksboro' to this place our march had led us through an almost unbroken wilderness, and over the worst of roads, and through brooks and streams without number. Leaving Camp Burnside we crossed the Cumberland river about noon, and encamped that night about a mile beyond Somerset, having marched sixteen miles. March 28th we advanced eighteen miles, and encamped at Waynesborough. The next day, a little past noon, we encamped at Hall's Gap, three miles south of Stanford. Snow fell during the night. March 30th we passed through Lancaster at noon, and at night we pitched our tents not far from Camp Dick Robinson, having advanced eighteen miles. The next morning we marched at the usual hour, passed Camp Nelson about eleven o'clock, and encamped three miles beyond. The Second Brigade of our division took cars at Nicholasville in the afternoon. In the morning, April 1st, we marched to Nicholasville in a pouring rain. Cars arrived about eleven o'clock, and we embarked at once. There were delays on the road, so that we did not arrive at Covington until about midnight. It was a cold, cheerless ride.

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The next morning, April 2d, we marched to the barracks, where we remained until the following day. Transportation having at length been provided, we marched to the depot in Cincinnati, where we took the train about eleven A.M. We reached Columbus, O., about eleven P.M. There we were notified that a lunch had been provided for the regiment; but it proved to be a mean affair. At Steubenville, O., which we reached about noon, April 4th, we found a large crowd of ladies at the depot, with baskets of bread, cakes, and pies. There we remained about an hour and a half. Resuming our journey, we reached Pittsburgh, Penn., at midnight. Leaving the cars, we marched to the City Hall, where a bountiful collation had been prepared. The men had all they wanted, and that, too, of the best. At three A.M. we were again on the cars. We crossed the mountains in a snow-storm. Altoona was reached about eleven o'clock. At nine o'clock A.M., April 6th, we were in Baltimore. The regiment marched to the rooms of the relief committee and had breakfast. We remained in the city until late in the afternoon, and reached Annapolis, Md., about midnight. Our orders were to remain in the cars until morning, when we went into camp just outside of the town. The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, which had rejoined the corps, its furlough having expired, furnished the Thirty-sixth with coffee on our arrival at the camp,—one of many instances of friendly regard manifested toward us during the war by our old companions in arms.

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And so closed, not only our long journey, but a memorable chapter in our history. What the future had in store for us we little imagined.

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CHAPTER XII. REORGANIZATION.

The preceding chapters of this regimental history have recorded the story of the year of preparation and discipline, and the year of trial, suffering, and winnowing. We now approach what may well be called the year of sacrifice and martyrdom. We are to recount the story of the organization so dear to all our hearts, so much, in fact, a portion of our very existence, which was now to undergo its most fearful trials, and, by the sacrifice of its noblest blood, to maintain and enhance a reputation for courage and devotion which had been won in summer's heat in the fields and swamps of Mississippi, and in the winter's cold in the mountain wilds of East Tennessee.

At Annapolis we found a large force encamped, the post being commanded by Colonel Hartranft, of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, as Provisional Commander. The Ninth Army Corps, relieved from duty in the Department of the Ohio, had been ordered to rendezvous at this place for reorganization. On the 7th of January, soon after his departure from East Tennessee, General Burnside was reassigned to the command of the Ninth Corps, with instructions to "recruit and fill up the old regiments," and to increase the strength of the corps to fifty thousand men, for such service as the War Department should especially designate. The great popularity of General Burnside in New England, and the other States represented in the old Ninth Corps, secured the cordial coöperation of the authorities, and recruiting was carried forward with gratifying success. Massachusetts pledged her four veteran infantry regiments, already in process of organization, and all the New England States, Pennsylvania, New York, and Michigan, sent forward many new regiments which had been recruited during the winter under the personal supervision of General Burnside. Although the destination of this force remained a mystery, it was confidently expected throughout the corps that General Burnside was to be assigned to an independent command, and that a coast expedition was to be organized. The general impression prevailed that the corps was to be sent to North Carolina, or to the Virginia peninsula to coöperate with the Army of the Potomac in the campaign about to open. With this prospect in view the men were highly elated.

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The camp at Annapolis was delightful, and revived the pleasant memories of Newport News and Camp Dick Robinson,—the only places where we had ever "played soldier." It was laid out with military precision, in accordance with army regulations. The company streets were wide and well-policed, the new white A tents were decorated with evergreen and holly, and the grounds, laid out in tasty squares and centre-pieces, presented a beautiful appearance. Contrasted with what had preceded, and what was about to follow, it was a genuine holiday camp,—a bright oasis in the desert of a soldier's life. The burning sun of Mississippi, the deadly malaria of the Yazoo, the freezing cold and corn-cob rations of Tennessee, were soon forgotten in the general happiness and comfort of this delightful camp. Following those long and rigorous campaigns, the rest and abundant rations were gratefully enjoyed. Many of the "absent sick" who had been left in general hospitals in Kentucky and Ohio to recover from the effects of the former severe campaigns, returned to duty. New clothing and equipments were issued, and the regiment soon regained something of its familiar appearance. Company and regimental drills, inspections, parades, and reviews, together with the work of reorganizing and equipping the regiment, caused the time to pass rapidly and pleasantly. We were also visited by many citizens of Massachusetts,—friends of the regiment,—who brought with them, not cheering words only, but many substantial tokens of the good-will and affectionate remembrance of the dear ones at home. Here, also, many of the officers and men received furloughs for a few days' visit home; and the fact is worthy of record, that all the men who were accorded this privilege returned promptly and cheerfully to duty.

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In obtaining these furloughs some amusing incidents occurred. One member of Co. B, impatient at the long delay attending his application, determined to see "Old Burnie," as he called him, in person, and plead his own cause. By a little shrewd management, or strategy, as it was termed, he surprised the General at his breakfast one Sunday morning. Being outflanked, the General listened patiently to the veteran's story, then called for the papers and endorsed on the application, "Approved for seven days. A. E. Burnside," in characters that defied forgery, doubtless little dreaming that this man was only a skirmisher from quite a line of men outside, waiting to "see how the thing worked." The happy soldier "retired in good order," and, as soon as the success of his daring attack was known, the General's house was besieged by many others who could not wait for "red tape" and "regular channels." There were but few general officers against whom it would be prudent or safe to advance a second such line; but the boys said they knew their man, and that "Burnside remembered Knoxville!"

On the 13th of April the entire corps then in camp was reviewed by Generals Grant and Burnside. The day was delightful, and, as they rode in front of the long, imposing lines, greeted by cheers and strains of martial music, and the waving of tattered and blood-stained banners, the enthusiasm of the men was unbounded.

On the 15th, Lieut.-Col. Goodell, who had been with the regiment during the journey from Cincinnati, was obliged, on account of the troublesome nature of his wound, to return to Massachusetts, receiving leave of absence for fifteen days, leaving the regiment in command of Major Draper.

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On the 19th the corps was reorganized. The old First Division, with which we had been identified

during all our service, was almost entirely broken up. General Ferrero, our former commander, was assigned to command the new Fourth Division, composed entirely of colored troops, and most of the regiments were assigned to the new Second and Third Divisions. The new First Division was composed chiefly of regiments recently organized, and those not previously connected with the corps. The Seventy-ninth New York, One Hundredth Pennsylvania, and Seventeenth Michigan, were sent to the Third Division, commanded by General Willcox. It was a severe disappointment to be thus separated from the brave men with whom we had shared a common danger and won a common glory; but, as if to compensate us for this trial, and to render the separation less painful, we were not parted from our old, well-proved, and dearly beloved comrades,—the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. These two regiments, the Forty-fifth and Thirty-sixth, henceforth to be more closely attached, and more than ever brothers, were assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division. Major-General John G. Parke was announced as Division Commander and Brigadier-General Robert B. Potter as Commander of the brigade, consisting of the Forty-eighth and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Seventh Rhode Island, Fifty-first New York, and Fifty-eighth Massachusetts,—the latter not yet reported,—six regiments, numbering, present for duty, one hundred and seven officers, and two thousand five hundred fifty-one enlisted men. With the exception of the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, all these regiments had served long in the Ninth Corps, and had made enviable records. The Fifty-first New York had been commanded by Generals Ferrero and Potter as Colonels, and at Antietam Bridge, with the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, had won a reputation for distinguished bravery and soldierly bearing second to none in the army. Of our division and brigade commanders we were justly proud. They had been identified with the corps during its entire existence, and both had commanded the corps, reflecting credit upon themselves, the corps, and the service.

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At the date of the reorganization of the division both Generals Parke and Potter were absent, on account of sickness; and that portion of the order relating to commanders in the Second Division was never carried into effect. Colonel S. G. Griffin, Sixth New Hampshire Volunteers, commanding the Second Brigade, was placed in temporary command of the division, and Colonel Joshua K. Sigfried, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, assumed command of our brigade. Both these officers were able and distinguished soldiers. Upon his return to duty, at the close of the month, General Potter was placed permanently in command of the division, and General Parke returned to duty to be assigned as chief of the Ninth Corps staff.

Under date of April 21st, Surgeon James P. Prince was assigned to duty as Chief Medical Officer of the Fourth Division; Captain Raymond as Inspector of First Brigade, Second Division, on the staff of General Potter; and Lieutenant Emory as Assistant Commissary of the Fourth Division. On the 23d of April, Captain S. C. Warriner, Company E, and First Lieutenants Samuel A. Goodspeed and John A. Rice, tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and they left for Massachusetts, much to the regret of their commands and their comrades in the regiment.

The work of reorganization went forward very rapidly. Although the destination of the corps remained as great a mystery as ever, it was evident that preparations for an important movement were being perfected, and that we might be ordered suddenly to leave. On the evening of the 22d the command was ordered to be in readiness to march, and before daylight of the 23d the delightful camp was broken up, and the corps took up its line of march, not toward the harbor, but in the direction of Washington, following the line of the Elk Ridge and Annapolis Railroad. After a march of thirteen miles the corps bivouacked in the fields for the night. Very early on the 24th the march was resumed. In about six hours we reached the Baltimore and Washington turnpike, and at nightfall the corps went into camp near Bladensburg, distant about eight miles from the city of Washington. At four o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 25th, *reveillé* was sounded; but, owing to a severe shower, the regiment did not march until about eight o'clock. When the march was resumed the corps passed through Bladensburg and continued in the direction of the city. We reached the outskirts of the capital about noon, and halted on New York avenue for the command to close up, as we were to pay a marching salute to the President and General Burnside, who were to review us from a balcony of Willard's Hotel. It soon became known that the corps was to pass through the city, and the streets along the line of march were densely packed. The column was greeted with cheers and applause. Many spirited descriptions of this imposing scene were published at the time in the journals of the day; but none is more graphic than the following, taken from a Memorial-Day Address, at Beverly, Mass., by Honorable R. S. Rantoul, May 30, 1871, seven years after the scene narrated:—

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"On the 25th of April, 1864, I stood, at high noon, on a thronged sidewalk of the city of Washington. Across the street, and raised on a balcony above the surging crowd, a lank, sad man stood gazing wistfully down—his head uncovered—upon the passing scene beneath. An unutterable sadness seemed to have fixed itself upon his face. For the most part he was unnoticed by the long procession, which, hour after hour, with frequent pauses, but with elastic tread, pushed on through dust and sweat, for Long Bridge, a few rods off—then over the Potomac and into Virginia. In dull succession, company on company, battalion by battalion, brigade after brigade, wearily yet cheerfully, they tramped on under that Southern sun, sometimes singing, oftener thoughtful, never seemingly regretful. It was one of those soft, vernal days, whose very air, as if breathed from groves of oranges and myrtle, seemed able to melt all hearts. Music there was; but strangely, as it seemed, not of that martial strain, associated, in piping times of peace, with the rush of battle. Exquisite music there was from martial bands, but for the hour they seemed to have attuned themselves to melodies of home and love. Shoulder to shoulder, looking not back, asking not whither, marched the bronzed veteran of

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East Tennessee and Carolina, with regiments of raw recruits,—tradesmen and mechanics from the towns, the farmer and frontiersman of the West, the lumberman from his Eastern forest, Indian sharp-shooters attached to Western infantry, favored sons of culture and wealth, the first black division, five or six thousand strong, following the white State flag of Massachusetts, batteries of artillery, squadrons of cavalry; mingling with these or pressing hard upon them, commissary wagons, ambulances, and quartermasters' trains, stuffed with the equipage of hospital and camp; and, last of all, as far as the eye could reach, fat beebes choked up the dusty way. Solemnly the mighty mass moved forward to confront its fate. Many a brave man felt that day that he was crossing Long Bridge never to return. Little heed paid they that the eye of Lincoln was upon them; little ardor they caught from sad, sweet music or the cheers and greetings of the thronging streets! Little was there for them of pride, pomp, or circumstance of glorious war! Grim resolve and cheerful devotion were the lessons of the hour!

"Ask where you would, you got no clue to their destination, for no one knew it! They had waited long at Annapolis, expecting to be ordered off by sea. Not a man, that day, of all those marching legions, knew whither he was going!

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"Theirs not to reason why!
Theirs but to do and die!"

"Only the lank, sad man, who gazed from his high place upon them, hat in hand, as though with a friend's last look, and the few high officials about him, knew more than that the Ninth Army Corps, twenty-five thousand strong, had been ordered from Annapolis to Alexandria! The veil of the future was not yet lifted."

Chaplain Woodbury says, "It was a spectacle which made many eyes grow moist and dim. And thus the corps that had never lost a flag or a cannon marched through Washington. Crossing Long Bridge the troops went into camp about two miles from Alexandria."

Even then many of the men still cherished the hope that transports would be in readiness for them at Alexandria. But these notions were soon put to flight. To the corps was assigned the duty of guarding the Orange and Alexandria Railroad from the Potomac to the Rapidan; and reluctantly the fond hopes of a coast expedition and an independent movement were abandoned.

On Wednesday, April 27th, at ten o'clock A.M., the brigade left Alexandria to follow the divisions which had been advanced toward the Rappahannock, and after a fatiguing march of sixteen miles encamped at night three miles beyond Fairfax Court-House. The next day the march was continued over the ground made historic in 1861, through Centreville, and past the old earthworks at Manassas. At noon we halted an hour for dinner on the Bull Run battle-field. Afterwards we forded the Run, and at six o'clock, having marched eighteen miles, went into camp at Bristow Station, on the field where the Second Corps achieved a brilliant victory the autumn before.

At six o'clock the next morning the brigade was in line, but did not move out of camp until half-past nine; marched then about half a mile, and countermarched, and marched again, until finally, about three o'clock, we went into camp near the railroad, on new ground, which was ordered to be laid out according to army regulations. The corps was being distributed along the line of the railroad in supporting distance, and the progress was very slow.

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On the 30th it became necessary to make another change, and our "Regulation Camp" was abandoned to others. We marched at half-past five o'clock in the morning, crossed Kettle Run at noon, and relieved the Seventeenth Regular Infantry, of the Fifth Corps, taking possession of the splendid camp near Catlett's Station, which they had occupied during the winter. Captain Morse, with Co. C, was sent forward to Catlett's, to guard the station and water-tanks, while the remainder of the regiment went into camp. The larger portion of the regiment was accommodated in the barracks of the Seventeenth Regulars, but the three left companies were obliged to occupy their shelter-tents.

Upon reaching this place, it being the last day of the month, the regular monthly return of the regiment was made up and forwarded to head-quarters. As being the inventory of the effective strength with which we entered the campaign it may be interesting, for the purpose of comparison, to include a synopsis of the report. At that date we had present for duty fourteen commissioned officers, and four hundred and twenty-six enlisted men, belonging to the regiment, including ninety-one men transferred from the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers, or four hundred and forty in all. In addition we had fifty-six effective men belonging to the Forty-sixth New York, assigned for duty to our regiment, making a total of four hundred and ninety-six, of whom three hundred and thirty-five were members of the Thirty-sixth. In addition there were forty-two enlisted men on extra or daily duty, and thirteen sick in the hospital, making a total present with the brigade of five hundred and fifty-one. Three officers and eighty-five enlisted men were on special duty with the corps, and five officers and two hundred and ninety-two enlisted men were absent beyond the limits of the department, making the whole number on the regimental rolls, present and absent, twenty-two commissioned officers, and nine hundred and fourteen enlisted men.

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The following officers were present for duty with the regiment: Major Draper, Adjutant Hodgkins, Assistant Surgeon Bryant, Quartermaster Tuttle, Captains Barker, Smith, Buffum, Bailey, Morse, Holmes, and Ames; First Lieutenants Daniels, Fairbank, Burrage, and Marshall, or the average of

but one commissioned officer for each company in the line. Company I was commanded by Orderly Sergeant Alonzo A. White, who had received a commission as Second Lieutenant and was awaiting muster-in. Second Lieutenants White, Hancock, Wright, and Davidson had been unable to muster in the grade to which they had been commissioned, their companies being below the minimum, and had already, under date of April 26th, been recommended for promotion to fill the vacancies caused by the promotion of First Lieutenant Daniels (who was to succeed Captain Warriner), and the resignations of Lieutenants Cross, Goodspeed, and Rice. The following officers were absent from the regiment: Lieutenant-Colonel Goodell, from disability resulting from wounds; Surgeon Prince, Captain Raymond, and Lieutenant Emory, on special duty with the corps; Captain Smith, Lieutenants Davis and Brigham, on special duty, recruiting; First Lieutenant Robinson, absent by reason of wounds.

The Ninth Corps was now in position, scattered along the line of railroad from Fairfax to the Rappahannock, and had relieved all the troops of the Army of the Potomac which were now concentrated near the Rapidan. The duty of guarding the railroad was not arduous, but it required constant vigilance, and the troops were continually on the alert lest a band of rebel guerillas which infested the region should make a sudden dash, destroy a portion of the road, and thereby seriously interrupt communication with the main army, encamped near Brandy Station. To guard against an incursion of this body, a strong picket force was stationed along the railroad, and a portion of the troops in camp were kept in readiness to repel an attack. The defences consisted of a formidable abatis surrounding the entire camp. The situation was very pleasant, and the daily duties and routine of camp were performed. On the 2d of May a large reconnoitring party was sent out, under command of Captain Holmes; but no trace of an enemy could be discovered.

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CHAPTER XIII. IN THE WILDERNESS.

On the morning of the 4th all doubts as to our destination or the length of our stay at this point were removed by the receipt of an order from General Burnside for the corps to concentrate, and move forward to the Rapidan. At ten o'clock that forenoon the tents were struck, the line was formed, and we left our pleasant camp, little realizing the terrible scenes immediately awaiting us. In our march we followed the line of the railroad, and were joined at Catlett's Station by the command of Captain Morse. At noon a halt was made at Warrenton Junction, where the Second Division concentrated. Our brigade was now commanded by Colonel Zenas R. Bliss, of the Seventh Rhode Island, as Colonel Sigfried had been assigned to command a brigade of the colored division. The march was continued all the afternoon, and at nightfall we bivouacked at Bealeton Station, having marched thirteen miles.

On that day we received information of the resignation of our esteemed commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Goodell, in consequence of the wound he received at Blue Springs. His ability as a soldier and his reputation as a man were well established in the corps, and recognized by its commander, who desired him to remain in the service, and requested the Secretary of War to assign him to special duty. But the nature of his wound prevented him from rendering active service in the field, as he desired, and he was compelled reluctantly to resign.

At daylight of the 5th the command was in motion. At nine o'clock we crossed the Rappahannock on a pontoon bridge. Here we saw the monument of wood, bearing the inscription, "Erected in memory of the brave sons of Maine who fell while gallantly charging these heights, November 7th, 1863. Fifth, Sixth, and Twentieth Maine." The monument bore the names of the fallen heroes, among which we read the names of several members of the Twentieth,—our fellow-voyagers of the "Merrimac" in 1862.

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As soon as the division had crossed the river the march was resumed over fields, through forests, and along dusty roads. The halts became less frequent, and the steadily increasing heat was severely felt. At noon we ate our dinner amid deserted camps, which but a day or two before were occupied by our comrades of the Army of the Potomac; and we knew that the terrible struggles of the past were soon to be renewed. Indeed, only an hour passed, and the deep booming of artillery was heard beyond the Rapidan. The lagging pace was now quickened, and dull hearts were stimulated to fresh life and courage. "Grant has found his objective!" "Hark! There it is again!" "They're at it, boys!" "Grant's found the Johnnies!" "Go it! We'll be in to-night!"—these and many like expressions were uttered by the men, excited for a moment at the sound of battle; while the clenched hands and compressed lips proved that the hour of great endeavor—for victory or death—was near. No lagging now; no more halting for rest; but on—forward! The sounds of the battle grew louder and nearer, the din of musketry mingling with the roar of artillery. As we neared the conflict the spirits of the men seemed to grow lighter and more elastic and buoyant. The speed, of the march was not abated until the Rapidan, at Germanna Ford, was reached. There, in the confusion of trains, artillery, and massing battalions, we were allowed a moment's rest. The halt, however, was brief. Soon the order—*Forward!* was given; and away we marched over the pontoon bridge, which swayed beneath our tread, with the sound of battle more appalling in front, and the apparent confusion more startling in rear. As we crossed that sluggish stream, to many minds recurred the well-known lines:—

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"Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now!"

The regiment was now south of the Rapidan; and, upon halting, we had an opportunity of looking about, and many and earnest inquiries were made of every one coming from the front. We learned that the entire army had crossed the river the day before,—the Fifth and Sixth Corps at Germanna Ford; the Second Corps, and the immense supply train of more than four thousand wagons, at Ely's Ford, six miles below; and that the whole army had pushed southward on the two available roads leading toward Spottsylvania,—Grant's plan being to avoid the intrenchments of the enemy behind the Rapidan, turn his right, and by a rapid movement get between him and Richmond, and force him to retire, or fight a decisive battle on open and more advantageous ground.

Lee, from his signal-stations, observed the movement, offered no opposition to the passage of the river, but, instead of falling back, put his columns in motion by two parallel roads (the Orange and Fredericksburg Plank Road and Turnpike), to strike the Army of the Potomac at right angles with its line of advance, when it was well on its march through the tangled Wilderness. He moved from his works over roads and cart-tracks perfectly familiar to him, with the intention of assailing Grant's flank, separating the several corps, and then defeating them in detail.

The movement was a bold one, made with great celerity and with Lee's entire army; and General Grant was forced to accept battle in this unlooked-for place at the very commencement of the campaign. He did not expect, or rather did not desire, to be attacked in such a wilderness, and the order of march for this day, if executed, would have carried his army beyond the Wilderness into the open country around Spottsylvania Court-House. But with characteristic promptness and resolution Grant faced to meet the enemy; the lines were pushed into the dense forests, and the

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terrible battle which will live in history as the "Battle of the Wilderness" now raged around us.

This region, known as the Wilderness, was densely covered by a second growth of low, scraggy pines, scrub-oaks and hazel,—a wild, uneven, tangled thicket, with but few openings that would permit the use of artillery, or clearings for formation and movement of troops. It is a region of gloom and the shadow of death. The advantage of position was entirely with the enemy, who were familiar with every ravine and ridge and cow-path throughout the dense jungle. Neither superiority of numbers nor the most skilful generalship could counterbalance the great advantages of the enemy. "In that horrid thicket lurked two immense armies, and there came out of its depths the crackle and roll of musketry like the noisy boiling of some hell-cauldron that told the story of death."

General Burn side ordered the division forward. We were worn and weary. Nearly twenty-five long miles lay between us and our resting-place of last night. The march had been severe and tedious, and yet with willing feet and hopeful hearts we pushed on, feeling the magic influence of that presence which, at Antietam, Campbell's Station, and Knoxville, had inspired the heroism of the men of the Ninth Corps. The march was continued for two miles over the narrow, dusty road, now crowded with wagons, guns, and troops; and just at dusk we filed to the right into the woods, and, after receiving orders to be in constant readiness to move, we stacked arms. Soon the groups gathered around little fires, kindled marvellously quick, attested the sharp appetites of the men. Although the march had been forced and exhausting but very few of the men had fallen out. Major Draper's quarters were established on the left flank, very near the road, in order that there should be no delay in finding him should the regiment be needed in the night.

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The night was passed in a state of anxious suspense. What a night! The continuous fire of the skirmishers swelled now and then into a crashing volley which extended along the lines, the shouts of teamsters urging on their jaded beasts, the music of bands far in the rear, and the tramp of passing troops,—all blended in one strange, discordant strain. How many of our brave men sat by the smouldering fires, thinking of the loved ones in homes they should never enter again! How many lay down to catch the last few hours' sleep left for them on earth before closing their eyes in the sleep of death! Thus the few weary hours of the night dragged on.

Between one and two o'clock we were aroused, and before three o'clock we moved out quietly by the left. Marching along the road in rear of the line of battle, at daybreak we reached a clearing, within which was situated the Old Wilderness Tavern. Here the brigade was halted, and ordered to load and prepare for action.

The battle was renewed at quarter before five. Grant had ordered an attack along the whole line to be delivered at five o'clock. Lee anticipated him, and was fifteen minutes earlier. The battle soon became general. Far on the left was heard the terrific fire of Hancock's advancing line. On the right Sedgwick was beating back the enemy's fierce attack; while in our front the fire raged along the Fifth Corps line. Being ordered forward, we continued our march toward the left of the Fifth Corps line, over a road leading in the direction of Parker's store, the Second Brigade having the right of the column. After marching about half a mile the men of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania were deployed as skirmishers, to cover the flank of our brigade. After moving about half a mile further a line of battle was formed, and here the regiment breakfasted. The enemy's skirmishers soon opened fire, but retired before General Griffin's advance. In moving forward we crossed a small stream called Wilderness Run, and continued to advance until we encountered a brisk fire of artillery from a rebel battery, and a sharp musketry fire at close range. The line advanced to the edge of a small clearing, across which the enemy was strongly posted with a battery. The Second Brigade was warmly engaged, the action had become quite brisk, and General Potter was making preparations to charge the battery, when orders were received to withdraw, move farther to the left, and attack on the right of General Hancock's line, near the Plank Road, that portion of the line being then hard pressed.

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Hancock's attack had been very successful. He had driven the enemy fully a mile and a half back on the trains, artillery, and head-quarters of the Confederate Army, which were in imminent danger of capture; but in the rapid advance his line of battle had become so broken in the dense forest as to require readjustment before he could press forward and secure the prize almost within his grasp. While this was being done the enemy was reinforced by Longstreet's troops, who had been pushed forward rapidly to the threatened point. When, therefore, Hancock's line advanced to resume the attack he was confronted by a superior force, and was not only unable to make any impression on the enemy, but was in turn pressed back over all the ground he had gained, and was himself now in need of assistance.

The story of the Battle of the Wilderness is one of the most intensely interesting of the war; but it will be referred to in this record only to describe intelligibly the action taken by the regiment in its relation to the engagement as a whole. We received the orders to retire about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and moved by the left flank through the dense forest and underbrush, which were almost impenetrable, through swamps deep with water, back to the clearing, to the assigned position, which was in rear of a gap said to exist between the left of the Fifth Corps and the right of the Second. Our position was about a mile and a half in front of the Old Wilderness Tavern, facing nearly south, and not far from the Plank Road which runs south-east from Germanna Ford. Our division was ordered to advance and fill the gap, and to attack the enemy as soon as found. Each regiment was to skirmish along its own front. On our right was Wadsworth's division of the Fifth Corps, and it was expected we would connect our left with Barlow's division of the Second Corps. With a detail from each regiment, Captain McKibben, of General Potter's staff, rode into the woods to establish a skirmish line. He had not proceeded far when he was fired upon by the enemy, and his horse was killed.

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It being evident that the enemy was in strong force along our immediate front a general advance was ordered. The regiments were ordered to advance as rapidly as possible, keeping close connection on the right and left, and to attack without delay. The Fifty-first New York was formed on our left; the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania joined our right; beyond this we could not see the brigade line and knew nothing of its formation. A strong skirmish line was sent out from our front, under Captain Bailey, of Company G, and when all was in readiness the line of battle pushed forward into the dense forest. The heat was intense; the men were almost exhausted from their long march of the previous day, were famished and weary; but the thought of the burden of battle borne thus far by our brave comrades caused them to march with steady tread as they moved onward toward the foe. In a few moments the line received a tremendous volley, and the advance was checked for an instant, but only long enough for us to ascertain the exact position of the enemy and strengthen the skirmish line. This being done, Captain Bailey advanced very rapidly, driving the enemy's skirmishers through a swampy ravine into his entrenchments. The line of battle halted and closed up, while the Thirty-sixth and Forty-fifth made nearly a half wheel to the right, in order that our line might conform more nearly to the line of the enemy, which, as far as we could determine, crossed our line of battle diagonally.

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During all this time the fire from the rebel line was very sharp and close, but the casualties were few. The left flank was found to be very much exposed, and the Fifty-first New York was drawn back to cover the flank and rear, leaving the Thirty-sixth on the extreme left of the division line of battle.

In front of our line, across the swampy ravine, on the crest of a wooded slope, were the breastworks of the enemy, made of felled trees and brush and the bodies of their dead. Behind these rude intrenchments stood Anderson's brigade, Field's division (Hood's old division) of Longstreet's veteran corps. It was composed of troops from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Texas. Surely they were no mean foe. At Antietam Bridge, on the Heights of Fredericksburg, at Campbell's Station, and in the defences of Knoxville, the Ninth Corps had engaged with them in deadly conflict, and knew full well the devotion of these men to their cause, and the desperate valor with which they would defend their works. Once more these old antagonists stood face to face, about to renew the fearful struggle of other days on bloody fields. The foe was worthy of our steel. The order, "Forward, double quick!" was shouted, and with loud and ringing cheers our lines advanced. The enemy poured in terrific volleys; their bullets whistled around us and thinned our ranks; but the advance was not checked. The left of our regiment first struck the rebel line, and received the severest fire, but pressed on through it, and the Thirty-sixth and Forty-fifth broke the line, went over the breastworks with a rush, and drove out the enemy in our front. The attack had been most determined and successful, and the regiment had complete possession of the rebel works in its front. Thus far all had gone well. The Fifty-first New York, however, had broken in the attack and failed to carry the line with which it was confronted, and, in a brief time, though to us it seemed an age, the enemy rallied, moved upon our left flank, swept round toward our rear, and we were subjected to a fearful fire of musketry at short range. Having no supports, and being outflanked and overpowered on the left, that portion of the line was unable to hold the position, and began to retire in some confusion. The position was too valuable to abandon without a desperate struggle, and Major Draper leaped upon the log breastworks in the centre, and endeavored by words and motions to turn back the left wing, in order to present a front to the enemy attacking on that flank. Captain Barker, in command of the left wing, vainly endeavored to persuade a regiment of the Third Division sent forward to support the attack, to swing to the left and attack the enemy. In the most critical moment of the fight, while gallantly rallying the line, Major Draper was shot through the shoulder and carried senseless from the field.^[12] The regiment was loth to give up the great advantage it had gained, and the fighting was hand to hand,—terrible and bloody. The men fought gallantly; but the force upon our left was too strong, and our line was compelled to retire. Falling back slowly, with their faces toward the enemy, the regiment preserved a good line, returning the enemy's fire, and retired but a short distance. Sergeant Henry Todd, who bore the State color, although wounded in the arm, refused to the last to fall back, and received a bullet in the head, which laid him low in death. The flag was seized from his dying grasp by Corporal Michael Long, of Company A, who himself was wounded a moment later, and before it reached the ground was seized by Sergeant Gilbert Rawson, who bore it through the battle, and the subsequent campaign.

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[12] Sergeant Kimball, of Company F, saved Major Draper's life during the battle. One of the enemy, a soldier of the South Carolina Rifles, was lying behind a log, and had deliberate aim on Major Draper, who was standing exposed to his fire, and was in the act of firing when Sergeant Kimball struck up the musket with his own, and the ball passed through the Major's hat. Soon after this Major Draper received a wound from a rebel sharp-shooter.

In the midst of this terrific fight Colonel Curtin, of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, assumed command of the brigade. Hartranft, with his brigade of the Third Division, came up at the same moment, when the whole line advanced in the face of a furious fire; and although the enemy was severely handled, and his line forced at several points, yet the opposition was so determined as to prevent complete success. Through all these trying scenes the regiment behaved with great gallantry, and held its position to the last moment. The brigade now retired a short distance, reformed, and corrected the line. Here Lieutenant Marshall, of Company A, was badly wounded and carried to the rear. During this temporary lull, amid the cries of the wounded, and the burning undergrowth that added horror to the scene, our comrades of the Forty-fifth struck up the chorus: "We'll rally round the flag, boys, rally once again." The Thirty-sixth took up the strain, and made those smoking woods ring with the chorus and cheers of the undaunted men.

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During the afternoon new dispositions were made for a third attack. As our ammunition was exhausted we were relieved in the front line by the Third Division, and closely supported its attack, which was made with great vigor soon after five o'clock. The charge was gallant and determined, and they who heard that terrific musketry will never forget it. The enemy's skirmish line was driven in, and their main line of battle, which had come out of the works, was broken and forced back. A portion of the line on the left was again carried, but it could not be held. The enemy's fire was of the heaviest; but the main line held the ground up to the teeth of the enemy until dusk, when our division took position to the right of the Third Division in the front line, within close musket range of the enemy. A strong skirmish line was deployed, and the regiment intrenched.

While these changes of position were being made it became necessary to leave many of our wounded between the opposing lines, and volunteers were called for to go out under the enemy's fire, and bring in such as could be removed. Several gallant men of the Thirty-sixth offered to perform this perilous service. While thus employed, Corporal George E. Nourse, of Company I, was struck by the fatal bullet of a sharp-shooter, and was himself borne away upon the stretcher with which he had assisted to carry others to the rear. He was buried near the spot where he fell, and sleeps, like many of his comrades, in that far-off grave in the lonely Wilderness, or in the National Cemetery at Fredericksburg, where so many of our comrades buried on the Wilderness battle-ground have since been laid to rest.

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Thus closed in blood and gloom the second day of the sanguinary battle of the Wilderness. When darkness settled on those smouldering forests the roll-call bore witness to the sacrifice we had offered that day on the altar of Freedom. Eighty-five were absent. Of this number, twelve were known to have been killed, fifty-three wounded, and of the twelve reported "missing in action" several were supposed to have been killed or wounded, and consumed in the burning of the underbrush between the contending lines. The brigade lost five hundred and four in killed, wounded, and missing; the heavy loss of the Thirty-sixth being occasioned by our great exposure, and the severe fire on our left flank and rear. The scenes and events of the day were recounted, and entrusted to the keeping of faithful memories. Sergeant Rawson had his story to tell of the coolness and thoughtfulness of Color-Sergeant Todd. As they were about to enter the battle he said to Rawson, "If anything happens to me, take good care of the State color." But for this timely charge the flag might have fallen into the enemy's hands, for Rawson, deeply impressed with the words of his friend, was near him when he fell, ready to take the flag from Todd's dying grasp.

In the line the severest loss was sustained by Company I, commanded by Orderly Sergeant White, losing three killed and ten wounded (three of them mortally) out of thirty-five taken into action.

The following is the list of casualties:—

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Commissioned Officers.

Wounded.—Major William F. Draper, Lieutenant Joseph A. Marshall.

Enlisted Men.

Company A. Killed.—Corporal Albert H. Carter. *Wounded.*—Corporal Michael Long, Private Henry A. Thompson.

Company B. Killed.—Color-Sergeant Henry Todd, Private Charles M. Westcott. *Wounded.*—Sergeant John Lamont, Privates Louis P. Abbott, Daniel Lamont, James H. Robertson, James E. Spear.

Company C. Killed.—Private Myron M. Daniels. *Died of Wounds.*—Private Frank S. Kelley. *Wounded.*—Corporal Walter Chisold, Privates Jacob W. Bixby, Frederick S. Gates, William Harty. *Prisoner.*—Private Hartwell C. Twitchell (died August 21, 1864, at Andersonville).

Company D. Killed.—Privates Frank M. Fenno, Andrew J. Morgan. *Wounded.*—Privates James H. Day, George L. Chase (died of wounds).

Company E. Wounded.—Sergeant Lucius L. Merrick, Privates Josiah B. Davis, F. Daniel Hadley.

Company F. Wounded.—Sergeant Daniel Wright (taken prisoner), Corporal Lucius Lowell, Private Chester J. Smith (died of wounds).

Company G. Killed.—Corporal Edward W. Stacy. *Died of Wounds.*—Corporal Joseph L. Haskell. *Wounded.*—Privates James A. Dadman, Aaron M. Williams, Emory Winchester.

Company H. Killed.—Corporal Joshua Rich. *Died of Wounds.*—Corporal Henry H. Mayo, Privates Luther P. Reed, Edward O. Young (captured). *Wounded.*—Corporal William N. Smith, Privates Joseph F. Hayward, John W. Pratt, Henry W. Wetherbee.

Company I. Killed.—Corporals Isaac R. Patten, George A. Nourse, Private Daniel V. Childs. *Died of Wounds.*—Corporal William H. Coburn, Privates Josiah Houghton, George W. Bardwell, Julius N. Bellows. *Wounded.*—Corporal James H. Barry, Privates Oscar H. Brown, Truman Marble, Charles H. Wheeler, Israel F. Carter.

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Company K. Died of Wounds.—Private Algernon S. Mandell. *Wounded.*—Privates Robert Stevens, Silas J. Howell, Jr., Henry Noi, Samuel G. Vaughn.

Twenty-ninth Massachusetts. Wounded.—Privates Rawson, Swift, Alexander, and Leavitt.

With the first ray of daylight on the 7th the men were astir, in expectation of orders for a general

advance. The skirmishers exchanged a few shots with the enemy at daybreak, but neither party manifested any disposition to attack. The firing along Hancock's front, on our left, was very severe at times, and word was passed down the lines that his corps was to make an attack at right angles with our front; but the morning wore away and no attack was made. A death-like quiet pervaded our lines. The silence of the enemy was considered ominous, and the picket force under Captain Morse was doubled, and then cautiously advanced toward the enemy's skirmish pits, but only to find them deserted. The enemy had withdrawn.

Small parties were now sent out to remove the wounded lying in our front, and to recover the bodies of the dead. As the sad procession moved to the rear the hearts of many were made sad in recognizing among the mangled dead and wounded the forms of dear comrades whom we fondly hoped had met the less sad fate of capture. The dead were carefully buried, and their graves marked. While this sad work was being performed the regiment erected a strong breastwork of logs, and every precaution was taken to guard against a sudden attack of the enemy. Here we were visited by Colonel Morrison, of the Seventy-ninth New York,—our former brigade commander,—who was about to be mustered out of the service, the term of his regiment having expired. He had been wounded in the arm the day before, but refused to go to the rear. He came over to say good-by to his former "pets" before leaving for his home.

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CHAPTER XIV. AT SPOTTSYLVANIA.

Toward noon it became evident that a new movement was contemplated. About one o'clock we marched by the flank to the rear, and halted near the road for the rest of the brigade to withdraw, and concentrate. We then moved rapidly to the open ground near the Old Wilderness Tavern, where the Ninth Corps was massed. There we saw our immense artillery and ammunition trains moving in the direction of Chancellorsville.

We remained at the tavern until dark, and had supper there. For forty-eight hours our only food had been bread and water. As soon as the trains were on the road we were ordered to follow them in the direction of Chancellorsville. The march was very tedious and vexatious, owing to the darkness and the slow movement of the wagons. At every few rods we were obliged to halt, and the weary men threw themselves upon the ground for a few moments' rest, only to be aroused to move a little distance and repeat the same experience. At ten o'clock the picket-firing ceased, and we lay down by the roadside for the night. At daylight we resumed the march. At nine o'clock we reached Chancellorsville, and halted in an open field, at the intersection of the Gordonsville Plank and Orange County roads. Here stood the ruins of the house used by General Hooker as head-quarters during the great battle fought one year before, and all around us traces of the bloody struggle could be seen. Without shelter from the scorching sun, and covered with dust raised in great clouds by the passing trains and troops, we remained at Chancellorsville during the entire day. The Fifth and Second Corps had moved on the Brock road toward Spottsylvania; the Sixth was with us. As the last division filed past us down the Plank road, and the fire of the Wilderness died away, the distant booming of artillery in our front announced that the enemy was in position across the advance of the Fifth Corps.

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The firing increased all the afternoon, and at sunset was very heavy. The brigade bivouacked at Chancellorsville, and remained until nearly noon of the next day, when orders were received to move down the Plank road in the direction of the conflict. During the afternoon we moved from one position to another, and at dusk were put in line of battle upon a high crest west of the Richmond and Potomac Railroad, on the extreme left of the army. We were not permitted to remain long in this fine position, where we expected to pass the night, but were moved out to the road again, and marched rapidly through deserted camps and past smouldering camp-fires, until late at night we bivouacked near General Burnside's head-quarters, and upon the left of the army of the Potomac, which during the day had been closing around the strong position of the enemy at Spottsylvania Court-House. Three divisions of our corps were now concentrated at this point, the Fourth Division being detailed as guard for the supply train of the army.

The 10th of May was clear and intensely hot. The burning sun drove us from the open fields to seek the shelter of the woods. There we lay during the long and tedious hours, listening to the sounds of battle on our right, with orders to be ready to move at a moment's notice. Thus far during the campaign but little artillery had been used, owing to the nature of the country; but on this day the action was on more open ground, and much of the artillery of both armies was brought into use, the cannonading resembling one continuous peal of thunder.

Reports came to us that Lee's army was being forced from its strong defences; in fact, rumors of the wildest description reached us. They were soon to be dispelled, however, for, at four o'clock, marching orders were received, and in another moment we were on the road, marching in the direction of the conflict. The route lay over a good road, through noble forests, until at length we reached the open country along the banks of the Ny river. After halting at the Harris house for the command to close up, the march was continued to the river, which we crossed by the turnpike bridge. Here we filed to the left into an open field, and the division was formed in line of battle, and ordered to advance rapidly. On reaching a rise of ground in our front we received a severe fire from the enemy's artillery; but the advance was not checked. The troops on the right of the road soon encountered the skirmishers of A. P. Hill's corps, and pressed them back, our regiment threatening their flanks. The artillery was now brought to bear on the enemy's line, and the whole division advanced gallantly in face of a heavy fire, and continued until darkness compelled a halt. This movement was made in support of the famous charge of twelve picked regiments of the Sixth Corps, upon the right centre of the enemy's position. The assault was made with great gallantry, and the works were carried with a loss to the enemy of six cannon and nine hundred prisoners; but the rebels were strongly reinforced, and the great advantage which was gained could not be secured. At nightfall the remnant of the noble column returned, leaving their dead and wounded and the six pieces of cannon, which could not be removed, in the enemy's hands.

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The division passed the night in line of battle, without fires or coffee. The picket line was attacked several times; but no serious demonstration was made, and there were no casualties on our front. At daylight of the 11th the line advanced to the crest of a ridge directly in our front, from which we obtained a fine view of the enemy's position. We were about a quarter of a mile from the Court-House, around which stood the enemy's earthworks, bristling with cannon, and surrounded by a formidable abatis and slashing of timber. They seemed to be alive with troops, who, doubtless from our close advance, expected an immediate attack. The enemy evidently desired our approach, and were ready to give us a hot reception. The position was strong naturally, and the fortifications and obstructions rendered it well-nigh impregnable. Our pickets held a very advanced position and kept up a lively skirmishing all the morning. Being seriously

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exposed, we were ordered to build a line of breastworks along our whole front, maintaining at the same time the utmost vigilance lest the enemy should attack our left and flank. Notwithstanding a close and annoying fire we were able to construct a strong line of intrenchments during the forenoon; but we were not allowed the privilege of defending them, for at three o'clock orders were received to withdraw with the utmost speed and caution. This was a perilous undertaking in the face of a watchful and powerful enemy. The movement was made against the earnest remonstrance of the corps commander, and the mistake was afterwards seen when too late to be corrected. The day had been intensely hot, and now the sky was black with clouds. As the movement commenced the rain began to fall. Soon it descended in torrents, and during the drenching rain which followed, the works were evacuated without exciting the attention of the enemy.

The brigade was now hurried to the rear, the direction of the march being toward the right of our line, and in another hour the corps was massed in a large open field near the Harris house. Here we remained more than an hour, exposed to the full fury of the drenching rain, which caused the men to shiver with cold. It was the first rain that had fallen during the campaign, and, however welcome it might have been in allaying the stifling dust and cooling the heated air, it was decidedly unpleasant to be obliged to encounter its full force in the open field, without shelter of any kind. Here the wearied men partook of the first nourishment during the day. At dusk the corps was again ordered forward to a new position in the advanced line, more to the right of that occupied during the day. We crossed the broad meadows bordering the Ny river, and as we moved forward an aid reported to Captain Barker that, Colonel Bliss having been injured, he had been directed to notify the senior officer to take command of the brigade, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasants, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, was in command. He was soon succeeded, however, by Colonel Curtin, who had been temporarily absent.

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The shower settled into a steady rain, and the night was cold and cheerless. The advance was continued in the darkness until we reached a line of breastworks around a deserted farm-house. Here we remained during the night. The head-quarters of the regiment were in a dilapidated barn, and nearly all the officers lay down upon the wet ground, which constituted the floor. The place was filthy and disagreeable; but any shelter was welcome on such a night. The hours dragged drearily. The men were under arms, and the pickets, though almost exhausted, were alert and vigilant. We were ignorant of the enemy's position, yet conscious that the morning light would reveal it, and be the signal for a determined assault.

The morning of Thursday (the 12th) dawned cold and dismal. A curtain of gray mist enshrouded the earth as with a pall. The men shivered as they awoke from unrefreshing sleep, and the order to advance was promptly responded to. Without food we moved forward, continuing the line of advance of the previous evening, and, after a short march, reached a large opening in the forest, where a portion of the corps was being massed in column by brigades in line of battle. During the night the Second Corps had been massed on our right, and were ordered to assault at daylight, with a portion of our corps to support the left. We were to advance by brigade front, formed *en echelon*. The Second Brigade was in front, the First Brigade had the second line, with the Thirty-sixth again on the extreme left. The Second Brigade was ordered to advance to the right, to uncover the front of our brigade, when we were to advance rapidly to the front, connect our right with the left of the Second Brigade, and push forward. While forming for the attack we heard the loud cheers of the troops on our right, who were charging the enemy, followed by the thunder of artillery. This was the signal for our attack, and the division advanced rapidly toward the woods, the brigades deployed to the right and left, and a heavy skirmish line was thrown out. We drew the first fire from the rebel skirmishers at half-past four o'clock.

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The line of our advance to the woods lay over a steep knoll, which descended into a swampy thicket just in front of the woods, and while crossing this exposed ground the regiment encountered a very severe fire of musketry at short range from the enemy posted in the edge of the woods; but he retired rapidly before our advance, and, as we entered the woods, attempted to swing around our left, with the evident intention of outflanking us. To prevent this movement Companies C, B, and K were deployed to the left of the line of battle, to cover the flank and protect the rear. The division which had been expected to prolong the line of battle on the left had not come into position, and it seemed to us that the dire experience of the Wilderness was now to be repeated. But the enemy suddenly fell back, and appeared to abandon the attempt to double our left flank. By five o'clock the engagement had become very hot, and as the division advanced the cheering on the right was renewed, and the firing became terrific. The lurid flash of musketry lighted up the dim woods, and the din of battle resounded on every side.

Connection was established with Griffin's brigade, which joined the left of the Second Corps near their point of attack at the famous "death angle," thereby securing our right; but the left was badly exposed, and the advance of the promised support in that direction was anxiously awaited. We were in a dense forest, and it was impossible to distinguish the position of the enemy or his approach, should he attack, until the skirmishers should come in contact. The firing in our immediate front was very sharp and close, indicating the presence of a large force, and our skirmish line was reinforced preparatory to a charge which we had been ordered to make, and also to resist any attack of the enemy.

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In a few minutes intelligence was passed along the line that Hancock had just finished a successful charge on the right, carrying the enemy's line, near the McCool House, capturing four thousand prisoners and twenty cannon. Soon after, a large force of the enemy was discovered moving from the right toward the left, in column, across our front. The skirmishers opened a sharp fire, which was not returned, but instead we heard the cry, "For God's sake, don't fire!" At

the same time word came from the right of our division, "Cease firing! Hancock's prisoners are passing along your front." The firing ceased, when in a few minutes a horrible cry came from the left of the Thirty-sixth,— "The rebels are on our flank!" The fatal impression seemed to prevail that this body of the enemy was the division just captured by General Hancock. A sergeant came in from the skirmish line and reported that a Union officer had ordered the line to cease firing, and that the rebels carried a white flag; and the impression was general that these were rebel prisoners moving toward the rear. They were formed squarely across our flank, and Captain Buffum, Acting Major, who had command of the left wing, walked out on the narrow wagon-track which diagonally crossed our left, across which these rebels had formed, and waving his sword toward them, cried out, "Come in, Johnnies! We won't hurt you. Come in!" We could look into their very faces. We could almost see the whites of their eyes. They were the veterans of A. P. Hill, Lane's brigade,^[13] of Heth's division. As far as we could distinguish weapons they were standing at ordered arms. Captain Buffum was but ten yards from them, and going toward their line, when he was answered by a murderous volley, which will never be forgotten by any who survived it. And never shall we forget the splendid coolness and courage of Captain Buffum as he came back to the line, and amid the confusion which followed this terrible attack, calmly faced two or three companies to the left, and gave the order,— "Let them have it!" Though suffering fearfully the regiment behaved nobly. The attack was terrific. It was the most awful moment of our history. Yet the regiment was equal to the emergency, and its stand, it is believed, saved the division from panic or capture. The left was gradually drawn back from the colors, and soon the entire left wing presented a front to the enemy. Lying upon the ground, loading and firing rapidly, pouring upon the enemy a low fire which was most effective and deadly, they maintained the unequal contest until an order came down from the right for the whole line to charge. Then, rising to their feet in the midst of the awful fire, with an alacrity and courage beyond this feeble praise, the regiment was rushing toward the enemy, when loud cheers were heard upon our left, and in another moment we were joined by the gallant Twenty-first Massachusetts,—the right regiment of the First Division line,—which came up on the double quick to prolong the line of battle. Cheer answered cheer, and both regiments charged the enemy, who was driven back to his intrenchments with great loss, leaving his killed and wounded in our possession. Two lines of detached rifle-pits were taken, with some prisoners, and the right brigade carried a portion of the enemy's main line and captured two pieces of artillery; but in a little while the enemy made a most furious attack, and the connection with the Second Corps on the right was broken; the right was turned and forced out of the works.

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[13] Lane's brigade was composed of the Seventh, Eighteenth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, and Thirty-seventh regiments of North Carolina troops. The operations of the brigade on the morning of the 12th are detailed in the "History of Lane's North Carolina Brigade," Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX., No. 4, pp. 146, *et seq.*

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Soon after, a general attack along the whole line was ordered, and the regiment advanced; but the enemy's works at this point were too strong to be carried. The rebels made several attempts to regain the ground we had occupied, but were driven back each time with severe loss. Several times orders were given from the right or left to attack, but the assaults were successful only at isolated points. Along the Third Division front the fighting was unusually desperate and bloody. Charges and counter-charges were made and repulsed. In the "death angle" on the right of our division the fighting was the most sanguinary of the war. The enemy made the most desperate attempts to recover the works, but every attack was repulsed with great slaughter. About noon we strengthened our skirmish line, which was very close to the enemy's position, and a temporary line of rifle-pits was thrown up, which afforded partial shelter. Slowly the terrible day of Spottsylvania dragged on. The mist of the morning was but the prelude to a heavy storm; at times the rain fell in torrents.

After the excitement of the attack had somewhat subsided a spirit of deep sadness pervaded the regiment. Comrades and friends had been stricken in death. Those dismal woods had been the scene of their last conflict; and many a companion of weary marches and lonely picket, many a tried and trusted comrade, was sleeping in death. Of the commissioned officers, Captain Bailey, the beloved commander of Co. G, had received a mortal wound. Corporal Hall, of his company, was one of the first to fall in our close conflict with the enemy, when we received the volley with which the battle for us opened, and some of his comrades carried him a few steps to the rear of our line of battle. Captain Bailey moved at once to the spot, and as he was bending over the dying corporal, a minie ball entered the captain's forehead, and he fell forward upon the corporal's body. Some of his men carried him to the field hospital; but nothing could be done for him. He breathed all day; but consciousness did not return, and at nightfall he died. And so we were called to part with a faithful officer and a noble-hearted companion. He had entered the service with a patriotic desire to serve his country; and his last words to those whom he loved, written after the battle of the Wilderness, showed that he had counted the cost, and was willing, if need be, to lay down his life in the endeavor to secure the great objects for which on our part the war was waged.

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Captain Morse, of Company C, and Orderly Sergeant White, commanding Company I, had both been badly wounded, and taken to the rear. The loss of the regiment in its non-commissioned officers was especially severe. They were rising steadily from the ranks to fill the vacancies in the line to which their bravery and capacity entitled them. These men had conferred honor upon the regiment, and many of them had won the highest respect and affection of their commanding officers. Under any circumstances their loss to the regiment would have been deplorable; at such a time it seemed to us irreparable. The day had been to the regiment a literal baptism of fire and blood; but before its close we were destined to sustain another severe loss in the death of First

Lieutenant Henry W. Daniels, commanding Company H. He had been in command of the skirmish line all day, and toward evening came in to report the condition of the line, get ammunition and receive instructions for the night. He said he had fired considerably during the day and had attracted the attention of the enemy. He left us with the repeated caution from Captain Barker not to expose himself unnecessarily. He had been at his post but a little while when Sergeant Woodward, who was standing in the main line, saw him fall, and cried out, "My God! the lieutenant is shot!" His head was pierced by a minie ball, and he who but a few moments before had left us in the full strength and courage of early manhood was brought back a corpse. Comrade Bartlett, who was on the skirmish line, thus relates the circumstances of his death: "I was on the line about two rods distant from him. He had just come out with ammunition for us. A rebel sharp-shooter in a tree on our right had troubled us exceedingly. Lieutenant Daniels took a musket to bring him down, as he could see by the smoke when he fired about where he was. After discharging the piece without effect, he had reloaded and raised it to his shoulder to fire the second time when he was shot by the sharp-shooter, and fell dead." This event was a sad ending of a terrible day, and cast a gloom upon all. We were pained at the recollection that the last days of his life were saddened by the death of his brother Myron in the Wilderness, only six days before, and our hearts went out in sympathy toward the kindred of all our slain in northern homes; and, as we thought of the many scenes of peril through which we must pass, and the certainty of death which awaited many, we cried, in the anguish and bitterness of heart, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

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The loss in the regiment in this action, including the Twenty-ninth men, was, killed, twenty-seven; wounded, seventy; missing,^[14] ten; total, one hundred and seven.

[14] Courtland A. Allen, of Company D, who was among the missing, was wounded in the hand, and in going to the rear, as he supposed, was captured. He was in several rebel prisons, and was in Andersonville while Sherman was on his "March to the Sea." While being removed from Andersonville, he with five or six others jumped from the railroad train and escaped to the swamps, where they remained for several weeks subsisting on roots and berries, and were on the verge of starvation, when they found a *dug-out*, and made their way down the Altamaha river to the blockading squadron, and were taken on board one of the vessels about six weeks after their escape.

The list, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows:—

Commissioned Officers.

Killed.—Captain S. Henry Bailey, Lieutenant Henry W. Daniels. *Wounded.*—Captain Edwin A. Morse.

Enlisted Men.

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Company A. Killed.—Privates James Alexander, Levi Chamberlain, Franklin Howe. *Wounded.*—Corporal Barney Sheridan, Privates Frederick C. Battles, Andrew Coyle, John A. French, Francis A. Perkins.

Company B. Killed.—Corporal James N. Doughty, Private Obed R. Davis. *Wounded.*—First Sergeant Thomas H. Haskell, Sergeant Edwin F. Crosby, Corporal George W. Paine, Private John T. Priest.

Company C. Killed.—First Sergeant A. Fernando Bailey, Sergeant George E. Freeman, Corporal Fanning T. Merritt, Private Michael Loughlin. *Wounded.*—Corporal Stephen F. Logee, Privates Luke K. Davis, Edwin Searles.

Company D. Killed.—Sergeant Stephen T. Brooks (commanding Company), Corporal Alden J. Sawtell, Privates Samuel B. Hale, Peter Breen, Dennis Hare. *Died of Wounds.*—Private Sanford Giles. *Wounded.*—Corporal Courtland A. Allen, Privates John M. Demary, Edwin W. Lund, Augustus S. Whitney, William L. Renouf.

Company E. Wounded.—Privates William F. Whitney, Joseph B. Wheelock.

Company F. Wounded.—Corporals Ammiel Littlefield, Orrick H. Adams.

Company G. Killed.—Corporal William H. Hall. *Died of Wounds.*—Private John S. Emerson. *Wounded.*—Private Andrew B. Fletcher.

Company H. Killed.—Sergeant Jerome Pierce, Private Lewis D. Winslow. *Died of Wounds.*—Private Eugene W. Hodgman. *Wounded.*—Sergeant John A. Fisher, Private Augustus F. Colburn.

Company I. Died of Wounds.—Private Franklin Farnsworth. *Wounded.*—First Sergeant Alonzo A. White (commanding Company), Privates Savillion Arnold, Luke Lavin, Hazen D. Leighton, John A. Bosworth.

Company K. Died of Wounds.—Private Samuel G. Vaughn (wounded in Wilderness, but had returned to duty). Private Matthew Hudson (captured and died in rebel prison at Florence, S.C.). *Wounded.*—Sergeant Edward Chamberlain, Privates Silas Chamberlain, Henry Noi (wounded May 6, but had returned to duty).

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Names of killed and wounded of Twenty-Ninth Massachusetts Volunteers, serving with the Thirty-Sixth Regiment May 12th, 1864.

Killed.—Sergeants Hamer and Mosher, Privates Alexander, Fisher, Ward, Morton, [15] Murphy, and Mansfield. *Wounded*.—Privates Adams, Willett, Feeney, Little, Guiney, Mitchell, Hamlin, Parsons, McAloney, Hoxie, Thresher, and Thompson.

[15] Lemuel Morton had a presentiment that he should be killed in this battle. He had but two days more to serve to complete an honorable record of three years. He was the first man killed in the engagement, falling at the first fire, before the regiment entered the woods.

The most severe loss was sustained by Company D, [16] which lost seven killed and nine wounded,—a total of sixteen. The loss in the brigade in killed, wounded, and missing was four hundred and fifty-one; in the division one thousand one hundred and ninety-three.

[16] In this action Captain Buffum acted as Major, and his Company [D] was commanded by Sergeant Brooks until he was killed. The company was then under command of Sergeant Liberty W. Foskett, until the arrival of First Sergeant John A. Stearns, from recruiting service, May 15th. Sergeant Foskett was wounded at Petersburg, June 17th, 1864.

During the entire night of the 12th the men were hard at work felling trees and erecting breastworks, and by daylight we had a strong defensive line. The 13th passed without special incident. The skirmish-firing was sharp and unremitting, and one man, Private William H. Doyle, Company B, was badly wounded. A feeling of dread uncertainty pervaded the troops. An assault upon the enemy's works was ordered, but before any movement could be made the order was countermanded. At times the rain fell in torrents, and our position was very uncomfortable.

On the 14th the men belonging to the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, whose term of service expired that day, were sent to the rear to be transported to Washington for muster-out. They were followed, on the 16th, by the remainder of that regiment, seventy-six in number, whose terms of service expired at various dates between the 14th and 21st of May. Immediately after the action of the 12th the attention of General Burnside was called to the circumstances of the case, and he at once ordered that the survivors should now have their discharge, and caused them to be sent to Washington. The departure of these comrades caused a material reduction of our effective strength; but we rejoiced in their good fortune, and bade them God-speed homeward. We regarded them as brothers, and parted from them with deep regret. They were transferred to our regiment on the 30th of January, 1864, while in Tennessee, under circumstances of peculiar hardship, owing to what has always been considered a too literal interpretation of a general order. For more than three months they had been identified with our command in all the hardships and privations of the spring of 1864. They evinced the spirit of true Massachusetts soldiers, and nobly performed their duty to the last hour of their service. Their courage and devotion at Spottsylvania are worthy of the highest praise. Eight of these men, Sergeants Mosher and Hamer, Privates Mansfield, Alexander, Fisher, Ward, Morton, and Murphy, having but a few, some of them only two, days longer to serve to complete the honorable record of three years' service, went into that battle and sealed their devotion by pouring out their blood and dying in defence of the nation's honor. To us it seemed hard, indeed, that these men could not have been sent to the rear on the morning of that day, or assigned to some duty whereby that sacrifice need not have been extorted. But, like good soldiers, they went forward as ever under the folds of the flag that before nightfall was to be crimsoned with their blood. All honor to the noble band, also, twelve in number, who were wounded on that day; and all honor to the gallant regiment in which they were trained to such performance of duty!

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The storm continued throughout the 14th. In the night the enemy drove in our pickets three times, and the men were under arms, hoping that the enemy would attack the main line. This, however, they declined to do. Sunday, the 15th, was stormy and dismal. The long rain rendered our position very trying and uncomfortable. We had but little shelter, and the exposure to the constant bad weather, the scarcity of food, the want of sleep, and the mental strain, now began to have perceptible effect. Many cases of sickness were reported, and Assistant-Surgeon Bryant, the only medical officer with the regiment, afforded what relief the limited means at hand would permit. The supply of ammunition was replenished, and the lines were thoroughly inspected by General Potter, who ordered a traverse built in rear of our regiment. Although the weather was dark and gloomy, and there were many discouraging circumstances, the day was rendered comparatively happy by the arrival of Captain Smith, First Lieutenant Brigham, and nine non-commissioned officers, who had been absent since February on recruiting service in Massachusetts. They received a soldier's welcome, and proved to be a timely and valuable reinforcement.

On the 16th Captain Buffum, in charge of the skirmish line, advanced the pickets, and strengthened and improved the front line. This was not agreeable to the enemy, who made several ineffectual attempts to force us back. A strong demonstration was made on our part, and the firing was severe. The enemy was found to be in full force, and no attack was made. Cannonading and skirmishing continued through the 17th, and the position of some of the corps was changed. The Fifth and Sixth Corps moved to the left, leaving only Birney's division of the Second Corps on the right of the Ninth. Corporal Marcus Keep, of Co. E, was mortally wounded. During the night it became evident that a new movement was on foot. Troops were in line of battle in our rear, and we were ordered to be in readiness to move in any direction at a moment's notice. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 18th, the artillery opened along the entire line, under cover of which a portion of the Second Corps, with the Second Brigade of our division, made a vigorous attack upon the enemy's line. The enemy had slashed timber along his front, and the abatis was almost impenetrable, and by eleven o'clock, after three attempts to storm the works, the effort was abandoned, although considerable ground was gained, and a good position secured. The enemy's artillery fire was very severe, and directed especially against our division;

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but the loss in our brigade was very slight. Toward evening the attacking column was withdrawn, and the Second Brigade was massed in our rear.

The newly commissioned chaplain, Rev. Nathaniel Richardson, reported on the 18th, and was assigned to duty in the Field Hospital, among the sick and wounded.

At midnight the regiment was aroused by an aide-de-camp, and ordered to move silently and rapidly to the rear. Upon reaching the open ground, where we formed on the morning of the 12th, we filed toward the left of the line, and after a very tedious march, over rough corduroy, stumps, and fallen timber, halted at daylight near the Anderson house, where a large portion of the army was massed. At eight o'clock the corps marched by the flank toward the left, in a southerly direction, and while on the march were passed by Generals Grant, Meade, and Burnside, who were greeted with loud cheering. It soon became evident that a general movement was in progress. After marching three or four miles a halt was ordered, and the division filed into a large open field, and went into line of battle on the left of the corps; afterwards the division was faced to the left, and formed in two lines of battle, the First Brigade in front. The brigade was then formed in column by regiments, the Thirty-sixth being in front, and moved forward across the field to the edge of a forest, where companies A and G were deployed as skirmishers under the eye of General Potter. We moved through a belt of fine woods, and halted in front of a broad, open plain, at a point where three roads intersected. Here we were ordered to intrench. A high rail fence formed the basis of the line, and in a little while we had a strong defence. Jones' Eleventh Massachusetts Battery was put in position on our left, and by noon the line was firmly established, and the men lay down to enjoy the much-needed rest.

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That afternoon we received the first mail since leaving Catlett's, fifteen days before; and many hearts were made happy by loving words from home. The dangers and fatigues of the past two weeks were soon forgotten or transcribed to paper, for we now had our first opportunity for writing as well as receiving letters. Scattered through the woods in all directions could be seen the brave soldiers, who but yesterday were engaged in deadly conflict, recounting to the loved ones at home the story of the marches, bloody battles, and sad losses of the past two weeks. Ours was, proverbially, a "letter-writing" regiment, and the mail for our single regiment often exceeded that of the remainder of the brigade.

The camp at this place was greatly enjoyed. Baggage was brought up from the rear, shelter tents were pitched, and the men improved all the opportunities for rest. A strong force reconnoitred toward Stannard's Mills, on the Po river, and returned safely, having found no enemy within five miles of our position. Heavy firing continued on our right, and an attempt of Early's corps to turn the right flank, and seize the Fredericksburg road, was splendidly repulsed by a division of heavy artillery regiments on their way to the front to reinforce the army.

But, like all other pleasant experiences in a soldier's life, this rest was soon to end. At half-past three o'clock, on the afternoon of the 21st, we received orders to break camp, and the brigade, with Jones' battery, was ordered to take possession of the crossing of the Po river at Stannard's Mills. After marching about five miles the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, which was in the advance, encountered the enemy's pickets, and after a lively fight drove them across the river. Upon our further advance we uncovered a battery of three guns, posted near the river, which opened upon us with a heavy fire of shell and canister. Colonel Curtin formed his line of battle in the woods near the river, and the skirmishers became briskly engaged along the river's banks. General Potter came up at this time to examine the position of the enemy, which was found to be strongly intrenched. While searching for a ford by which to cross and attack, orders were received to suspend the attack, and our brigade and Jones' battery were left in position, to prevent the enemy from crossing, while the remainder of the column moved, by way of Smith's Mills, to Downer's bridge.

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The day had been pleasant and very hot; but at dusk, just as we had completed our movement, a heavy rain set in. We were in close proximity to a watchful enemy, and were obliged to maintain the utmost vigilance and quiet. We had no blankets nor shelter of any kind, and were not allowed to kindle fires, and, in consequence, passed a most dreary and uncomfortable night. Troops were marching in rear of our line all night, and before daylight our brigade was withdrawn and moved forward on the Telegraph road southward.

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CHAPTER XV. ON THE NORTH ANNA AND THE PAMUNKEY.

The great army was once more on the march, and another "left-flanker" was in progress. At six o'clock, on Sunday morning, we halted an hour for breakfast. At seven the march was resumed. The day was pleasant and very hot, relieved by a half hour's rain at noon. Our brigade was separated from the remainder of the corps, which had marched during the previous night while we had been holding the river fords. During our noon halt all the trains of the army passed us, together with the head-quarters' guard, and the rebel prisoners captured in the recent battles. The noon halt was at Guiney Station. In the afternoon we marched in the direction of Bowling Green, toward the North Anna river, and our brigade had the rear of the column on this road. The march that day was very pleasant. We had emerged from the dense forests of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania to an open and beautiful farming country, abounding with well-tilled fields and fine dwellings, which bore evidences of comfort and plenty, unscathed by the desolations of war. As we advanced southward the roads improved, and our march was very rapid. At five o'clock we came up with the remainder of our division, and continued the march until nightfall, when we bivouacked near Bethel Church, having marched sixteen miles.

Early the next morning the march was resumed, but the roads were so crowded with the wagon-trains and artillery that the progress was very slow, and we did not fairly commence our day's work till three o'clock in the afternoon. The roads having by that time been partly cleared we pushed along with great rapidity, our ears being every few minutes greeted with the distant booming of artillery. Our speed was not abated until about dark, when we approached the North Anna river at Ox Ford. We bivouacked for the night by the roadside near Chesterfield Church, and were lulled to sleep by the din of moving battalions and the steady fire of the skirmishers.

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Grant's movement to the North Anna had been observed by Lee. The operation, which in the presence of a wary foe is one of the most hazardous, had been conducted with great skill and complete success; yet the enemy, possessing the direct road to the river, had been enabled to move with great rapidity, while the march of our army had to be made cautiously over comparatively unknown roads. When, therefore, we reached the river we found the enemy prepared to dispute its passage. The army of the Potomac reached the North Anna on the afternoon of the 23d, at three points,—the Fifth and Sixth Corps, on the right, at Jericho Ford; the Ninth near Ox Ford; and the Second, on the left, at the Chesterfield bridge. The river at the points where the army reached it makes a bend to the south, and then immediately to the north-east, thus nearly forming two sides of a triangle. Lee's army was in a strong position, the centre resting opposite General Burnside's position at Ox Ford, with his flanks drawn back, the line of battle being nearly in the form of the letter V; or, as a rebel author aptly writes, Lee had "inserted a wedge of gray tipped with steel," in the centre of Grant's line. The Fifth and Sixth Corps crossed the river to the right, and the Second, after sharp fighting at the bridge on the left.

When the passage at Ox Ford, between the two wings of our army, was attempted by General Burnside, it was resisted with great spirit; and it being impracticable to attack at that point, although a portion of the corps crossed the river, the Ninth Corps was divided, and our division assigned to General Hancock to coöperate in the movement on the left. The 24th was excessively hot. The men were obliged to lie in an open field exposed to the sun, and suffered much from the heat. Soon after daylight the picket fire deepened into a heavy and continuous discharge of musketry, mingled now and then with artillery. At two o'clock came the order "Fall in!" and in a moment we were on our way toward the river which separated us from General Lee's position. Just before we reached the river a brief halt was ordered. We had moved out in column, and the Thirty-sixth had the left. When we resumed the march we faced by the left, and moved by a circuitous route through the woods to Chesterfield bridge, passing the hospitals of the Second Corps. Upon reaching General Hancock's head-quarters Colonel Curtin reported to that officer in person, who ordered us to cross the river at once. We were, however, obliged to wait for some time, while other troops and batteries were crossing, and were exposed to a severe artillery fire, which would have been very destructive had the guns been better served. We also encountered a severe fire as we crossed Chesterfield bridge, but fortunately no one was injured.

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After crossing the river Captain Barker was directed to push on without waiting for the brigade, with orders to report to any officer of General Hancock's staff. We passed through a strong line of works captured early in the day by Birney's division of the Second Corps, and were ordered to relieve a Pennsylvania regiment of Mott's brigade, which had been deployed in the woods as skirmishers. This duty was at once performed, when General Hancock, who had come out to look at the ground, ordered us to push forward, with the remark, "See if you can find any rebels." The regiment advanced gallantly with a fine line, considering its length and the dense forest. In a few minutes a sharp rattling fire proved that we had found the enemy and in strong force. We continued the advance until we neared a large clearing,—an open, level field, across which, in the edge of the woods, could be seen the enemy's entrenched picket line and the strong main line beyond. A charge across this field would entail fearful loss, for the rebels were burrowed in their works and could pour a most destructive fire upon our line. By this time the remainder of the division had come into line in our rear, and in a little while had a line of log breastworks erected. We were ordered to cover the front of our division, and it became necessary to extend our right to the bank of the river, which at this point was very high and steep. The enemy were well posted, and the fire of their sharpshooters was very annoying and fatal. Company A lost

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Sergeants May and Derby, two of its best men, within five minutes after the line was extended. At the same time the left was extended, and our line, though thin, was in good position.

While these movements were in progress a most furious thunder-shower, which had threatened for some hours, burst upon us in great violence. The rain poured in torrents, and the blinding lightning and rolling thunder mingling with the volleys of musketry and crash of artillery produced an impression calculated to inspire terror in the stoutest heart. The storm was so severe as for a time to put a stop to the firing while the battle of the elements continued. After the fury of the tempest had somewhat abated the picket-firing was actively renewed. Just before dark General Potter came out to examine the position, and while inspecting the picket line narrowly escaped death from the fire of the sharp-shooters. He was mounted, and presented a good target for their fire. He was cautioned of his danger and the nearness of the enemy, but answered only with an indifferent "Humph!" and after he had completed his inspection, which seemed unnecessarily long, turned and rode leisurely away, to the evident relief of his companions.

Notwithstanding a heavy rain, which continued the greater part of the night, and our cheerless and exposed position, a steady fire was kept up all along the picket line, and the enemy's fire was unusually hostile. The returning daylight revealed the entrenchments of the enemy across the clearing in our front to be much nearer than we had realized in our advance in the previous twilight. They were very strong, protected by a formidable abatis, and were well filled with troops, who poured upon us a very close and effective fire. Our position, although somewhat protected by detached rifle-pits thrown up the night before, was greatly exposed and very dangerous. Soon after daylight the left of the regiment was advanced a short distance, for the purpose of correcting the formation of the picket line. The work was accomplished under a severe fire, by which Luke Doyle of K, and Corporal Rice of C, were badly wounded. By slow degrees the picket-pits were extended, and by noon the line was made continuous and afforded a good protection. At four o'clock that afternoon the regiment was relieved, and posted in rear of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania in the line of battle, having lost one man killed and four wounded.

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During the 26th the brigade was under arms all day. The Second Brigade, supported by a portion of our own, attacked and drove back the whole line of the enemy's skirmishers in our front, and established a new line farther in advance. The works of the enemy were now reconnoitred, and found to be so strong as to make an attack impracticable; accordingly the anticipated assault was not made. The rain continued; but the arrival of an unusually large mail caused much joy in camp, and more than compensated for the drenching we sustained. At nine o'clock that evening Captain Smith, brigade officer of the day, advanced the entire skirmish line, under a sharp fire of musketry and artillery. Our brigade was then relieved by a brigade of Birney's division, and quietly withdrawn across the river, the Thirty-sixth leading the division line. After stumbling about in the mud and darkness for some five miles, the brigade, at two A.M., bivouacked near Mount Carmel Church, on the same ground occupied by us on the night of the 23d. The operations of the last four days had been extremely exhausting. The constant strain by day and night, the exposure to storm, and all the dangers and fatigue incident to such a campaign, began to tell seriously upon the command. The effective strength of the regiment now was ten commissioned officers and two hundred and thirty-six enlisted men.

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On the 27th orders bearing date of May 25th were promulgated from General Grant's headquarters, consolidating the Ninth Army Corps with the Army of the Potomac. Heretofore it had been an independent command, receiving directions from General Grant. By this arrangement General Burnside, although senior in rank to General Meade, placed himself voluntarily under his command, and, with characteristic unselfishness, generously waived all considerations of rank and military etiquette for the good of the service.

During the forenoon of the 27th the corps was concentrated near Mount Carmel Church. Early in the afternoon the third flanking movement commenced. Each of these movements had brought us face to face with the enemy strongly intrenched to dispute our further progress. Each time, after days of toil and bloodshed, without gaining any material advantage, we had been withdrawn to renew the struggle at some other point. This movement was secretly and successfully accomplished. Not a picket shot was fired, and the enemy did not seem to be aware of the withdrawal. In the march the Second Division had the rear of the column, and we moved in a south-easterly direction, toward the Pamunkey river. The roads were so obstructed by wagon trains and artillery that it cannot be said that we *marched* until night. We caught two or three hours' sleep at intervals during the evening, but after nine o'clock the halts were less frequent until about one o'clock, when we bivouacked by the roadside, after a toilsome march of about twelve miles.

At daylight on the 28th the camp was astir. At seven o'clock the march was resumed, and we passed through a fine, open country, level and well cultivated. The march, however, was as tedious as that of the day before. The regular roads were given up to the immense trains, and the troops were obliged to make their way across fields and bottom lands. At noon we had an hour's rest for dinner, and at half-past two we halted on the grounds of an extensive plantation, where the corps was massed. Corps head-quarters were at the mansion-house. It was a princely establishment, surrounded by the cabins of the slaves, and from appearances "all the hands" were at home. We expected to camp at this place; but, after an hour's halt, greatly to our disappointment we were ordered forward.

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The Second Division now had the right. The march was severe, and many fell out exhausted. Occasionally a halt was ordered, and the men dropped in the road for rest, and many had to be aroused to prevent them from being run over by the galloping artillery. It was emphatically a

forced march. The roads were ablaze with burning rails, and the tall pines on fire presented a most picturesque and brilliant scene for those who could keep their eyes open long enough to enjoy it. Soon after midnight, near Hanover Town, we reached the Pamunkey river, which we crossed on the pontoon bridge at one o'clock, and half an hour later bivouacked about two miles from the river. It was noticed that there was no playing "High, Low, Jack" to determine who should go for the water or cook the coffee. Every man dropped in his place, completely exhausted from the effects of a night march of more than twenty miles.

At four o'clock on the 29th we were again aroused, moved forward a few miles, and halted in the woods by the roadside while the Fifth Corps passed to the front. Soon after noon we were ordered to the rear, and halted for rest in a pine grove, through which flowed a stream of water in close proximity to the wagon train. It was Sunday; surely rest was never more welcome to wearied, jaded men. It was the first rest deserving the name since the 20th, at Spottsylvania. Here we pitched our tents, and the men availed themselves of a fine opportunity for washing clothes, and overhauling their sadly diminished wardrobe. The evening was bright and beautiful. The head-quarters' band near us discoursed patriotic and sacred music and songs of home, and the memory of that pleasant Sabbath is undimmed even at this lapse of time. To many it was the last Sabbath on earth. The next dawned upon their lowly graves in the swamps of the Chickahominy!

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At eight o'clock on Monday, the 30th, we moved out of camp, and soon joined the remainder of the division at Hawes' shop. An intelligent guideboard informed us we were only twelve miles from Richmond. Line of battle was soon after formed, and an advance ordered. The enemy was in a strong position, and the skirmishing was very sharp. The division halted in the road while the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania cleared the ground in our front by a gallant charge, when the division crossed a creek, and advanced about half a mile by the right flank into an open plain, where we formed line of battle under the personal direction of General Potter, who himself placed the guides. Here we were ordered to intrench, and soon had a good line of rifle-pits, while a heavy skirmish line was deployed in the woods in our front. The Second Corps was upon our right, our corps occupying a position between the Second and Fifth Corps. Strong reconnoissances were made on the roads leading toward the Chickahominy and Richmond. The firing was very heavy, and the rebel army was found to be in strong position on the line of the Totopotomoy. Again having the direct road they were enabled to confront us with their entire army strongly intrenched. The result of the movements of this day was to secure ground well up to the enemy's lines; but no decisive action was fought.

On the 31st, in the afternoon, an advance was ordered. We left our strong works in the plain, and moved forward in line to the woods, and supported a gallant attack of the Second Brigade, made in connection with the Second Corps. We advanced about three-quarters of a mile over what General Potter reported to be the worse ground he ever knew. The firing was very brisk, but being in the second line our loss was slight. The enemy was found to be strongly intrenched; but the attack forced him out of a line of skirmish pits, which were captured by our division, and the troops pushed closely up to the enemy's main line. The picket line was established with great difficulty, after severe fighting. The line of battle was now in a dense forest, reminding us of the Wilderness, and we occupied the remainder of the afternoon in preparing for a general attack. We connected on the right with Birney's division of the Second Corps, and were ordered to advance with the right or left, as the occasion might demand. On our right General Hancock attempted to force the enemy's line; but the resistance was so determined that no advantage was gained. A strong line of works was erected, and the men slept on their arms, ready to repel an attack.

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Early the next morning a battery of six Napoleon guns was brought up and put in position immediately in rear of our regiment, and opened fire on the enemy. At the same time heavy skirmishing was resumed, and the line was prepared to assault the works in our front. General Birney was to attack on the right, and our movement was to conform to his. His troops moved out; but the works in his front were found to be very formidable, protected in front by marshy ground and a strong abatis, and the approaches enfiladed with artillery. In moving forward General Birney uncovered a battery, and he was obliged to suspend the attack. The men were under arms all day, ready to move forward or to the right or left. It was a long day of anxiety and suspense. Later the enemy made a fierce attack upon the two divisions on our left, but was handsomely repulsed, with heavy loss. Toward night he advanced a strong line to attack our division. He advanced in fine order, under a heavy fire; but, not liking the appearance of our works, prudently retired. The fighting all along the line was very severe. Much artillery was used, but no special advantage was gained.

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About midnight we were aroused by whispered orders to move by the right flank, and with the utmost secrecy, to the rear. Long before daylight we were in position in the line of works built by us on the 30th of May. The Second Corps had been withdrawn from our right and moved to the left of the army. We were ordered to be in constant readiness for a rapid movement. While waiting here some of our comrades of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, seized with a sudden attack of the Eastern Tennessee foraging mania, visited a recently deserted house in our rear. Upon searching the premises they found some hams and bacon sides buried in the cellar, and, on pursuing their investigations further, dug up, not hams, but bags of silver coin, which the owner had secreted. The amount found, it is said, was more than \$3,000, besides a considerable amount in gold. The lucky miners carried on a profitable brokerage business for an hour, and soon the silver coin, exchanged for currency, was everywhere throughout the camp.

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CHAPTER XVI. AT COLD HARBOR.

At one o'clock we were ordered to the left, and moved by the left flank. The heat was intense, and the roads dusty. After marching about two miles that portion of the corps which had left the line was massed in an open field near General Meade's head-quarters, in rear of the Fifth Corps right. Almost as soon as we halted we were overtaken by a furious shower, which soon settled into an easterly storm. The rain poured in torrents, and each one was sheltering himself as much as possible, when the enemy made an attack. Rhodes' division of Ewell's corps, supported by Hill and Gordon, had been thrown forward along the road from Hundley's Corner, and had struck the skirmish line that covered our flank. The corps was at once put in position to resist the enemy's advance. The movement was on open ground, and the only corps manoeuvre we had witnessed during the campaign. It was directed by General Burnside in person. The corps moved in three long lines by division fronts, and presented a splendid spectacle. It was a review under fire. When we came into position the First Division was in the front, on high ground near Bethesda Church. The Second and Third Divisions supported the First. Two batteries of artillery opened upon the advancing enemy, who replied with artillery and musketry, and for a time there was a brisk duel. The attack of the enemy was handsomely repulsed, although, in the surprise occasioned by his first attack upon the skirmish line of the First Division, he succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners. Toward dusk the division was moved by the right flank to extend the line of battle in that direction, and a line of rifle-pits was thrown up. Later in the evening we advanced farther to the right and front, where the brigade was massed, and ordered to bivouac for the night. The men had hardly time to roll themselves in their blankets when the Thirty-sixth was sent for to prolong the line of the Second Brigade. It was raining hard when the regiment moved out. We halted in rear of the left of the Second Brigade line, which formed the extreme right of the army. In front of us and to the left was a line of deserted intrenchments, which the regiment was now ordered to occupy. This was a very hazardous operation. We were ignorant of the position, but knew that the enemy was in the immediate vicinity, if not in the very works we were ordered to occupy. Not a ray of light illumined the more than midnight darkness. The trees were dripping with moisture and every drop sounded like a footfall. As discovery would frustrate the entire plan, the men were sent in singly, each being cautioned to move quietly. We were obliged to use the utmost vigilance, and as it was, we drew some shots in moving in. We soon discovered the enemy to be on the other side of our line of pits, but a little on our left. A long, anxious night followed, a fitting prelude to the fearful day to follow.

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We now fully comprehend what then we could not clearly understand. Of the previous movements we had been able to form some conception; but the operations since crossing the Pamunkey, conducted rapidly in jungles, swamps, and labyrinths of forest; in storm and darkness; by marches and countermarches, advances and withdrawals,—all seemed to us to be without consistent plan or purpose. But these operations had been necessary to develop the strong position of the enemy along the line of the Chickahominy, covering the railroad approach and the principal roads leading to Richmond. The only direct path to the Confederate capital lay across this noted stream, which one writer says may be regarded as a wet ditch in front of the outer fortifications of Richmond. In order to further advance upon his chosen line, it was necessary for General Grant to force a passage of this stream. The enemy's position along its front was so strong and unassailable that no course seemed open except to extend the left, and, by a movement lower down, outflank his right, and endeavor to pass the Chickahominy at Cold Harbor.

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On the first day of June Grant sent the Sixth Corps and other troops to take possession of Cold Harbor at the left extremity of the line, it being the junction of important roads leading to White House Landing, Dispatch Station, Hanover, and Richmond. It commanded these divergent roads, and was of particular importance, as it covered the road leading to the base of supplies at White House. The place was occupied after a sharp struggle, and the severe attack of the enemy to repossess the place had been handsomely repulsed. That evening General Grant determined there to force the passage of the Chickahominy, and drive Lee's army within the intrenchments of Richmond. For this purpose the Second Corps had been withdrawn from our right, and massed on the left during the night of the 1st. The enemy had detached correspondingly to his right, and the terrific shower in the afternoon, while it interrupted Grant's plan of attack, did not prevent the enemy from crowding all his available troops toward Cold Harbor, and perfecting his arrangements for defence. Our line was now being contracted and prepared to attack. Though the manoeuvre during the afternoon had been intercepted, the enemy had gained no special advantage in following up our movement. Our line extended from near Bethesda Church on the right, to the Dispatch Station road at Barker's Mills on the left, a distance of about six miles. The Second Corps was now on the extreme left, the Second Division of the Ninth Corps held the extreme right. We were on historic ground. Two years before this had been the scene of several of the great battles between the armies of Lee and McClellan, with the positions, however, somewhat changed. That soil had drank the blood of thousands of our gallant comrades; it was again to drink the blood of thousands more.

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The orders had been issued for a general assault along the entire line at daybreak, and the final preparations were now being made. As we have already said, the night was stormy and intensely dark. The men had no shelter, and could not sleep, and suffered much discomfort. Just before day

the regiment, with one or two others of the Second Brigade, was withdrawn from the woods and ordered to construct a new line of breastworks. This work was prosecuted with all possible despatch, and was nearly completed when, most unexpectedly, the regiment was ordered to join our own brigade, then forming for attack. Without a moment's delay, though weary, hungry, and cold, these brave men leaped the breastworks and formed on the extreme left of the brigade, joining it on the double-quick. The line was short. The brigade had dwindled to a handful compared with its former numbers, but for the beauty and military precision with which it moved across the field it could challenge no superior in any corps of the army. The enemy's heavy skirmish line was posted in the edge of the forest, and, as we approached the woods, opened a sharp fire. Our rapidly advancing line caused them hurriedly to withdraw. As we neared the woods a withering volley swept the line. At the first fire the brave Color-Sergeant, Adams E. French, of Company D, who had borne the national colors in all the battles of the campaign, received a mortal wound, and fell in the line. The hands of the gallant Corporal Stevens, of Company K, caught the flag, and it did not reach the ground. The regiment pressed forward under a galling fire, pressing toward the right, and the enemy was driven rapidly across a creek, through a swampy morass, over a ridge, and into their strong intrenchments, within a few yards of the Shady Grove road, upon which was their main line. It was with great difficulty that a line could be maintained in the dense jungle under such a deadly fire. It was Spottsylvania over again. We were even nearer to the enemy's works. Captain Barker, commanding the regiment, looked to the connection on the right, while Captain Smith gave attention to the left. As we moved forward, a rise of ground in our front afforded slight protection; but when we reached the crest the fire was terrific. The men held up to the work nobly. Comrades were falling on every side, and very few escaped without slight bruises, or having clothing cut by flying balls.

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The right of the brigade encountered a strong line of works in open ground, covered by artillery in position, which could not be overcome. We on the left were exposed to the fire from the enemy's intrenched line, not ten rods distant, and our flank was entirely exposed to a heavy cross-fire. Having no support, it was impossible to advance or retire. As at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, we were on the extreme left, with no protection on that flank. The enemy's line was longer than ours, and as the shots came in from the flank, with the recollection of those dread days fresh in mind, two companies, B and K, were deployed far to the left to keep up a show of numbers, and prevent a surprise on the part of the enemy. The ammunition was soon exhausted, and the cartridge-boxes of the killed and wounded comrades were emptied for a fresh supply. We were ordered not to give an inch of ground. Men crawled to the rear and rolled fallen trees and logs up the slope to the top of the crest, and loosened the soil with their bayonets, and scooped up the earth with tin cups and plates, until inch by inch they secured some protection. As soon as a slight cover was raised, and the supply of ammunition replenished, a close and deadly fire was opened on the rebel line in response to their murderous volleys. The colors were placed upon the works, and during the day were flying in the face of the enemy. In our advance the enemy opened upon us with four pieces of artillery posted in an earthwork. Our attack was made with so much dash and vigor that the right of the brigade secured a position which commanded the enemy's guns and prevented them from using the pieces. Two caissons were blown up, many of the men and horses were killed by our fire, and the guns stood silent and harmless throughout the day.

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Meanwhile we were exposed to a merciless fire from the rebel sharpshooters, who were stationed in the tops of trees within their works; but after a few hours we got their range, and were enabled to inflict some damage, which had the effect to slacken their fire. Late in the forenoon General Griffin's brigade, in moving around our right, secured a position from which it could make a successful advance, and force the enemy across the Shady Grove road. An attack was ordered, to be delivered at one o'clock, and preparations were made to advance at that time, in connection with an attack by our entire corps; but before that hour the order was countermanded on account of the failure of the assault along the left, at Cold Harbor.

Early in the afternoon, and again toward night, the enemy opened a furious fire on our brigade, under cover of which they attempted to draw off their artillery by *prolonge*; but our men had such perfect range, and poured in such a close fire, that their object could not be accomplished. At sunset a brigade of the First Division moved up and connected with our left, and Companies B and K returned to their original position in the line of battle. At nightfall videttes were posted, and thus ended a dark and bloody day.

The loss in our brigade had been especially severe. Many of its best officers and bravest soldiers had fallen before that fearful fire, and had fought their last battle. The loss in the regiment was proportionately greater than at the Wilderness or Spottsylvania; in fact, it was the most destructive battle in which we were ever engaged. As nearly as can be ascertained we carried into action that morning eight commissioned officers and two hundred enlisted men. From that short line we lost eight killed and forty-nine wounded, ten of them mortally—a total of fifty-seven. Seven of this number belonged to the Forty-sixth New York detachment. Of the commissioned officers Captain Barker, commanding regiment, and First Lieutenant Burrage were wounded by minie balls, the former in the arm, the latter in the shoulder. Captains Smith and Ames were struck, but not seriously injured. The proportion of non-commissioned officers, killed and wounded, was very large. The regiment was deprived, also, of some of its bravest and most faithful men. One of the first to fall was Color-Sergeant French, of Company D. He had won a reputation for bravery and coolness of which any soldier might be proud. During the entire campaign he had carried the national color through leaden hail, and on long and weary marches, never for a moment flinching in the face of danger, hunger, thirst, or weariness. While the line was securing a foothold in front of the enemy's works, we experienced the most terrific fire, and

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sustained the severest loss. It was there that nearly all the brave men who fell went down. It was there that we lost Acting Sergeant Major Humes, who was struck down by a mortal wound in the chest, while he was bravely cheering on the men. He had rejoined the regiment but three weeks before, having been on recruiting service at home; but in that brief time he had won the esteem and confidence of all by his cool, intrepid bearing. The heaviest loss fell upon Company D. Its loss of nine men, four of whom were mortally wounded, was a repetition of Spottsylvania.

Although inured, as the regiment was, to scenes of blood and carnage, to loss and toil and suffering, the sacrifices of this dark day could not be recounted in any spirit other than that of deep sorrow and pain. The "faithful unto death" were mourned as on no previous day by the little remnant who survived. It seemed to us that they were too brave and good and noble to fall in the dark hour of battle in those dripping woods, without the knowledge or the hope even of success. Every company had lost some of its best and most faithful men; some who had been in every scene of strife hitherto, and whose calm, hopeful, and even happy spirits had often cheered and sustained the despondent, and imparted fresh life and courage to those who were ready to faint. They would be missed in every added battle, in every hour of future trial and gloom. The regiment would never again seem quite the same without them; the lonely picket would be more lonely, the long marches longer and more fatiguing, the camp-fire and bivouac less cheerful, because they had gone. But the sudden rupture of earthly ties could not and cannot sever the bond that united the living and the valiant dead; and we thought of them that night as more than ever comrades bound to us by ties of battle-blood.

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It had been a disastrous day, not alone to our regiment, but to the entire army. The assault along the whole line had been repulsed. No advantage had been gained, and the loss was upwards of ten thousand men.

The names of our killed and wounded in this battle are as follows:—

Wounded.—Captain Thaddeus L. Barker, commanding regiment, arm; Lieutenant Henry S. Burrage, shoulder.

Company A. Died of Wounds.—Joseph A. Humes, (acting Sergeant-Major). *Wounded.*—Privates Charles H. Robinson, John J. Thornton, Joseph W. Chase.

Company B. Killed.—Private John S. Rackliffe. *Wounded.*—Sergeant Charles Raymond; Corporals John Lamont, L. Porter Abbott; Private John T. Priest (leg amputated).

Company C. Wounded.—Private George W. Wood.

Company D. Died of Wounds.—Sergeant Adams E. French (Color-Sergeant); Corporal Roland N. White; Privates George A. Raymond, Francis L. Whitney. *Wounded.*—Corporal Cyrus Alger; Privates Stephen H. Patterson, William J. Barrus, J. Monroe Rich, Daniel W. Chase.

Company E. Wounded.—First Sergeant Bela B. Tiffany; Corporal Henry Macomber; Privates George Fletcher, George D. Shaw, Edward Waters.

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Company F. Killed.—Corporal Edwin A. Martin; Private John Keenan. *Wounded.*—Sergeant Benjamin F. Montague; Corporals John J. Higgins, Orrick H. Adams.

Company G. Killed.—Corporal Andrew Moore; Privates Frank Chenery, William A. Dunn. *Died of Wounds.*—First Sergeant Livingston Mower; Private Estes E. Elliott. *Wounded.*—Privates Andrew Adams, Lyman F. Partridge.

Company H. Wounded.—First Sergeant, Philip G. Woodward (commanding company), Sergeant J. Hervey Miller; Private Josiah Foster.

Company I. Killed.—Private Elijah H. Woodbury. *Wounded.*—Corporal Watson Wilson; Privates, Davis B. Engly, John McGrath, George I. Carter.

Company K. Died of Wounds.—First Sergeant Charles K. Avery; Privates Albert C. Smith, John Flynn. *Wounded.*—John Doyle.

Killed and died of wounds:—	
Enlisted men	17
Wounded,—Commanding officers	2
Enlisted men	<u>31</u>
Total	50

The detachment of the Forty-Sixth New York Regiment serving with the Thirty-Sixth Regiment lost one man killed and six wounded.

We expected to be relieved at night, having had no sleep for forty-eight hours; but, after waiting two hours for a fresh brigade to arrive, we received orders that no relief could be furnished, and that we must hold the line.

At daylight our videttes reported that the enemy had retired or was lying low for an attack. They cautiously advanced and found the works deserted, and a strong reconnoitring party, under Captain Ames, was sent out to discover their whereabouts. No trace of the enemy could be discovered; but they had left many dead unburied, and several wounded on the field, together with much artillery, ammunition, and several hundred muskets. From the wounded we learned that we had fought Cook's brigade (five North Carolina regiments), of Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's corps, and that the regiment opposed to us was the North Carolina Tigers. Their losses had been more severe than ours. Our fire had been very destructive, judging from the new-made graves and the dead found upon the ground. Large numbers of dead horses were found near the position

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occupied by their artillery, and the vain endeavor to drag off the guns must have been very costly to the enemy.

In the afternoon the brigade was withdrawn to the left, and relieved a portion of Birney's division of the Second Corps, near the Tucker house. On that day the German detachment of the Forty-sixth New York, which had been connected with the Thirty-sixth since March 19th, rejoined their regiment, which had returned to the corps, leaving the effective strength of our regiment six commissioned officers and one hundred and sixty-eight enlisted men.

On the evening of the 5th the brigade line was changed. The right was drawn back and extended, holding the ground near Tucker's. The regiment worked all night, and by daylight had built a strong breastwork. The enemy opened a furious artillery fire in the morning from the two batteries near the Tucker house, but the loss was slight, considering the range and rapidity of the firing. Among the wounded in this fire was Solon Carter, of Company A, whose foot was torn off by a shell. He was one of the coolest and bravest men in the regiment, and bore his terrible wound with wonderful calmness. A heavy attack was made on the extended picket line, and the pickets were driven out; but toward night Captain Holmes went out with a reinforcement and restored the line, after a sharp skirmish, in which he captured four prisoners belonging to a North Carolina regiment.

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The operations of the 7th were a repetition of those of the 6th on a more extended scale. The division was exposed to a most furious shelling from the batteries on the hill, which, however, caused no loss in our regiment. Captain Smith was brigade officer of the day, and while out in the afternoon with a large working-party was suddenly attacked by a strong force of the enemy, who drove in the skirmish line with a rush. They advanced a line of battle, broke our line, and captured a portion of the working party, consisting of details from the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania and Fifty-eighth Massachusetts. Captain Smith narrowly escaped capture. In the attack Aaron Edmister, of Company B, was mortally wounded. The enemy did not advance beyond the skirmish line, and at six o'clock the line was reinforced, and ordered forward, and General Potter detailed our regiment to support the attack, and went out with us to retake the hill. We were exposed to a severe fire, but took shelter behind a rise of ground in our front as we lay in reserve, and suffered no loss. As we advanced the enemy fell back. At sunset a truce of two hours prevailed along the contending lines, excepting on our front, for the purpose of burying the dead. A white flag was sent out from our brigade head-quarters; but the bearer met with such a hot fire that he was obliged to return. After the truce the firing became general along the line.

The regiment remained in line of battle outside our works all night, and in the morning advanced to support the attack of our skirmish line. The rebel skirmishers were driven out of the pits, and across a field, over the top of the hill, into the woods beyond. The hill was then fortified and held, the entire brigade moving out and going into position. Later in the day the brigade was moved to the right, and after several halts went into line on the extreme right of the division, at nearly a right angle with the line of battle, facing a wide, open plain, the right resting on an impenetrable swamp. At night the fire was very sharp and close, and the men were under arms several times; but, with the exception of the burning of three houses in front of the lines, nothing unusual occurred.

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For four days the regiment occupied this line. Being but little exposed to the enemy's fire we enjoyed a season of comparative rest and quiet, when not detailed for duty in the skirmish line. The country around us was traversed with intrenchments and field-works of every description, extending in all directions. The duty in the picket pits was severe. The enemy evidently expected another assault, and were extremely hostile, narrowly watching every movement within our lines, and constantly on the alert to detect any changes in our position. During these days the company had been gradually moved to the left, and concentrated behind strong intrenchments, until at length preparations had been completed for another change of base.

On Sunday, the 12th, indications of a general movement prevailed throughout the corps. Baggage was packed, teams were loaded, rations issued and cooked. The long, hot summer day passed wearily, and at dusk Captain Smith was detailed as division officer of the day, and placed in charge of the picket line, with orders to hold it until midnight and then withdraw. At half-past eight o'clock the brigade silently withdrew to the rear, and was soon on the march. The night was excessively hot, the roads dusty, and the halts were so brief and at such long intervals that many of the men fell out exhausted. The road was crowded with troops. The Ninth and Eighteenth Corps marched side by side,—the latter destined for White House Landing, to embark for City Point, on James river. About two o'clock in the morning the regiment lost the right of the brigade, and became merged with the troops of the Eighteenth Corps, and kept on with them until daylight found us near White House. At half-past five, after an hour's search, we rejoined the brigade near Tunstall's Station.

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We rested during the forenoon while the corps was concentrating, and were joined by Captain Smith, and the picket detail. At one o'clock that afternoon we resumed our march in a southerly direction, through forest and swamps and across bottom lands. The march was very rapid and well conducted. We halted at seven o'clock for supper, resumed the march at eight, and bivouacked at half-past twelve about three miles from the Chickahominy. Early on the 14th the command was in motion. At nine o'clock we crossed the Chickahominy, at Jones' bridge, twenty miles from Richmond. We halted on its banks until noon, when the march southward was resumed, through a splendid farming country. The elegant mansions and well-tilled lands presented a beautiful contrast to the battle-scarred and fortified fields of Cold Harbor. The noble forests had not yielded to the axes of the engineers, and the blight and desolation of war were nowhere visible. We marched by way of Charles City cross-roads and court-house, and halted for

supper on the splendid plantation once the home of ex-President Tyler.

At sunset we were again on the road. At half-past eight we passed the camps of the Sixth Corps, and the first and third divisions of the Ninth. The men were gathered in groups around piles of blazing rails, busily cooking their evening meal; the bands were discoursing patriotic music, and the whole scene was one of the most striking and magnificent of war. At half-past nine we went into bivouac on the bank of the historic James, at a point about three miles below Wilcox's wharf, having made a laborious and painful, yet most successful, march of fifty-five miles in less than forty-eight hours.

CHAPTER XVII. THE MOVEMENT ON PETERSBURG.

The movement of the army to the James was one of the most brilliant and successful of the war. It is one of the few of Grant's manœuvres which commands the unanimous approval of his enemies and severest critics. Swinton, in his "Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac," says: "The resolution to cross the James necessitated the total abandonment of that system of action which aimed, while operating against the enemy offensively, to directly defend the national capital. Moreover the operation was in itself one of great delicacy, a change of base being pronounced by Napoleon the foremost master of war, 'the ablest manœuvre taught by military art.' General Grant manifested as much moral firmness in adopting a line of action which ... he felt prescribed by the highest military considerations, as he showed ability in executing this difficult operation. The measure itself was not only entirely conformable to the true principles of war, but its execution reflects high credit on the commander, and merits the closest study."

The 15th of June was passed by our brigade quietly in camp, awaiting the completion of the pontoon bridge, from Douthard's to Windmill Point,—a distance of 2,200 feet, across a river navigable by the largest ships. At sunset we were ordered to draw four days' rations and be in readiness to move at short notice. At eight o'clock marching orders were received, and at nine o'clock we crossed on the pontoon bridge. The river was filled with vessels of every kind, at anchor,—transports, steamers, gunboats,—and presented a most spirited scene. Upon reaching the southern bank the march was prosecuted with great vigor; and as only two brief halts were made that night it proved to be one of the most wearisome of the campaign. Soon after daylight we halted near Prince George Court-House, for an hour, to make coffee. While engaged in that pleasant and refreshing task our ears were saluted by the sound of distant cannonading in the direction of Petersburg. This was a signal that our rest was to be of short duration.

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It is no part of our purpose to criticise, or even narrate, the chapter of mishaps and blunders which attended the movement for the capture of Petersburg. It is sufficient to state that the golden opportunity was now passing,—the city which was defended by the militia had not been captured, and the army of the Potomac was being hurried forward, soon to cope once more with its old opponent, the veterans of the army of Northern Virginia.

At half-past eight the march was resumed in the direction of Petersburg. At ten o'clock we passed the line of earthworks which constituted the outer defences of the city, which were captured the day previous by the troops of the Eighteenth Corps. At one o'clock we came up with the advanced divisions of our own corps, already formed in line of battle on the left of the Second Corps. At three o'clock we were put in position on the extreme left, in the edge of a pine forest. Directly in front, across an open plain about half a mile in extent, stood the strong intrenchments of the enemy. Their outposts were well advanced, and heavy skirmishing was kept up on the right, and soon extended along the entire line. We were ordered to attack at six o'clock. At that hour the artillery opened, and the line moved forward across the plain. The Second Brigade supported the attack made by Barlow's Division of the Second Corps. Our regiment and the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania were held in reserve, to cover and protect the left flank, and extend the line should it be necessary. The advance was most gallant and determined, but was met by a fire of musketry and artillery which was fearfully effective. The ground was quickly traversed, and Barlow's division and Griffin's brigade succeeded in effecting a lodgment in some rifle-pits, and this was the only important result accomplished. Night came down upon the bloody plain, but did not put an end to the terrible conflict, for the enemy made several ineffectual attempts to regain the works he had lost. The musketry fire was terrific at times, and the battle throughout was fierce and bloody. Some ground was gained on the right, but no impression was made on the left. It was, however, determined to renew the assault at daylight, and the Ninth Corps was selected to make the attack.

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After the assault on the 15th, which resulted in the capture of a portion of his line, the enemy constructed a new line in rear, connecting the enclosed works and redoubts of the old line still in his possession, which were on our left. The principal work, known as the Shand House redoubt, was very strong, and able to resist a most determined assault. It was nearly half a mile in front of his new main line, projected as a salient. The only promise of successful assault seemed to lie in capturing the line of breastworks connecting this redoubt with those on the left. The portion of the rebel lines in our front extended along the crest of a deep and narrow ravine near the Shand house. The position was very strong, and defended, as we afterwards learned, by five Tennessee regiments, composing the Third Brigade of Bushrod Johnson's Division of Infantry, supporting a battery of artillery. On our left two guns in a redoubt completely enfiladed the line of approach. The position seemed impregnable, and failure would doubtless be attended with fearful loss of life. A successful assault, however, would force the enemy to abandon the redoubts; and General Burnside believed the works could be stormed if the troops could be formed in the ravine without the knowledge of the enemy.

To General Potter, the gallant commander of the Second Division, was this most arduous and desperate task assigned. He immediately prepared for its execution. In order to reach the position it was necessary to make a wide detour to the right. This of itself was a most difficult matter. The slashing of pine timber presented a serious obstacle, and the ground was full of gullies and ravines, and in moving over them the command was much scattered. The enemy kept up an annoying and incessant picket fire, which increased the difficulties of the movement.

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Aware that a hazardous undertaking was being executed, the men maintained the utmost quiet, and obeyed every order with promptness and precision.

At length, nearly an hour past midnight, the column reached the head of the ravine, and the hungry and thoroughly exhausted men threw themselves on the ground, to gain, if possible an hour's rest. They had enjoyed no rest for more than forty-eight hours, and realized full well the terrible business the returning light would bring. Many in the brief half of that summer night closed their eyes in what proved to be their last earthly sleep. Many, doubtless, saw in dreams for the last time the faces of the dear ones at home. But all did not sleep. These thought of the past, of their childhood and homes, of the day whose dawn they were awaiting,—a day to receive its second baptism of patriot's blood! And who shall say that these true souls were not filled with the same exalted devotion to Freedom and Country which animated the heroes of Bunker Hill as they toiled on that memorable night of June, 1775?

But to sleeping and waking, the night waned apace. The moon which had been shining brightly now cast long shadows, and darkness settled in the ravines. The rebel pickets in our front grew drowsy, and through weariness ceased their firing. No sounds were heard save the distant rumble of wagons and artillery, the trickling of the brook in the ravine, and the subdued breathing of the worn and weary men. The mists from the stream ascended cold and gray, completely obscuring the troops. The favorable moment had arrived. Now if the lines could be formed in the ravine success seemed certain. This, however, was most delicate business. The enemy's pickets were on the hillside only forty feet distant, while above, upon the crest of the ravine, seventy-five feet beyond, stood the intrenchments filled with men. The least noise or indiscretion would betray our presence, and draw a murderous fire from the works above. Success depended on secrecy. Profound silence was enjoined. The tin dippers and canteens were placed in the haversacks, to prevent the telltale jingle. Muskets were loaded, but not capped, bayonets fixed, and orders given that not a shot must be fired until the works were reached.

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The men were now thoroughly aroused, and all signs of weariness disappeared. The regiments were one by one moved down the brookside into the dark ravine, and soon the lines were formed. Griffin's brigade was on the right, with the Seventeenth Vermont, Eleventh New Hampshire, and Thirty-second Maine, in the front line; the remainder supporting; Curtin's brigade on the left, with the Second New York Rifles, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, and Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, in the front line. The Second New York Rifles had the right, the Thirty-sixth the centre, and the Forty-eighth the left. The remainder of the brigade were to support the front line. Griffin was to charge toward the house bearing to the right; Curtin to bear to the left, toward the redoubt.

The hour fixed for the assault—three o'clock—drew on. The word "Forward!" was whispered, and with cat-like steps the men advanced. A fence obstructed the advance of our brigade, and in attempting to remove it a rail was accidentally dropped, and instantly a half-dozen shots from the works above revealed the fact that the enemy was on the alert. For a moment the plan seemed frustrated; but a death-like quiet reigned in our line, and soon the enemy became reassured.

Again, cautiously and quietly, the men crept forward. At the given signal they rose erect, rushed for the picket line, and carried it in an instant. Then, with one loud, ringing cheer, like a billow of the ocean, irresistible and deadly, they dashed on up the hill. On they went, right into the hot flash of musketry and smoke of cannon, regardless of the wounded and the dead, regardless of the fire, without a shrub to shield them from the withering blast.^[17]

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[17] In "The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65," page 217, note, General Humphreys, describing this action, quotes as follows, from a paper contributed to the Massachusetts Military Historical Society, by General S. G. Griffin, commanding Second Brigade:—

"One gunner saw us approaching and fired his piece. That was all we heard from them, and almost the only shot fired on either side. The rebels were asleep with their arms in their hands, and many of them sprang up and ran away as we came over; others surrendered without resistance."

While this statement is doubtless correct with reference to that portion of the line attacked by General Griffin's brigade, it does not convey a true idea of the stubborn, though short, resistance encountered by Curtin's brigade. The fire at this point was very severe. The Second New York Rifles broke under it, leaving only the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts and Forty-eighth Pennsylvania in the front line. Between the brow of the hill and the enemy's line the Thirty-sixth lost nineteen out of less than ninety men engaged, and the loss reported by the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania was seventy-five killed and wounded.

A fierce, though brief, struggle ensued at the works. As the rebel commander was pulled over the breastworks as a prisoner he shouted to his men, "Stand firm! Their right is all gone!" The Second New York had broken in the first fire, and left our right badly exposed. The Forty-fifth was sent forward to protect the right, and the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts extended the line to the left. The enemy discovered the break in our line, and commenced a sharp cross-fire upon the regiment. At this critical moment, Captain Smith, commanding the regiment, with wonderful presence of mind, turned toward the left, and shouted, at the top of his voice, "Fairbank! bring up your brigade!" at the same moment yelling "Charge!" The ruse had its desired effect, and before Lieutenant Fairbank could hurry his brigade of eight men, of Company K, from the left the enemy wavered, our men leaped the works at a bound, and captured all the defenders who did not take to their heels.

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In the desperate struggle acts of individual gallantry and heroism were performed which time would fail to recount.

The line was carried and the enemy were driven from the breastworks, the redoubts, and from a second line where they attempted to rally. Four pieces of artillery were captured,—two by the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania and our regiment; one by the Seventeenth Vermont; and one by the Eleventh New Hampshire; also the colors of the five regiments defending the line, six hundred prisoners, and more than fifteen hundred muskets and equipments and ammunition. The colors of the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, lost in the attack the night before, were recaptured, nor were these the only trophies of the victory,—an important point had been carried; the rebels had been forced to take a new position; the Shand house, Avery house, and more than a mile of ground, were now in our possession. It was a great victory, but not what it might have been. It was the old story over again,—a most spirited and gallant attack without adequate supports. Had a single corps been on the ground in position, or had the divisions which were ordered to support us been ready to advance, the fearful carnage of the two succeeding days would doubtless have been prevented, and the long, tedious, wasting, bloody siege of Petersburg might have been avoided.

None who participated in that attack will fail to remember the morning of the 17th of June while life shall last. It was the most brilliant and successful engagement in which the regiment had ever had a part; and yet in many respects it was one of the saddest days of our history. Though the victory was ours, it had been purchased at a heavy cost. The number of the regiment engaged was less than ninety men, many having fallen out exhausted in the forced march from the James; yet from that small number three were killed, and sixteen wounded,—four of them fatally. In the thickest of the fight, amid the terrible energies of the battle, these brave men fell martyrs to the cause of their country.

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One of the first to fall was Captain Otis W. Holmes, of Milford, commanding Company B, who received a mortal wound. The regiment sustained no severer loss during its term of service. Few men possessed in so marked and special degree the respect and affection of his men. Strong and vigorous in body and mind; a brave, fearless soldier; a cool, sagacious adviser; careful and prudent of his men,—he was a noble specimen of manhood, and an ideal soldier. It is much to say of an officer that he was cool and brave, equal to any emergency; but far more to say truly of him that he was pure, good, and noble. All this can be truly said of Holmes. The entire regiment had learned to love and esteem him, and his untimely death was mourned by all who knew him.

The non-commissioned officers contributed more than their proportion to the loss sustained that day, and among the killed and wounded were some of the bravest and best soldiers of the regiment. The little line of battle was sadly dwindled, and, after detailing a portion of the guard required in sending the prisoners to the rear, there remained in the ranks but forty-six enlisted men.

The loss of the regiment in killed and wounded, June 17th, was as follows:—

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Died of Wounds.—Captain Otis W. Holmes.

ENLISTED MEN.

Company A. Killed.—Sergeant George E. Keyes.

Company B. Wounded.—Private J. Wesley Packard.

Company C. Wounded.—First Sergeant Frederick W. Briggs, Sergeant Albert B. Whipple, Corporal Clark Robinson.

Company D. Killed.—Private John Shepardson. *Wounded.*—Sergeant Liberty W. Foskett, Corporals Cyrus Alger, Adolph Bussenius.

Company E. Wounded.—Corporal Joseph V. Clark.

Company F. Died of Wounds.—Private Fred C. Ames.

Company H. Died of Wounds.—Private Edmund S. Ward. *Wounded.*—Corporal Nathan F. Cutting, Private Franklin Wallace.

Company I. Wounded.—Privates George F. Fletcher, Ashael Wetherbee.

Company K. Killed.—Corporal Max Hoffman. *Wounded.*—Corporal Joseph H. Stevens (acting Color-Sergeant).

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Killed and Died of Wounds,—	
Commissioned Officer	1
Enlisted Men	<u>5</u>
	6
Wounded,—Enlisted men	<u>13</u>
	19

After the wounding of acting Color-Sergeant Stevens, the colors were taken by Corporal William Macomber, Company E, and carried by him during the remainder of the regiment's term of service.

But no time was allowed us to mourn over our fallen comrades; the wounded were sent to the

rear while preparations were made for an advance. We pressed forward until the enemy was found to be in a new position. The division also formed a new line, in advance of the position we had carried, the left resting on a redoubt in that line. The enemy advanced a battery down the plank road and opened a severe fire. Soon after, the front regiments of our brigade were relieved in the advanced line, and found shelter from the artillery fire in the ditch of the redoubt on the left, where we were exposed to a severe shelling. Here we remained until half-past nine, when the regiments which had formed the front line in the assault were withdrawn to the woods half a mile in the rear for rest, after receiving warm words of praise from General Potter and Colonel Curtin.

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The battle raged almost without intermission during the day. Charges were made by the First and Third Divisions of our corps, and the tide of battle surged along the entire front. About eight o'clock in the evening the regiment was sent for, and moved across the plain to the front line. The evening was very clear, the moon shone brightly, and as we neared the works we attracted the attention of the enemy, who opened upon us with artillery; but our batteries replied and soon silenced the enemy's guns. We were put in position in a line of works captured by the First Division, and were engaged nearly all night in facing them about. The enemy attempted to interrupt the work, without success. A strong line of skirmishers was deployed, and the digging was continued under an annoying fire of musketry.

On the morning of the 18th, at nine o'clock, we moved out by the right flank to support an assault about to be made by the Third Division. The attack was to have been general along the entire line; but the enemy had fallen back to a new line, and the assault was delayed until new dispositions of the troops could be made. The line advanced toward noon, through a belt of pine woods, into a clearing. A portion of our brigade was in the front line. The Forty-eighth Pennsylvania and our own regiment supported. After leaving the woods the line advanced through a field of grain toward the Taylor house, the rebel skirmish line falling back to a cut of the Norfolk Railroad which afforded a deep cover. The enemy was found to be strongly intrenched beyond the railroad, with a winding ravine in front, through which flowed a small creek, the banks of which immediately in our front were covered with a dense thicket. Artillery was ordered forward to cover the attack of the infantry, and our regiment supported the gallant advance of Captain Roemer's battery. The fire of the enemy was so close and hot that he was obliged to leave his horses in the edge of the wood. He then put his guns in position in the open field, run two guns by hand to a dilapidated building on our right, and, although he lost several men, soon secured some protection, got good range, and opened a rapid and effective fire on the enemy.

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Jones' Eleventh Massachusetts battery was soon after put in position in rear of our left, and fired at such short range that for a time we were obliged to "hug the ground," being exposed to two fires,—from front and rear. His shells inflicted great damage on the enemy, although they passed uncomfortably near our own heads.

It being of the utmost importance to secure the railroad-cut, the batteries opened a furious fire, under cover of which the brigades in the front line, led by Generals Hartranft and Griffin and Colonel Curtin, made a splendid charge, and succeeded in driving the enemy out of the railroad-cut into their works beyond.

The portion of our brigade was between Griffin and Hartranft. The line of the railroad crossed our front diagonally, and on our right, at the point where the enemy's main line crossed the railroad, a small redoubt had been erected, in which was placed a single piece of artillery. This gun had perfect range of the railroad-cut, and completely enfiladed our line with a severe fire of grape and canister. While our line in this position was well protected from the fire in front, it was exposed to this hot fire from the right flank. The attention of our batteries was soon bestowed upon this gun in the redoubt; and the men tore up the railroad-ties, and erected a barricade which afforded them ample protection from the fire.

It was now comparatively easy to hold the railroad-cut, but to advance was quite another matter. The railroad-bank was high, and so steep that the men had to dig holes in the side of it to place their feet, and as soon as a man showed his head above the bank he was a target for the rebel sharpshooters. On the left the troops moved forward as far as the ravine. At three o'clock a general attack was ordered, but the difficulties to be overcome were so great that a long delay ensued in preparing the line for advance. At half-past five the whole Third Division, and Second Brigade, and four regiments of our brigade, made a determined attack on the works, then defended by Kershaw's division of Longstreet's veteran corps. Nothing could exceed the heroic daring of the advance, under the fearful fire of the enemy at point-blank range, covering every inch of the ground from the railroad-cut to their earthworks. The line was strong and well defended, yet, notwithstanding, all the ground from the railroad to the ravine was carried; the ravine was crossed and the crest beyond secured, and the ground held up to within a little more than a hundred yards of the enemy's works.

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During this gallant attack Colonel Curtin, our brigade commander, was severely wounded in the shoulder, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasants of the Forty-eighth. At half-past five the regiment, being in support of the batteries, was ordered to throw up a line of intrenchments for protection from the sharpshooters, who were picking off the gunners. The loss during the afternoon had been severe, considering the numbers of the regiment and its position in the battle,—two men killed and seven wounded.

After the last attack the firing slackened somewhat, and was confined to the front line of battle, and it was fondly hoped that the record of sacrifice and bloodshed for that day was fully made up.

The company cooks brought up the coffee,—the only refreshment the regiment had received since daylight. The men were huddled behind the low breastwork eating supper, when the attention of Captain Buffum was attracted by some movement in front, and he rose to ascertain the cause. He had just remarked that he was the only member of the large mess that crossed the Rapidan who had escaped death or wounds, and laughingly said, "It is the rule for all to be struck; but every rule has an exception." He had scarcely risen to his feet when the fatal bullet, directed by the unerring aim of the watchful rebel sharp-shooter, struck him. He uttered a piercing cry, sprang into the air, fell back, and in a few moments passed beyond the reach of pain. The scene was witnessed by nearly all the regiment, and sent a thrill of horror to every heart.

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At any time his death would have been a severe loss; at such a moment it came with almost crushing weight, and seemed irreparable. He was the senior officer in years, and then the second in rank of a fast-dwindling band. He was beloved and respected by all, and his death cast deep gloom over the entire regiment. We recalled his patience and bravery during the entire campaign, the sorrow which seemed to pierce his heart as he referred to the great losses of his company, and especially the wonderful coolness he displayed at Spottsylvania, when, in advance of the line, he received the rebel fire, and returned to draw back the left wing and save the regiment, if not the entire division, from capture or death.

After dark, when the line had been established for the night, the Adjutant was sent to corps headquarters to beg permission that the Captain's remains might be sent at once to City Point for shipment to Massachusetts. General Burnside was found lying prone on the ground under a tree. The case was briefly stated. "Buffum," said he,— "is Buffum dead? Why, he was in North Carolina with us! He was a brave man—I remember him well. Oh!" he added, with much emotion, "how fast these brave men are going!" Then calling his Adjutant-General, the order necessary for the removal of the body was given in terms which revealed his noble, sympathetic nature.

The loss of the regiment, June 18th, was as follows:—

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Killed.—Captain Amos Buffum.

ENLISTED MEN.

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Company A. Wounded.—Sergeant Thomas J. Ames, Private Caleb Winch.

Company B. Wounded.—Private William Turnbull.

Company D. Wounded.—First Sergeant John A. Stearns.

Company E. Killed.—Dwight Colburn.

Died of Wounds.—Josiah W. Davis.

Company G. Wounded.—Sergeant Hiram W. Olcott. Corporal Alexander Cooper.

[18]

[18] Corporal Alexander Cooper was killed November 22, 1866, at Warwick, Mass., by the falling of a derrick at the raising of the Soldiers' Monument in that town.

Killed and Died of Wounds,—	
Commissioned Officers	1
Enlisted Men	<u>2</u>
	3
Wounded,—Enlisted Men	<u>6</u>
Total Casualties	9

That evening there were in the line less than one hundred men, with four commissioned officers,—Captains Smith and Ames, First Lieutenant Fairbank and Adjutant Hodgkins,—all that remained for duty of the four hundred and ninety-five men in line on the morning of the 6th of May. Assistant Surgeon Bryant, who had not been absent from the line an hour, was on duty at the Field Hospital, and Quartermaster Tuttle was in charge of the wagons and baggage. On the 6th of May we had twelve officers in the line of battle; we were joined at Spottsylvania by Captain Smith and Lieutenant Brigham. From this number four—Captains Bailey, Holmes, Buffum, and Lieutenant Daniels—had been killed in action. Five—Major Draper, Captains Morse and Barker, and Lieutenants Marshall and Burrage—had been wounded, and were absent on that account; and one—Lieutenant Brigham—had been sent to General Hospital at Annapolis. Of the four in the line, three—Captains Smith and Ames and Lieutenant Fairbank—had been struck by the bullets of the enemy, but not seriously injured. The total loss of the regiment, as officially reported to the Adjutant-General, including the men of the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts and Forty-sixth New York, was—

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	Com.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Total.
Killed		4	45	49
Wounded		5	191	196
Missing		22	22	
Total		9	258	267

Late that evening General Potter relieved the Third Division, and occupied the entire front of the corps, connecting with the Second Corps on the right, and the Fifth Corps on the left, holding the advance as a skirmish line.^[19]

[19] On the evening of the 18th the following order was issued by General Burnside:—

HEAD-QUARTERS 9TH ARMY CORPS,
June 18, 1864.

GENERAL ORDER No. 24.

The Commanding General takes great pride in assuring this command of the high appreciation in which their services, after the fatigues of the recent movement, are held at the Head-quarters of the Army, and quotes with pleasure the expression used by the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac in speaking of the brilliant assault on the morning of the 17th. He writes: "It affords me great satisfaction to congratulate you and your gallant corps on the successful assault on the morning of the 17th. Knowing the wearied condition of your men from the night march of over twenty-two miles, and the continued movement through the night of the 16th, their persistency and success is highly creditable."

The Commanding General can only add that in this, as in the previous and succeeding events of this unexampled campaign, the Ninth Corps has, through every trial, invariably proved true to its history and to its promise.

By command of Major-General Burnside.
LEWIS RICHMOND,
Ass't Adj't Gen'l.

CHAPTER XVIII. IN THE TRENCHES.

On the morning of June 19th the regiment was relieved from duty in the front line, and withdrew to the pine woods from which we advanced the day before. We were soon joined by most of the men who had fallen out on the march, or had failed to find the regiment in the constant changes of position, and the effective strength reported at brigade head-quarters was one hundred and fifty-one; commissioned officers four, enlisted men one hundred and forty-seven. A strong line of intrenchments was erected on the high ground near the railroad. One hundred men were detailed for fatigue duty on the line, and worked through that hot June day with pickaxe and shovel. The enemy's firing was very close, and during the night was quite severe. Our batteries kept up a steady fire on the rebel lines.

The operations of the last two days had been conducted in the hope of capturing Petersburg before the whole army of Northern Virginia could be brought to the rescue. The enemy had taken up a new line on commanding ground nearer the city. The attack and repulse of the 18th had developed the great strength of that line, and convinced the commanding-general that further assault would be hopeless. The heroic courage and desperate valor of the troops had availed only to secure a strong position near the enemy's line. "No better fighting has been done during the war," said General Burnside in his report; but either the attacks had not been properly directed or adequately supported. Orders were now issued for the troops on the right to hold and strengthen the lines.

The 20th was but a repetition of the 19th. It was a noisy day in the front; but being one of comparative quiet to us in the woods, the time was improved in making up regimental reports for the campaign from Spottsylvania, and a list of casualties. Several vacancies existed among the commissioned officers, in consequence of the deaths and resignations since April 23d, and seven of the companies were commanded by non-commissioned officers. On the 5th of June, at Hanover Town, Captain Smith forwarded to Governor Andrew a list of recommendations for promotion; but as no commissions had been received, and the exigencies of the service required additional officers, the duties devolving upon the few commissioned officers present being onerous and severe, another list was made up this day, and transmitted through the regular channels to the Governor of the State. This list included the following non-commissioned officers:—

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Sergeant Major Davidson to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Ranlett, resigned.
First Sergeant Woodward to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Cross, resigned.
First Sergeant Stearns to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Goodspeed, resigned.
First Sergeant Haskell to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Hodgkins, promoted.
First Sergeant Hancock to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Fairbank, promoted.
Sergeant Olcutt to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Daniels, killed.
Sergeant Cross to be First Lieutenant, *vice* Burrage, promoted.

Sergeants White, Hancock, Wright, Woodward, and Stearns had previously been recommended for commissions as second lieutenants, but no officers in that grade could be mustered, on account of the reduced numbers of enlisted men. Major Draper, who at this time was in Massachusetts, submitted to the Governor another list of recommendations about this date; but before either list could receive attention other changes became necessary, and all of the sergeants recommended in the foregoing list, with the addition of First Sergeant Harwood, were commissioned as first lieutenants. Some of these brave and deserving men, who had nobly earned their rank, were at this time absent on account of serious wounds received during campaign, and before they could recover and rejoin the regiment circumstances had arisen which prevented their being mustered into the service in the rank to which they were commissioned.

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June 20th Captain Smith was detailed for court-martial duty at division head-quarters, and the regiment was in command of Captain Ames. At dusk a colored regiment from the Fourth Division came up in our rear, and we anticipated a night attack in force; but the men quietly laid aside their equipments, and being furnished with pickaxes and shovels went on fatigue duty in the front line. During the night the firing was very severe. Our position, though not subjected to the exposure of the front line, was under fire continually. The bullets of the enemy rattled among the trees, singing their death-song by day and night. On the night of June 20th private John McGrath, Company I, was wounded and sent to the rear. It was the third wound he had received during the campaign. During these days the front, or main line, was strengthened with abatis, and traverses, and a covered way built to the rear.

On the 21st the regiment remained in the woods preparing for a review, which had been ordered for the afternoon. At four o'clock we were in line, and moved to the wide open plain in rear of the woods, the scene of the action on the 17th. The First Brigade was reviewed by General Potter. The Seventh Rhode Island was on the right of the line, and the Second New York Mounted Rifles, acting as infantry (recently assigned to this brigade), on the left. The review was well conducted, and, considering the circumstances of the occasion, the troops presented a fine appearance. To all of us it was a novel parade,—marching to the music of the bands, the discordant barking of the dogs of war, and the distant screeching of the death-laden shells.

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At midnight we were ordered to the main line to relieve the Second Brigade, and the regiment

was sent out on picket. The night was very clear, and the moon being at the full revealed everything about us as clear as daylight. The duty of relieving the picket line was extremely hazardous, and it was half-past two o'clock A.M. before the work was completed. The men were obliged to crawl out singly from the railroad-cut, and the men relieved were exposed to a close and merciless fire in leaving the line. It was daylight before our line was fairly in position, and we settled down to the first day of the long siege-life before us. About sunrise the cooks came out with coffee, and John L. Finney, cook of Company K, received a shocking wound in the face, in consequence of raising his head a little too high. His escape from instant death was miraculous. After daylight it was impossible for a man to look over the top of the pits. The rebels fired twenty shots where we fired one, and their sharp practice enabled them to skim the tops of the pits; their shots were well aimed, and the bullets flew all about us.

The picket line itself was found to be very peculiar. It was separated from the main line by the deep cut of the Norfolk Railroad, which crossed our rear diagonally. The ground on the right at the railroad was quite high, falling off rapidly toward the swampy ravine on the left; the slope being toward the enemy's line, which enabled them to command all the ground between the railroad-cut and their own line. The troops of the Second Brigade had worked industriously to establish good cover for the picket-line; but the position on the left was so dangerous, and so near the enemy, that but little progress had been made in erecting a line of pits at that point. There was a space of five or six rods between Companies H and C, which could not be crossed by daylight on account of its nearness to the rebel lines. During the day the men on the right took up railroad sleepers from the track, and laid them on the tops of the pits; small loop-holes were then made under the logs, and in this way the men secured some protection for their heads while watching a chance to fire upon the enemy. They were soon able to inflict some damage on the sharp-shooters opposite.

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By degrees some improvement was made on the left, but the progress was very slow and tedious, as only one man from each company, C and H, could work toward each other, on account of the close fire. The left was in a bad and dangerous condition. In the event of an attack which we should fail to repulse, the whole line would be exposed to capture, as it would be madness to attempt to escape to the railroad and over the rising ground in our rear. The enemy seemed to know that new troops were in the pits, and were unusually hostile. They evidently anticipated an attack, as a heavy movement was in progress on the left by the Second and Fifth Corps, and a fierce fight raged about three miles beyond the Jerusalem Plank road for the possession of the Weldon Railroad.

It was thought in our lines that the enemy would make a counter-attack, and the batteries in our rear lines kept up a steady fire, while the men were constantly on the alert, crouched in the narrow pits, ready to resist an attack. It was a day long to be remembered,—our first day in the front line of trenches. It was one of the longest and most tedious days of our service; but how many such days were we to experience! There we lay in the dust, under the blazing, broiling midsummer sun, which beat full upon us, without a leaf of intervening shade. The water in the canteens was hot and sickening, and, to add to our discomforts the offensive odors from unburied corpses around us were borne to us on every breath of that sultry summer air. But the longest day must end, and at last the sun declined, and the welcome shades of evening settled on us. Quiet reigned for a little while, but about ten o'clock the rebels were discovered crawling up toward our left. A severe musketry fire was opened upon them, and they were forced to retire. After midnight the firing ceased, and our pioneers buried some of the dead bodies near us, and made some progress in perfecting the picket line on the left. Jno. H. Barton, of Company E, badly wounded in the abdomen, and Abiel Fisher, of G, wounded in the arm, were the casualties in the trenches that day.

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At two o'clock on the morning of the 23d the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania commenced to relieve our regiment in the picket pits. Owing to the sharp firing the process was slow and dangerous, but we reached the main line about half-past two, and were allowed an hour's rest. At half-past three we were aroused by orders to be ready to attack at any moment. We were under arms throughout the day, and were exposed to the fire of the enemy, by which Orin Taylor, of F, was severely wounded, and the Adjutant of the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, standing near our right, was killed. At nine o'clock in the evening the brigade was relieved by the Second Brigade, and returned to the line in the pine woods, after forty-eight hours' duty in the front.

During these few days, to quote from Captain McCabe's "Defence of Petersburg," "the enemy [the Union army] plied pick, and spade, and axe with such silent vigor that there arose, as if by the touch of the magician's wand, a vast cordon of redoubts of powerful profile, connected by heavy infantry parapets, stretching from the Appomattox to the extreme Federal left,—a line of prodigious strength, and constructed with amazing skill, destined long to remain, to the military student at least, an enduring monument of the ability of the engineers of the Army of the Potomac."

Siege operations had now fairly commenced on the right, extending along the line from the Appomattox to the Jerusalem Plank road, and we had entered upon the daily round of life which was to continue for the next fifty days,—the regular routine of duty in the picket line and the main line,—a routine which, in the history of the campaign, can be expressed in the simple, yet significant, phrase, "The Siege of Petersburg." But in that daily routine there transpired much that is interesting and painful to the survivors of our regiment, and the account of our operations during those eventful days will be embodied in a diary of the siege.

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CHAPTER XIX. DIARY OF THE SIEGE.

The next two days, June 24th and 25th, were passed in comparative quiet in the woods. We were under arms nearly all the time, as an attack upon the enemy from our right was anticipated. The firing on that line, held by the Eighteenth Corps, was very heavy, but no attack was made. The heat was intense, and the men in the trenches suffered greatly. Our diet was somewhat improved by the arrival of some supplies of ale and porter, with a little ice thrown in, from the United States Sanitary Commission Depot, which had just been established at City Point.

On the night of the 25th we were ordered to the front, and relieved the Ninth New Hampshire in the trenches. During the night most of the men were busy with the pickaxe and shovel. We were subjected to a severe artillery fire all day, and the picket fire was close. Large bodies of colored troops were at work filling gunny-bags and ammunition-boxes with sand, to be used on the top of the parapets for the protection of loop-holes. Private Hezekiah Hall, of Company I, was severely wounded, and the Adjutant of the Second New York Rifles, while passing through our line, was killed. At midnight we relieved the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania in the picket line, getting fairly into the pits about daylight. The duty was about the same as when we were there on the 22d. The line had been made continuous and much improved. Abatis had been placed in front, and a covered way continued from the main line. This covered way was very deep, and protected with high embankments and gabions. The firing was very constant and the range perfect. Corporal Charles Gilbert, of Company H, and Private George F. Bradford, of Company B, were wounded, the former mortally. We had our first experience under the mortar-firing of the enemy. They fired twenty-four-pound shells with great precision. [Pg 224]

The advanced position which we occupied was but little more than one hundred yards from that portion of the main line of the enemy known as the "Elliott salient." The line occupied by our brigade was directly in front of this work. In rear of this portion of our line the ground declined suddenly into a narrow ravine, which widened into a meadow, which afforded a position for massing troops, and screened working-parties from the observation of the enemy in the salient in front. After Colonel Curtin had been wounded in the attack of the 18th, which secured this position, the command of the brigade devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasants, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania. Being frequently on the front line he had observed this ravine, and as he was by profession a practical civil and mining engineer it occurred to him that a mine could be successfully excavated there. He carefully examined the ground, and having satisfied himself that the work could be accomplished he unfolded his plan to General Potter, who approved it, and he in turn conferred with General Burnside, who was much pleased with the proposal, and ordered that the work should be commenced.

This was done at noon of the 25th, by Col. Pleasants, with his own regiment, the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, which had been detailed for this purpose. Most of these men were miners from Schuylkill County, and familiar with such operations. Colonel Pleasants entered upon the work with great enthusiasm, although he received but little encouragement outside the Ninth Corps. Generals Burnside and Potter seemed to be the only high officers who believed in its success. There were many discouragements attending its commencement, as it was ridiculed at army head-quarters. Col. Pleasants was denied mining picks, but straightened out army picks. His instruments were poor and old. He was obliged to make his surveys and measurements on the front line, exposed to the fire of the sharpshooters. He had no wheelbarrows; but the men nailed strips of boards for handles on old cracker-boxes, and brought out the earth in these. He had also to contend with official indifference and coolness; yet the brave man toiled on with undaunted spirit. As we lay in our picket pits this 27th day of June we could distinctly hear our comrades delving beneath us. The earth as it was brought out was piled up in the ravine, and covered with fresh bushes to conceal it from the observation of the enemy. The mortar shells from the enemy's bombs dropped continually in the ravine around the entrance to the mine, causing great annoyance to the men, but not interrupting the work. The day passed without special incident. We were relieved at night and went back to the woods. [Pg 225]

June 28th. We prepared muster-rolls for two months' pay at our camp in the pine woods. Some of the regiment went to City Point to obtain from the regimental baggage the necessary blanks for muster, and met Captain Levi N. Smith, formerly First Lieutenant of Company D, who was now forwarding commissary, feeding the entire army of the Potomac and General Butler's command. He warmly welcomed his old comrades in arms, and gave expression to his abiding interest in the regiment. The regimental sutler was also found at City Point, with a cargo of supplies to be forwarded to the front as soon as he should be permitted to land.

The next day we relieved the Second Brigade in the trenches. In placing the pickets, Sergeant C. Henry Moseley, commanding Company B, was seriously wounded by being shot through the right hand.

The 30th was passed at the front in the heat and dust. The firing was very sharp, especially on the right, where much artillery ammunition was used. Captain Ames was again slightly wounded in the left hand. He went to the rear to have the wound dressed, and returned immediately to the front. Effective strength this day, five commissioned officers, including assistant surgeon and one hundred and seventy-three enlisted men; total, one hundred and seventy-eight. Twenty-three were sick in hospital. [Pg 226]

July 1st. On duty in the trenches; pickets unusually lively. They are extremely hostile toward us. On the left, along the Fifth Corps line, there is no firing by day, and the men from both armies get water from a spring between the lines. Here there is no cessation by day or night. It may be caused by the nearness of our line, the suspicion of a sudden attack, or because of the presence of colored troops in our working parties. Our losses are severe, averaging fifteen a day on our division line. Corporal James H. Barry, of Company I, a gallant soldier, who was wounded May 6th, was killed in the trenches to-day by a sharp-shooter. At night the regiment retired to the woods.

July 2d and 3d. On duty in the rear. Heavy siege guns were sent to the front to be placed in a new battery to be built in our line. On the 3d we were mustered for pay. The line was short, indeed, compared with our last muster, at Catlett's Station. How many in that brief time have gone from the toils and pains and hardships of a soldier's life to sleep in soldiers' graves! How many names are to-day transferred from the rolls of these companies to the roll of the honored dead! To-day the Sanitary and Christian Commissions sent a generous supply of hospital and other stores, to aid in celebrating the national holiday to-morrow. These were distributed equally among the companies. The staff of our national color was shattered by a bullet to-day. Both staves are now broken, and the flags are riddled with bullet-holes. They are also stained with the blood of heroes who have borne them unto death. At dark we relieved the Second Brigade.

July 4th. Regiment in the trenches. The heat was intense, and the men pitched their shelter-tents over the top of the trenches. This kept out the sun, but excluded also the air. General Burnside and the division commanders were on the front line together in the afternoon, and the regimental prophets predicted an immediate attack; but the hours dragged along, and the day proved to be remarkably quiet. A request was transmitted to the State authorities for a new stand of colors. One year ago we commenced the Jackson campaign, which proved so disastrous to the regiment. The anniversary was frequently mentioned by the men. Then we hoped to spend this day in peace at home. Now we dare not hope for a speedy ending of the war. Then Gettysburg and Vicksburg encouraged the belief that the weight of the struggle had passed. Now Atlanta, Petersburg, and Richmond, bid prolonged defiance. But the end is coming!

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July 5th. Passed without incident. Firing less severe than usual. The monotony of siege life unbroken. Regiment relieved at nine in the evening.

July 6th. First Lieutenant Fairbank received his commission as Captain, *vice* Warriner, resigned, and was mustered in. Information was received that all the vacancies among the commissioned officers have been filled by promotions from the ranks. This information was received with pleasure, as it will increase the working-force and efficiency of the regiment. To-day private H. A. Murdoch, of Company H, was wounded in the arm.

July 7th. To-day the Fourth Rhode Island arrived from Yorktown *via* City Point, and was assigned to our brigade. Its commander, Colonel W. H. P. Steere, being the senior officer, assumed command of the brigade. More sanitary supplies, consisting of twenty-five pounds of white sugar, a dozen cans of milk, vegetables, a few bottles of sherry, brandy, etc., were received from the Commissions, and distributed among the sick. There is much sickness in the command. The extreme heat, arduous duty, and constant exposure to danger, are wearing on men who up to this time have borne all the hardships of the campaign. At night the regiment relieved the troops in the picket line, in the old position. The works daily show the labor expended upon them. They are now very strong, and their condition much improved. Rumors prevail that an assault is to be made to-morrow.

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July 8th. The duty in the trenches to-day was very severe, owing to the intense heat, and the sharp, incessant firing. Our men had good range, and replied to the enemy shot for shot. Enemy on the alert, and asking about the mine. They regard it as a great joke, and threaten to countermine. More rumors of an assault from our front. Lately our men discovered an ice-house in front of our line, a little to the left of our position, and for a while it has been neutral ground for one or two men from the opposing lines to get ice, to the extent that if any one has been seen near the ice-house they have not been fired upon. To-day, however, Corporal Lucius Lowell, of Company F, in endeavoring to get some ice, was fired upon, and received two bad wounds in the breast and wrist.

July 9th. Still on duty in the trenches. Intensely hot. To-day we received the cheering news of the sinking of the rebel pirate "Alabama" by the United States Steamer "Kearsarge." This information was received with loud cheering. The rebels across the way wanted to know the cause of our joy, and were answered by a double-shotted salute from all our artillery, which made them burrow for an hour. At night we were relieved.

July 10th. In the woods, suffering from intense heat, and tormented by myriads of flies, which were as hostile as the rebel pickets in our front. Sergeant Thomas H. Haskell, who was wounded in the right hand at Spottsylvania, and yesterday, though not fully recovered, returned to duty with a First Lieutenant's commission, was mustered and assigned to the command of Company B. Several enlisted men also returned, and the effective strength at night was one hundred and ninety; six commissioned officers and one hundred and eighty-four enlisted men, with fourteen sick in the hospital.

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July 11th. The day was very hot, relieved by showers at night. At nine o'clock the regiment went to the front and relieved the Seventeenth Vermont on picket. To-day a siege order was issued from army head-quarters, regulating the operations of the siege.

July 12th and 13th. Regiment on duty in the trenches. The firing has been very light, and entirely

suspended at times. For the first time since the opening of the campaign the enemy has been friendly, even to the extent of sitting upon the rifle-pits and talking across to our men. Some have waved papers, and have come half way to our lines to proffer an exchange. It soon transpired that their object was to obtain northern papers for intelligence concerning the rebel invasion of Maryland under General Early, and the destruction of northern property. Their anxiety was very great; but we received imperative orders forbidding any exchange of papers, or holding any communication with the enemy. Captain Smith fired upon some men of another regiment who went out to exchange papers, and refused to obey his orders to return. At night artillery and mortar firing was resumed. At midnight we were relieved.

July 14th and 15th. In the pine woods. Many rumors in circulation of an immediate attack to be made from our front. The work of constructing forts and batteries goes on night and day. At half-past eight P.M., on the 15th, we relieved the Seventeenth Vermont in our old position in the trenches. The night was dark and misty, and the enemy kept up an incessant firing. Corporal Albert Foskett, Company H, was wounded and taken to the rear. The sick belonging to the Ninth Corps were removed to the hospital at City Point,—a fact which caused other rumors of attack to be circulated.

July 16th. The regiment was in command of Captain Ames, as Captain Smith was detailed as division officer of the trenches.

July 17th. The regiment was exposed to a very close fire throughout the day. The mortar shells dropped all around us, the practice being unusually good. Private Jerry Harrigan, of Company K, was mortally wounded. The only consolation while we are under this trying fire is that our practice is as good as the enemy's.

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July 18th. In the woods. Captain Barker, who was wounded at Cold Harbor, June 3d, returned to duty, with a commission as Major,—*vice* Draper, who has been commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel,—and assumed command of the regiment. Lieutenant Marshall, who was wounded at the Wilderness, also returned to duty, with a commission as Captain, and was assigned to Company A. In leaving the trenches this morning private Leonard A. Chapman, of Company K, was fired at by a sharp-shooter and instantly killed.

July 19 and 20th. The weather was rainy, rendering the trenches very uncomfortable. A large fort, called "The Fourteen-Gun Battery," has been constructed in our division line, and garrisoned by a regiment of Connecticut Heavy Artillery.

July 21st. Private Martin Maynard, of Company D, was wounded in the leg and suffered amputation. There has been no change in our tour of duty. The system has been reduced to a science; so, also, has been the hostility of the enemy. Notwithstanding the strong condition of our works, and the great improvements constantly made, the watchful sharp-shooters of the enemy have unerring aim upon the loop-holes, and the least exposure on the part of any of our men is sure to draw a murderous fire. In the rear we are out of the range of their sharp-shooters, but exposed to the chance shots which every moment are sent into the woods.

July 22d. To-day Captain Morse, who was severely wounded at Spottsylvania, returned to duty and resumed command of Company C. Lieutenant Davidson also returned from the hospital. Private Judson Maynard, of Company H, was wounded July 23d. The regiment went to the front at night, and resumed its duty in the trenches. To-day the mine was completed, and our comrades of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania are rejoicing. In spite of obstacles and discouragements the great work has been successfully accomplished. The men report that they can distinctly hear the enemy in the fort over their heads. With proper tools the work which has consumed four weeks could have been performed in ten days. Colonel Pleasants received many congratulations on the success of his undertaking. His report of his operation is intensely interesting. The main gallery is five hundred and ten feet long, with two lateral galleries,—the left thirty-seven feet, the right thirty-eight feet in length, averaging about four and one-half feet high by the same width, and will require eight magazines, four in each lateral gallery, or about twelve thousand pounds of powder. Eighteen thousand cubic feet of earth have been excavated. Whatever may be the result of the explosion, and the attack which may be made, there can be no doubt of the great success which has crowned the determined efforts of Colonel Pleasants and his hard-working regiment.

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July 24th. A regiment of colored troops was at work all day building a new covered way through our camp in the woods, which necessitated a change of some of our quarters and bomb-proofs. Captain Smith on duty as brigade officer of the day. A heavy storm set in and the rain poured in torrents nearly all the night, and the weather was very cold. The men were soaked and chilled, and it was a rough night to stand at a loop-hole and watch. The sufferings of the troops in the front lines during this siege—from hunger, thirst, protracted watching, constant danger, from burning heat by day and chills by night, from sudden changes in the temperature that rack the strongest frames, from the numberless exposures and hardships and privations—can never be adequately portrayed. They will live, however, in the memories of those who endure and survive them.

July 25th. After a very stormy night we were blessed with a cool, comfortable day. An invigorating breeze soon dried the mud in the trenches, and restored the buoyant spirits of the men. This morning private Jesse Gleason, of Company F, a brave and faithful soldier, was killed by a sharp-shooter, and was buried in the woods near regimental head-quarters, where so many of his comrades sleep. Thus, one by one, they go, just when we need them most. To-day, Colonel Steere, our brigade commander, went home on account of sickness and disability, and Colonel Bliss, of the Seventh Rhode Island, assumed command of the brigade. The regiment returned to the woods at night. The covered way through our camp was finished.

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July 26th. In the woods all day. Large fatigue parties at work. Lieutenant Davidson was mustered in, and assigned to Company G. News was received of a great battle at Atlanta, and the death of General McPherson.

July 27th. The regiment was marched to the open ground in rear of the woods, and treated to the luxury of an hour's battalion drill! The mine was charged with powder, eight thousand pounds being placed under the rebel fort. General Burnside asked for a charge of twelve thousand pounds, but received only eight thousand pounds. Troops put under orders to be in constant readiness to move. Perhaps our siege days are nearly ended. The regiment went to the trenches at night. The weather was rainy and cold.

CHAPTER XX. THE MINE AFFAIR.

July 28th. A day of anxiety and suspense. The troops expected an explosion of the mine, and an assault upon the enemy's lines. A great force on fatigue duty, carrying out bags, barrels, gabions, and stakes, and preparing the covered ways and traverses to facilitate the movements of troops. During the afternoon three pieces of the Third Vermont Artillery bombarded a house just inside the rebel works in our front, and finally demolished it. It was a busy day along the lines.

July 29th. Another long, anxious day. The regiment was on duty in the front line. The weather was excessively hot. The position of the enemy was examined and our own works were visited by many general and staff officers, and there were certain indications all around us of an impending attack. All sorts of rumors prevailed, and various theories were advanced; but toward night we received positive information that the mine will be exploded at half-past three to-morrow morning. The Ninth Corps is to attack as soon as the explosion occurs. General Meade has overruled General Burnside's plan of attacking with the colored division, and ordered him to select one of his white divisions to lead the assault. The position has been determined by lot, and fallen to General Ledlie and the First Division. Our men would be more hopeful of the result had the choice fallen upon General Potter. Our division is to support the attack. We are to be relieved in the trenches by colored troops of the Eighteenth Corps, and form with the division as soon as relieved. Toward evening troops were massed in our rear, filling all the covered ways and passages leading to the front line. Reserves from other corps filled our camp in the woods. The troops were under arms all night. [Pg 234]

Before daylight on the 30th the regiments on our right and left had been relieved. Notice was sent two or three times that no relief had been sent to our regiment, and each time the order came back to hold the line until relieved. All our efforts to have the relief on our right and left extend so as to cover our front having failed, we were obliged to remain on duty in the pits. Before the sun had reached the meridian we were satisfied that what we regarded a great misfortune proved to be our salvation. Colonel Pleasants was directed to explode the mine at half-past three o'clock A.M. The First Division was ordered to charge through the aperture which would be made in the enemy's works and advance directly to the crest, or Cemetery Hill. The Third Division was ordered to cover the left. The Second Division was ordered to advance, if possible, to the right of the explosion, and to establish a line on the crest of a ravine running nearly at right angles to the enemy's line, and protect the right flank from the enemy's attack. At the appointed hour the fuse was lighted, and all waited in deep silence for the expected explosion. On account of dampness the fuse was extinguished, and the valuable time slipped rapidly away. We all know the story of the brave Lieut. Doughty and Sergeant Reeves, of the Forty-eighth, who nobly volunteered to go into the mine to ascertain the cause of failure to explode. The break in the fuse was found and relighted. At forty-two minutes past four we witnessed a volcano and experienced an earthquake. With a tremendous burst, which shook the hills around, a column of earth shot upwards to an enormous height, bearing the "Elliot salient," its guns and garrison, and making a crater or chasm one hundred and thirty-five feet long, ninety-seven feet wide, and more than thirty feet deep. The garrison, consisting of two hundred and seventy-eight men of the Eighteenth and Twenty-second South Carolina and Pegram's Petersburg Battery, were completely buried. Pleasants' work had been terribly successful. Before the deafening report of the explosion had subsided more than one hundred pieces of artillery along the line opened a terrific fire, adding grandeur to the scene. Under cover of this fire the First Division charged over the intervening space into the crater, but halted there instead of moving forward. General Griffin's brigade of our division began to move almost at once, passing through and into a portion of the line from which the rebels were driven, and moved to the right. The smoke and dust were so dense at this time that nothing could be seen, and the leading regiments got farther to the left than was intended, coming thus in contact with some of the troops of the First Division. The movement was also embarrassed by some of the First Division moving to the right and huddling in the vacant works instead of moving forward. When our brigade moved forward through the covered way, the men became intermixed with troops of another corps, who were moving out. Still the main portion kept on its way, crossed the cornfield and passed into the crater, under a fearful fire of the enemy, who had now somewhat recovered from the first alarm, and had returned to man their deserted works. [Pg 235]

The troops of the Second Division moved forward as best they could; but as the First Division had halted, and would not move forward, it was almost impossible to make any progress. The ground to the right of the crater was found to be much cut up with small pits and traverses, which were now filled by the enemy, who kept up a severe fire from these as well as from a line of pits on the ravine. Finding that General Griffin's brigade, which had lost heavily, was being thrown into confusion by being mixed with the troops of other divisions, and that the enemy was rallying rapidly, General Potter directed him to move forward without any reference to other troops and attack the enemy in front. In passing his command over and through the troops which were in confusion Griffin's brigade became much broken up. The fire by this time was very hot, and it was impossible to properly re-form his ranks. However, several pits of the enemy were charged and some ground was gained. [Pg 236]

Our brigade commander was ordered to follow on, with such troops as he had, and closely support and cover the right flank. He sent forward the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, Fourth Rhode

Island, and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, to form on the right, leaving the Seventh Rhode Island in reserve, and holding the Second and Fifty-first New York to send forward if there was room. Finding that he could not get in, in consequence of the stopping of troops, and the great confusion caused by a crowd of troops in such limited space, he was ordered to move a portion of the brigade to the right, and charge down the enemy's line, and also, at the same time, to attack the enemy at the ravine. The Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, Fourth Rhode Island, and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania were formed to charge down the enemy's line to the right, and the two New York regiments to attack near the ravine. This last attack was to instantly follow the first, as soon as the colors of the leading regiments could be seen moving forward.

The ground over which the first three regiments was to charge was an open field, fully in range of the enemy's musketry and artillery. Just as the troops were moving forward, the direction of these regiments was changed, in compliance with a peremptory order from General Burnside to attack the crest. Accordingly these three regiments charged directly up the hill toward the battery in the woods. The charge was a gallant one, under a murderous fire of grape and canister from the enemy's artillery, which was brought to bear from every direction; yet the little band kept on, and the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania had nearly reached the house on the top of the hill, when the line wavered, and, for want of support, was obliged to fall back to the covered way or ditch leading to the work which had been previously taken.

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While this was being done the two New York regiments charged the enemy at the ravine: the Second New York on the right, and the Fifty-first on the left of it, some considerable distance intervening. The line was carried and some prisoners captured. The position reached by the Second New York was within twenty yards of the rebel fort at the old barn. By this time Griffin's brigade had been extricated from the terrible confusion near the crater, and had moved forward slowly, under a hot fire, a step at a time, and the whole of the Second Division was beyond the enemy's line and to the right of the exploded fort. As General Potter was re-forming and connecting his lines preparatory to charging the hill, the Fourth Division (colored) unexpectedly advanced, and attempted to pass over the men in the crater, and charge the enemy's lines through our division. In this they were but partially successful. General Potter, at the time the colored division moved out, had the right of his division nearly connected with the Fifty-first New York, near the ravine, and partly covered the three regiments which had charged the hill and fallen back into the covered way. Soon after the arrival of the colored troops the enemy, with two divisions, under Generals Mahone and Ransom, made an assault, when these troops broke and fled in confusion into the crater. The situation, difficult enough before their arrival, now became alarming. An indescribable scene of confusion followed. Colors of our regiments, which had been planted on the parapets, were thrown down and trampled under foot in the dirt as the lines came crowding into the crater, or sought shelter wherever it could be found from the terrible fire that was poured upon them. White men and colored lay indiscriminately together.

The enemy's fierce assault was repulsed by our division. It was, however, immediately renewed, and a desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued. The brigade fought as men seldom fight. The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania captured a rebel flag, and Captain Gregg had a personal encounter with a rebel officer, which made him famous throughout the division. The color-bearers of the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts were both wounded and captured. The colors of two other regiments which had been planted on the parapet were literally torn to pieces and the staves broken. The losses in killed and wounded were very great, and more than one hundred prisoners were captured from the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

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The fighting up to this time was as desperate as any during the war. For five long hours of that intensely hot day the troops of our division had been actively engaged, exposed to a severe fire of artillery and musketry, which steadily increased until it became as terrible as any endured in the campaign. The enemy brought artillery to bear from every direction, commanding the front and flanks, sweeping, also, the rear of the line, and commanding all the approaches, inflicting great damage. The heat was overpowering. In addition to the killed and wounded more than two hundred in our division had been prostrated by heat. Hundreds of men, besides, were so exhausted physically that it was simply impossible for them to load and fire. They suffered greatly from thirst, as it was impossible to obtain any water. The fire from our line had slackened considerably, while that of the enemy steadily increased. A steady concentric fire was poured into the crater, and the horrors of that place cannot be adequately portrayed.

The enemy had been so roughly handled in their assault after the colored troops had fallen back that they did not seem inclined to renew it, but kept up a continuous fire at short range which was very effective. Although it had been a lost battle since morning, General Potter at noon was making preparations to connect the line and intrench it, when he received orders to withdraw his troops at discretion. But this was a most difficult movement to execute, on account of the mingled mass of troops in the crater, and an attempt to retire was to run the gauntlet of almost certain death. There were some brave spirits there who endeavored to restore order, and inspire courage to make a stand to cover the withdrawal. While the troops were retiring the enemy made a furious assault with a fresh division, in overwhelming numbers, on the lines about the crater, and forced the troops holding them to give way and fall back or surrender. Those escaped who could, and at two o'clock those remaining in the crater surrendered. Most of the troops of the Second Division were withdrawn, the last regiment to retire being the Second New York Rifles, at four o'clock, two hours after the surrender of the crater.

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The loss of the division in the action was nine hundred and three killed, wounded, and missing, including seventy-five commissioned officers, out of less than three thousand rank and file, including two batteries of artillery. The brigade lost two hundred and seventy-one, which was

very severe, considering the numbers engaged. The Forty-fifth Pennsylvania lost sixty-eight out of eighty^[20] taken into the fight, and the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts brought out only twenty-eight muskets out of nearly two hundred engaged. The losses in the other three regiments engaged were less severe. The heroic bravery of the brigade was never more conspicuously displayed than amid the trials of that dreadful day. "All the officers and men of the command," says General Potter, in his official report, "fought with the greatest courage and determination."

[20] The losses of the rebels in their charges upon our lines was no less severe. The Sixth Virginia carried in ninety-eight men and lost eighty-eight. The Sharp-shooters carried in eighty men and lost sixty-four, their commander falling, while leaping upon the parapet, *pierced by eleven bayonet wounds*. The Forty-first Virginia lost one-fourth its number; the Sixty-first within a fraction of half its number. The loss in the Sixteenth was nearly as great as in the Sixth, proportionally. See McCabe's "Defence of Petersburg," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Dec., 1876, pp. 293, 294.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, as the Second New York Rifles returned from the rebel lines and marched through our pits with colors flying high above the top of the pits, our men told them they had better lower their colors unless they wanted to draw the enemy's fire and receive a shelling. They gave no heed to the caution and kept the flags flying. The words were scarcely uttered before we heard the never-to-be-forgotten whistle of a mortar shell, and the next instant it struck squarely in the pits and exploded within three feet of the colors. None were killed; but one of the Second New York had a hand blown off, and one of our men had his face filled with the hard dirt from the bottom of the pits. The shot had the effect to bring down the flags to a trail, and the regiment, with bowed heads, passed out of the pits.

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That evening the remnant of the brigade resumed its position in the trenches, and picket-firing was renewed. During the evening Private J. Wesley Packard, of Company B, was shot in the head and instantly killed while standing as sentinel at a loop-hole from which he had fired several shots which attracted the attention of the sharp-shooters. He had returned from the General Hospital only three days before, had picked up a musket and equipments in the rear, and this was his first day's duty in the trenches. Private J. L. Walker, of Company E, was badly wounded in the thigh.

Thus ended a day which proved to be the saddest in the history of the Ninth Corps. Its total loss was three thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight men. We have not attempted to describe the action, or even to give a complete narrative of the part taken by our own division. The action has been the subject of investigation and discussion by Congressional Committees, Military Courts, historians, and critics. Hundreds of pages of testimony and reports have been printed. Wide differences of opinion have existed, and still exist. It is no part of our duty to attempt to reconcile these differences, but only to record our part in the great drama, and leave to future historians the task of weighing arguments and the incidents of that dreadful day, and the responsibility of awarding praise and censure. Of one fact, however, we may be certain. Other troops than the white divisions of the Ninth Corps should have been selected to enter the breach and make the assault. Not that these were wanting in courage and devotion to the cause. The record of their bravery from the Rapidan to Petersburg is unsurpassed in the annals of that campaign; but from the commencement of the siege they had become much worn down by constant labors in the trenches, under an almost incessant fire for a period of forty days, in which they lost on the average one man in eight. During all these days, from a distance of less than two hundred yards, they had surveyed the powerful works of the enemy becoming stronger and stronger by day and by night. The fire of the rebel sharp-shooters had been so close and unerring that no portion of the body could be for a moment exposed without drawing the deadly bullet. The labor under a broiling midsummer sun had been most exhaustive. Many of the men were enfeebled by disease, all were weakened by confinement, and the experiences of such a life as we had led for six weeks, had, in a measure, weakened the vigor and spirit of all. It was General Burnside's plan to assault with the colored division, which had been drilled for weeks for that special purpose. They were fresh, and had taken but little part in the campaign. The fighting at Petersburg on the 15th of June by the colored troops of the Eighteenth Corps had aroused a spirit of emulation, and they were anxious for the opportunity of taking part in the campaign. Many who saw their advance on the 30th were satisfied that, if they had been permitted to lead the assault, they would have secured the crest of Cemetery Hill, and achieved a brilliant victory. Such was the opinion of the lieutenant-general before the Committee on the Conduct of the War.

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CHAPTER XXI. THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

After the Battle of the Crater, the brigade settled down to the former round of siege duty. On the morning of the 31st the regiment mustered for duty twelve commissioned officers, and one hundred and seventy-nine enlisted men. It was a day of sadness throughout the corps. The intense heat continued. The dead in front of our lines resembled a heavy skirmish line lain down to rest. A flag of truce was sent out several times to endeavor to obtain a brief armistice for the removal of the wounded and the burial of the dead; but all efforts were unavailing. The enemy was busy repairing his demolished works, and hundreds of our brave men found a grave in the crater, where the concentric fire of the enemy had been most deadly. Among this number was the brave and gallant Major Prescott, of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts, formerly captain of our Company B. Major Barker was on duty as brigade officer of the day. Dr. Bryant was detailed for service at the Fourth Division Hospital, to assist Dr. Prince in caring for the hundreds of wounded of that division. At eleven o'clock that night, after four days' incessant duty in the trenches, the regiment was relieved and returned to the pine woods. The monthly return of the regiment made that day bore upon the rolls as the total strength, present and absent, five hundred and thirty-two,—a decrease, from all causes, of four hundred and four men since the 31st of May, when we numbered, present and absent, nine hundred and thirty-six.

August 1st. A truce of several hours' duration prevailed along our front, and the dead between the lines were buried and all the wounded were removed. The regimental sutler arrived with a large stock of goods. Lieutenant Davidson was mustered as Captain and assigned to Company G. The weather continued intensely hot. [Pg 243]

August 2d. The heavy siege guns were removed from the batteries to-day. The firing continued incessantly on the front line. A thunder-shower tempered the heat.

August 3d. We were aroused at three o'clock, and waited a long time in line, ready to move at a moment's warning. A rebel attack was anticipated, but their line did not advance. By way of exercise we had a battalion drill in the open field from eight to nine, and found it hot work. To-day all the vacancies in non-commissioned officers were filled by appointment and the warrants were issued. At eight o'clock the regiment went to the trenches. The firing all night was unusually severe, the enemy being more hostile than ever since the explosion of the mine.

August 4th. A day of fasting and prayer throughout the northern States, by proclamation of the President. By order of General Meade all unnecessary work was suspended. But the work of death was not suspended. Private Thomas Oakes, of Company A, was shot through the head while on duty at a loop-hole, and died in a few moments. He was a brave soldier, and always at his post.

August 5th. The intense heat continued, and the last day has recalled vividly the hot temperature of Mississippi, which we were enduring one year ago. In the afternoon one of our mortar shells exploded a magazine in the enemy's fort near the railroad, causing great commotion in Rebeldom. They immediately opened with musketry and artillery, making a great noise, which continued for a long time, but their firing gradually settled down into an ordinary picket fire. The regiment was relieved at night.

August 6th and 7th. Regiment in the woods. The troops electrified with the news of Farragut's great victory in Mobile Bay. Heavy artillery, and mortar firing. [Pg 244]

August 8th. Regiment on duty in the trenches. Major Barker division officer of the trenches. Our head-quarter baggage was sent to City Point. Private Henry Russell, Company D, was mortally wounded by a shot in the head while at his post of duty. Our artillery practice to-day was very effective, and a great fire was seen inside the rebel lines near sundown, caused probably by the explosion of some of our shells. The Seventh Maine Battery is now used as a mortar battery, and its practice is very effective. The rebel picket fire during the entire night was uncomfortably hot.

August 9th. On duty in the trenches. Seventeen boxes of good things arrived from home, for men in our regiment. At half-past seven P.M. Lieutenant-Colonel Draper arrived in camp, and upon the return of the regiment from the picket-line assumed command. He had been absent since May 6th, and had recovered from the severe wound received that day in the first charge in the Wilderness. He received a soldier's welcome from the remnant of the gallant regiment he that day commanded. A smart thunder-shower at night cooled the heated atmosphere, and afforded great relief. Rumors are afloat that we are soon to be relieved in this position by another corps. Private Henry E. Graves, of Company K, while on duty at a loop-hole, was badly wounded in the eye by the explosion of his musket.

August 10th. Our effective strength this morning was twelve commissioned officers, one hundred and sixty-two enlisted men; total, one hundred and seventy-four, with twenty sick in hospital. Lieutenant-Colonel Draper and Major Barker were mustered in on their new commissions. A court of inquiry is to investigate the circumstances attending the disaster of July 30th, and we shall probably get the "facts." Corporal Fred L. Perry, of Company E, was dangerously shot in the right arm, and narrowly escaped bleeding to death. He will have to suffer amputation at the shoulder.

August 11th. The victories of Admiral Farragut at Mobile confirmed, and the intelligence was passed to the enemy in a double-shotted salute. The regiment went to the front at night. Large [Pg 245]

fatigue parties at work, constructing new and powerful works on the hill between the woods and the picket. Great quantities of lumber, gabions, poles, and building material, were hauled up at night, and the work was pushed rapidly. The enemy's rifles command this crest, and they made music all night.

August 12th. On duty in the trenches. The enemy opened from a new battery on Cemetery Hill, the shells from which reach corps head-quarters. Much artillery was moved from the works on our left to the rear, and aided to put in circulation a rumor of a new movement toward Richmond.

August 13th. Very heavy cannonading was heard on the right, from General Butler's front, across the James. The Second Corps went over last night, and there are indications of a heavy movement. Our men were under arms and ready. It was a happy day in our camp, on account of the arrival of the paymaster with four months' pay.

August 14th. On duty in the trenches. For the past fortnight the weather has been intensely hot and dry, and to-day is no exception. Charles H. Wheeler, of Company I, wounded in the shoulder. Exposed to severe thundershowers in the afternoon. General Burnside relinquished the command of the Ninth Corps, and with his personal staff left for Washington, leaving General Willcox in command.^[21] The corps under orders to be ready to move at a moment's notice. At half-past nine our line was relieved by troops of the Eighteenth Corps, and the regiment moved back to the woods in the midst of a pouring rain. At half-past eleven the regiment was aroused and under arms, and at one o'clock on the morning of Monday, August 15th, we left our camp in the woods and moved to the rear. Upon reaching the open plain we marched toward the left, and it was reported that we were to support an assault to be made by the Fifth Corps. The night was black as ink, and as we floundered about in the darkness among the stumps we soon lost all traces of the road, and continued moving to the left and rear until daylight revealed our position. We then countermarched to General Warren's head-quarters. The Fifth Corps was quietly withdrawn soon after daylight, and their lines occupied by our corps.

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[21] General Willcox was soon relieved by Major-General John G. Parke, who was assigned to the command of the corps.

Our brigade relieved the Third Brigade, First Division, Fifth Corps, and our regiment took possession of the splendid line of works occupied by the One hundred and eighteenth Pennsylvania. The works were bomb-proof, and the camp regular and perfectly clean, reminding us of the camp of the Seventeenth regulars, at Catlett's Station. The enemy was found to be comparatively peaceful here. There was no firing whatever during the day, and our pickets were relieved by daylight without any molestation. The "Johnnies" were plainly seen walking about within their lines with impunity, and the regiment we relieved informed us that the utmost harmony and good-feeling prevailed on the picket line. To us who for sixty days had been exposed to an incessant and hostile fire it was a great relief to be able to stand upright without the certainty of being shot. The enemy, however, had frequently opened upon the main line with artillery, and to resist the fire the main works had been strengthened and elaborated to the perfection of field fortifications. During the afternoon and evening the rain came down in a deluge, filling the bomb-proofs and trenches, inundating the camp, and making everybody generally miserable. The Fifth Corps, after being relieved, concentrated for a movement to the left, to be supported by the First and Third Divisions of our corps, which were in reserve.

Our little regiment, which could ill afford depletion, had lost while in the trenches on the right, from the 20th of June to the 14th of August, seven men killed or mortally wounded, and eighteen wounded; a total of twenty-five,—a slow but sure wasting of some of the most valuable material of which the regiment could boast.

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August 16th. The weather continued rainy and uncomfortable. Not a shot was fired on our line. Dr. Bryant to-day received a fully earned and well-deserved promotion, and was commissioned Surgeon of the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts Volunteers. There is, however, some doubt as to his being able to muster in on account of the greatly reduced numbers of that regiment, it being below the minimum, and having two assistant surgeons. It will be a calamity to lose the services of Dr. Bryant. During the entire campaign he has been at his post, and his duties have been very arduous and unremitting, from the fact that he has been the only medical officer with the regiment. He has remained constantly with the regiment, always in close proximity during an advance, and ready and willing to perform any duty in the camp or on the field.^[22]

[22] For the reason given above Dr. Bryant was not able to muster in on his commission as Surgeon of the Fifty-eighth, and remained with the Thirty-sixth until the close of the war.

August 17th. A day of frequent heavy showers, settling at night into a cold storm, making the ground soft and miry. It was a day of comparative quiet, but we had a heavy force on picket. A vigorous movement is in progress on the right, and the cannonading throughout the day was severe. General Hancock has crossed the James with the Second and Tenth Corps, and a division of cavalry, and has had a spirited engagement.

August 18th. The day was quiet within the lines, with rain at short intervals and heavy showers at times. The trenches and bomb-proofs were very uncomfortable, and required much baling out to keep the water down. General Lee having sent a considerable force from his lines to resist General Hancock's advance north of the James, advantage was taken of his movement to send General Warren and the Fifth Corps to the left, to extend that flank across the Weldon Railroad, about three or four miles distant. General Warren reached the railroad early in the forenoon, and while moving toward Petersburg was met by the enemy, and a fierce battle ensued, attended with considerable loss to the Fifth Corps; but the railroad was secured and held, and at nightfall

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General Warren established his line across it.

About nine o'clock that evening we were ordered to prepare three days' cooked rations, and be ready to move at daylight. The meaning of that order was well understood. During the night the enemy seemed to be aware of some unusual movement in our lines, and subjected us to a very severe artillery fire, which was general along the entire line.

At ten o'clock on the 19th we were relieved by Mott's division of the Second Corps, which had just recrossed the James, and the division moved to the left, following the other two divisions of our corps, which had been ordered to reinforce General Warren. We were exposed to a hot fire while leaving the pits, but none in the Thirty-sixth were injured. The rain poured in torrents nearly all day, and the men were thoroughly drenched. The route was circuitous, and we marched nearly six miles over very bad roads. As we neared the lines, the artillery and musketry fire of the troops in our front indicated that a heavy battle was in progress. The division of the enemy which General Warren encountered yesterday had been heavily reinforced, and had broken through the skirmish line, extending from the right of the Fifth Corps toward the left of the main line of works in front of Petersburg, with a heavy column, and turned Warren's right flank, causing great confusion and heavy loss, especially in prisoners. In the midst of this exciting battle the First and Third Divisions of our corps reached the ground at a most critical moment, and, forming hastily on General Warren's right, pushed rapidly forward with the troops of the Fifth Corps, and drove the enemy in great confusion to his intrenchments. The fighting was desperate and bloody. The rebel troops consisted, among others, of Mahone's division of A. P. Hill's corps.

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In the rapid advance of our lines a gap was created between the Ninth and Fifth Corps, and our division was at once deployed to fill it. We formed in a clearing and pushed forward into the woods for about a quarter of a mile, and went into position across a wood road. In less than ten minutes we had a good protection of logs; but were not allowed to remain long in possession, the brigade being ordered to deploy as skirmishers. The Thirty-sixth first formed on the left of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, but were soon filed to the extreme right, when, by General Potter's order, we were at once returned to our original position on the left of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, near the wood road. Captain Raymond, of the brigade staff, was sent by General Potter down this road to reconnoitre. In a few moments he rode into a large party of the enemy's skirmishers, and narrowly escaped capture. His orderly was killed, and as he attempted to return to the line the pursuit was so close that several of the enemy were captured. It was an exciting event, and proved that the enemy was in force in our front. Owing to the marching and countermarching in deploying, it was nearly dusk before the line was fairly established. General Potter ordered an advance, but upon moving forward it was discovered that we had broken connection with the First Division on our left, and were obliged to extend in that direction. Accordingly the Fifty-first New York was deployed between us and the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. Owing to the storm, the darkness, and the low, dense undergrowth, we were unable to advance beyond a short distance, and remained through the night in this position, widely deployed in the dense wood, without intrenchments or fires. The storm was quite severe, the rain fell in torrents, and the ground was soaked with water. It proved to be one of those cheerless, dismal nights, of which we had experienced so many during the eventful campaign,—nights the recollection of which causes a shudder, even after the flight of years.

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The first glimmer of daylight found the line of battle ready to advance; but no trace of the enemy could be discovered. Company D, the Color Guard, and Pioneers were formed as a reserve under charge of the Adjutant, and ordered to support the centre and keep well up to the skirmish line in the advance. At half-past eight o'clock the order was given "Forward! Guide Left!" The dense undergrowth rendered it very difficult to maintain a good line, as the regiment covered considerable ground. After advancing about three hundred yards we reached a cornfield about one hundred yards wide, with woods beyond. We moved across this field and halted in the edge of the forest, and connected our left with the right of the First Division. We were then ordered to build a line of breastworks. We had just completed a fine line of works, and were eating our dinner of roasted corn, gathered from the cornfield, when we were ordered to the left to reinforce that portion of the line, as an attack was anticipated. We accordingly moved a distance of about a hundred yards to the left, to that portion of the line which had been held by the Second New York Rifles, which had moved further down. Although they had occupied the position two hours, not a tree had been cut, and no protection whatever had been secured. Our men went to work with a will and soon had a good line of breastworks. We had just nicely settled down for the second time when the Adjutant-General came up at a gallop to order the regiment to extend to the right, as the enemy was threatening the extreme right, and it had been found necessary to extend in that direction. We moved back to the first line of breastworks we had built, not a little angry at being obliged to build intrenchments for the Second New York.

The portion of line we now occupied was the scene of the fearful struggle the previous day, when the charging enemy, under Mahone, encountered the advance of our troops under General Willcox. Both lines were charging and met at short range, when a desperate fight ensued, in which the enemy was obliged to retire. His dead lay thickly all about us, and the ground bore evidence of the heavy loss sustained by the enemy at this point.

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The men were under arms all the afternoon, expecting an attack. There was sharp musketry both on our right and left, but no unusual disturbance along our front. During the evening Lieutenant-Colonel Draper was temporarily in command of the brigade, in consequence of the absence of Colonel Bliss. At nightfall Captain Hodgkins, acting Adjutant, was detailed upon the staff of General Ferrero, and Lieutenant Haskell, of Company B, was assigned to duty as Adjutant and

entered at once upon this service. The tri-monthly report of this date showed the effective strength to be thirteen commissioned officers and one hundred and seventy-six enlisted men; total, one hundred and eighty-nine, with four commissioned officers and ninety-five enlisted men on extra or special duty with the corps.

The movement for the possession of the Weldon Railroad, although attended with heavy losses, had thus far been successful. General Warren's line was now firmly across the railroad, and the position strongly fortified. Our corps was on his right flank, covering much ground between him and the main line of works; a large cavalry force guarded the flanks, and artillery had been put in position to repel any attack the enemy might be disposed to make. It was felt that another attempt would be made by the rebels to drive out or break our line. The night shut in cold, dark, and rainy. The men were under arms, prepared for any emergency.

Early the next morning there were indications of another attack, and the enemy soon renewed his efforts to regain the railroad. A heavy cannonading from thirty pieces of artillery, which crossed their fire over Warren's position, was kept up for an hour, when a desperate assault was made by Haygood's South Carolina brigade, on the extreme left, with the intention of turning that flank while a heavy attack was made in front. The charge was made with great vigor, but was handsomely repulsed, with heavy loss in killed and wounded. Five hundred prisoners and three battle-flags were captured, with comparatively little loss to the Fifth Corps. The attempt was not renewed, but the enemy retired to his works, and our line was so strengthened as to render any further attack a matter of little probability.

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CHAPTER XXII. IN THE PINES.

The excitement and activity caused by the successful operations at the Weldon Railroad subsided in a great degree by the 22d, the enemy having abandoned the futile task of striving to regain his lost ground, and we were left in quiet and complete possession of this important line of communication. The regiment was leisurely employed during the day in strengthening the intrenchments, and skirmishers were advanced for half a mile or more into the wooded swamp in its front, but without developing the rebel position.

On the 23d the whole division line was drawn back a short distance, and works of a more permanent character than those first thrown up were begun.

The camp sheltered by these defences became known as that "In the Pines," and deserves more than passing notice. The Ninth Corps now held that part of the line which extended from the right of the Fifth Corps on the Weldon Railroad to the left of the Second Corps, near the Jerusalem Plank road,—a distance of about four miles. At the point occupied by the regiment the line ran along the edge of a belt of pine timber fronting an open field of varying width, which separated it from a deep, swampy forest, the trees in the border of which were felled at random, forming with their prostrate trunks and interlacing branches that formidable barrier known as a "slashing." Through this maze were narrow winding paths for the passage of the pickets who were posted in the standing timber beyond. The breastworks were higher than was customary, the earth being thrown up from the front, leaving a ditch, just outside of which was planted a bristling abatis. Well-built earthworks for artillery were thrown up at available points, the open ground in front of the regiment being swept by an enfilading fire from two. An observer standing upon the works in front of the tents of the Thirty-sixth commanded a far-reaching view of the defences, which, as they stretched away on either hand until hidden by the trees, presented one of the best specimens of entrenchment to be seen on that wonderful line, which extended for more than thirty miles, and which, with the opposing works of the enemy, nearly as long, made the greatest achievement in field fortification the world ever saw.

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This position was held by the regiment from August 23d until September 25th; and relieved from the harassing duty in the trenches to which we had been so long subjected, and confident in the security of our defences, we joyfully improved a period of needed and grateful rest.

The regimental camp was laid out in an orderly manner, the absence of underbrush and large size of the pine growth giving it the appearance of a picnic grove, and was in striking contrast to the dusty and sun-scorched quarters it had frequently been our lot to occupy.

The weather, although cool at times, was generally delightful, and the duties were light. Beyond the regular details for picket and police, and an occasional bloodless reconnoissance, there was little call for service, and the men at their leisure washed and mended their war-worn garments, and dealt out long-deferred vengeance to predatory vermin; guns were cleaned, and brasses polished; barbers' chairs of marvellous construction, attended by thrifty veterans, were well patronized; long-absent sutlers returned with their wagons groaning beneath heavy burdens; in short, we were once more "in camp."

The terrible losses sustained by the Ninth Corps during the bloody campaign of the summer had sadly thinned its once crowded ranks. Regiments, that in April marched from Annapolis in all the pride and confidence which strength inspires, now mustered around their tattered colors meagre and skeleton battalions. The loss in commissioned officers was especially large, and the need of a reorganization of the corps was painfully apparent. In furtherance of this object General White, commanding the First Division, was relieved, by orders dated September 1, and the regiments composing that division were transferred to the Second and Third Divisions. On the 13th of September the designation of the several divisions of the corps was changed as follows: the Third to be First, under command of Brigadier-General O. B. Willcox; the Second to remain unchanged, under command of Brigadier-General R. B. Potter; the Fourth (colored) to be the Third, under command of Brigadier-General Edward Ferrero. The corps was under the command of Major-General John G. Parke.

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This change strengthened our brigade by the addition of the Twenty-first (now a battalion) and Thirty-fifth Regiments Massachusetts Volunteers.

The following is a list of the regiments composing the brigade after the reorganization, with the number (commissioned officers and enlisted men) present for duty in the latter part of September:—

Fourth Rhode Island	Volunteers	217
Seventh Rhode Island	"	165
Forty-eighth Pennsylvania	"	491
Forty-fifth Pennsylvania	"	291
Fifty-first New York	"	368
Thirty-sixth Massachusetts	"	228
Fifty-eighth Massachusetts	"	123
Thirty-fifth Massachusetts	"	514
Twenty-first Massachusetts	"	102

Soon after its arrival at the pines the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts received over three hundred and fifty recruits, entirely made up of substitutes from Germany. The camp of these exiles was near that of the Thirty-sixth, and their ignorance of the language and queer foreign manners caused an amused interest in them; but when at night, as became their custom, they gathered around the camp-fires, and, in an isolation almost pathetic, sung the songs of *Faderland*, the effect was striking, and we could not but listen with feelings of sympathy and sadness as the grand old chorals resounded through the solemn pines.

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September 14th, First Lieutenant Henry S. Burrage, who was wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor, returned to the regiment, and was mustered in as Captain of Company D.

During this peaceful month the ornamental duties of a soldier assumed prominence, and the frequent sharp command "Fall in!" became more suggestive of a drill and dress-parade than of hurried march or wearisome watch in the trenches. On the 15th the regiment paraded for brigade inspection, and on the 21st participated in a review of the brigade by General Potter, presenting on both occasions a steady and soldierly appearance that cast no discredit on its past record.

Lieutenant-Colonel Draper, as President, and Captain Smith, as Judge-Advocate, of a court martial convened at division head-quarters, gave attention to the trial of deserters, most of the cases being those of either ignorant foreign substitutes or unscrupulous bounty-jumpers.

On the morning of the 16th the prevailing quiet was broken by the unusual sound of firing in our front, followed by the hasty falling back of a portion of the picket line. The breastworks were hurriedly manned in anticipation of an assault; but after some desultory firing the enemy prudently withdrew, evidently satisfied as to the strength of our position, for no further attempt was made to disturb the line at this point. In the forenoon of September 25th the Third Division was reviewed, and a large number of interested spectators from our regiment were in attendance, criticising with veteran keenness the military bearing of the "colored troops."

But the easy life in which the luxury of idleness was broken only by the routine of camp duty was to be rudely ended; the friendly shelter which for a while we had enjoyed was to be exchanged for the deadly exposure of the battle-field. It was our last day "in the Pines."

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CHAPTER XXIII. THE ACTION AT PEGRAM FARM.

On the afternoon of September 25th, about five o'clock, orders to move were suddenly received, and immediately the quiet camp became a scene of bustling activity. Tents were hastily stripped from their poles, knapsacks packed in a hurry, and in half an hour, having been relieved by the Fifth Corps, we left our camp. After moving some four miles to the right a halt was ordered about nine o'clock, and the regiment bivouacked in the woods in the rear of the Second Corps.

On the following day tents were pitched, and the men remained idle in camp, the air thick with rumors, until the morning of the 28th, when the brigade marched to the "Gurley House," half a mile from "Yellow Tavern," "in such a manner that the enemy would notice the movement," to quote from the order received from regimental head-quarters.

The 29th was passed in feverish uncertainty, a move being expected at any moment. Staff officers and orderlies were riding to and fro, and cavalry in force moved toward the left; but the regiment did not leave its position. At night the excitement was heightened by the reading of a despatch from General Grant, announcing that the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond had been taken by General Ord, and that General Birney had defeated the enemy north of the James.

The morning of September 30th dawned upon a day of perfect autumnal beauty; but the balmy air, fragrant with the scent of the pines, the clear sunlight, and cloudless sky left little impress of their loveliness upon the minds of men who, after the broken slumbers of the night, were early astir preparing for battle. [Pg 259]

The expected advance began about nine o'clock, the troops passing over the works of the Fifth Corps on the extreme left, and into the debatable land beyond. The column consisted of Ayer's and Griffin's divisions of the Fifth Corps, followed by Potter's and Willcox's divisions of the Ninth Corps. We followed the road through woods for about a mile, when a small country meeting-house, known as Poplar Spring Church, was reached. There our brigade line of battle formed at right angles to the road. Meanwhile the advance of the Fifth Corps had developed near the Peebles house, an outlying fortification of the enemy, consisting of a redoubt and flanking rifle-pits, upon which an assault was made, about ten o'clock, by Griffin's division, and easily carried, with trifling loss. The enemy, not having sufficient strength to resist after the loss of his entrenchments, promptly retreated to his main line, leaving about fifty prisoners and a piece of artillery in our hands.

The divisions of the Ninth Corps were now ordered to the front, and immediately advanced, passing the troops of the Fifth Corps, who were quietly resting with stacked arms near the captured redoubt.

The regiment moved forward in brigade line of battle in excellent form, and a rapid advance on the enemy's main line was anticipated; but, soon after passing the Peebles house, a halt was ordered, and the movement came to a complete stand-still.

For three or four hours this fatal and inexplicable delay continued, although it was evident that the advantage of a surprise was thus being thrown away, as the enemy must necessarily have been warned of our presence by the men who had withdrawn from the redoubt. At last, about the middle of the afternoon, the impatient and well-nigh disgusted soldiers were again ordered forward. [Pg 260]

Our regiment moved by the flank toward the Boisseau house,—an abandoned dwelling that became prominent during the operations of the ensuing days,—gathering, in wayside gossip with adventurous sharpshooters who had been looking after an opportunity for fancy shooting at the front, the cheering news that the rebel works, toward which we were advancing, had been strongly reinforced during our long halt. About five o'clock the Second Brigade, General Griffin, which was pushing forward on our right, slightly in advance, became engaged with the enemy's skirmish line, and General Curtin was ordered to make connection with that command. This was immediately done, our brigade forming in two lines of battle, as follows: Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, and Fifty-first New York, in the first line; Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, Twenty-first Massachusetts, and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, in the second, though extending further to the left than the first line. The Seventh Rhode Island were in the rear with entrenching tools, and the Fourth Rhode Island acted as provost guard, their term of service having nearly expired.

By this formation the Thirty-sixth came into position on the extreme left of the brigade, and halted for a few moments near the Boisseau house, at a fence running along a sorghum field. Captain Burrage, with the skirmishers of the regiment, covered the front and left of the regiment, the line extending from the woods to the Boisseau house. The firing on our right now increased as the Second Brigade became hotly engaged, and our line was ordered over the fence, which was hastily crossed, and an advance of a few yards made into an open field, which extended a long distance to the right, exposing to view a large part of the brigade line of battle, while the enemy was concealed in the woods beyond. Here the regiment first met the whizzing rebel bullets, which became so troublesome as to cause the men to lie down; and, although the prostrate attitude was eminently adapted to the situation, the recumbent warriors may have been shamed, and were certainly encouraged, by the example of General Curtin, who at this juncture reached the front, and, followed by a single orderly, rode along the line of his brigade, as coolly [Pg 261]

as if on review. His horse was soon after shot under him, and a valuable saddle, sent as a present from his friends in Pennsylvania, fell into the hands of the enemy.

We momentarily expected an order to charge, but found that the situation was changing on the right, to which attention was drawn from the fact that at that point the line seemed to be falling back, which soon proved to be the case. Our regimental line stood inactive, no special pressure being brought to bear by the enemy in our front, until the retrograde movement became communicated to the regiment on our right, when we realized that the rebels, tired perhaps of waiting for our assault, had boldly sallied from their works and, sheltered by the surrounding wood, had successfully flanked our line.

As the whole force covering our right vanished, the regiment was subjected to a galling fire from that direction as well as the front. Colonel Draper then ordered a change of front, but seeing that the enemy's movement threatened to cut us off from our forces in the rear he changed the order to a movement by the left flank in the same direction.

The sorghum before mentioned save us a slight shelter, and we hurriedly made our way through it, the vicious "zip" of the rebel bullets giving us an incentive to haste. Reaching the ravine between the Boisseau house and the sorghum field we found remnants of several regiments of the First Division, which had fallen into disorder, still gallantly holding their ground, gathered in little groups around their colors. Here a stubborn stand was made, and the chief conflict of the day on the part of our regiment was fought. Many acts of individual gallantry might be mentioned, the officers, and in some noticeable instances the enlisted men, doing brave and serviceable work in rallying the scattered squads and endeavoring to check the advance of the enemy. But the force was unequal to the task, the Thirty-sixth being the only regiment that retained its organization; and the position soon became extremely critical.

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A line of the enemy's skirmishers now appeared at the mouth of the ravine, on our left flank, and coolly picked off our men without opposition, our fire being mainly directed at the greater body of the rebel force, which had meanwhile pressed well around to our right, having cut off and captured a part of our brigade and driven back the remainder. The regiment could hold its ground but a short time under the demoralizing effect of a sharp fire from three sides, and Lieutenant-Colonel Draper, seeing that further resistance would be useless sacrifice, seized the colors, against the protest of Color-Sergeant Rawson, and gave the order to retire.

A lively scattering over the fences and through the grounds of the Boisseau house ensued, each man doing his level best to preserve a life for future usefulness to his country, and little breath was taken until the shelter of a reserve line and a section of Roemer's battery was secured. Here General Potter was found sitting gloomily on his horse, to whom Colonel Draper reported with fifty-two men of our regiment and twenty men of the Fifty-sixth Massachusetts as "the remains of his division." The men of the Fifth Corps and that part of the Ninth held in reserve had by this time been so disposed as to check any further advance of the enemy, and the battle ceased as darkness came on. The remnant of our regiment proceeded to the new line, which was found with difficulty in the dark, and remained for a short time in position at the edge of a piece of woods, picking up occasional stragglers.

During the evening we were ordered back to the line of works taken by the Fifth Corps in the morning, where we were soon joined by a detachment of about sixty men, under Captains Ames and Morse, which became separated from the colors in the retreat. As each party had for a time good reason for supposing the other to be in the hands of the enemy, the reunion was a joyful one. At roll-call the regiment mustered one hundred and forty-three men, the largest number by far of any regiment in the division, although some had three times that number in the ranks before going into action. The casualties in the Thirty-sixth were four killed, sixteen wounded, and sixteen missing,—a surprisingly small number in view of the perilous position in which the regiment was placed. The killed were Corporal Robert F. Webb, Company A, Privates Lyman H. Gilbert, Company E, Rufus H. Carter, Company I, and Belthazar Margenot, Company K,—the last two being transferred men from the Twenty-first Regiment. Sergeant Lucius L. Merrick, Company E, who rejoined the regiment the night before, was mortally wounded and died ten days later. Merrick was known throughout the regiment, and respected by all for his manly Christian character. He was a graduate of Amherst College, and at the time of his enlistment was preparing for the ministry. He had been twice wounded, at Knoxville and in the Wilderness, and was about to receive a commission in a regiment of colored troops. He was one of the best soldiers in the regiment, and his death caused sincere grief. Sergeant Charles Underwood, of Company D, was wounded in the knee near the Boisseau house, and fell into the hands of the enemy. His leg was amputated, and in a short time he was sent through to our lines. A second and third amputation followed a year or two later, and he died. Sergeant-Major Washburn was shot through the face, receiving a very severe wound, and Captain J. B. Smith, serving on the staff of General Potter, was shot in the hand, and suffered amputation of a finger.

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Of the four divisions engaged the loss fell chiefly on ours, the number of missing being very large. The official report of casualties in the division was,—killed fifty-one; wounded two hundred and eighty; missing, one thousand three hundred and thirteen. A large proportion of the missing were from the First Brigade, as the regiments in its first line were cut off by the enemy's flank movement, and nearly all of the Fifty-first New York, and a large number of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, and Fifty-eighth Massachusetts were captured.

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The Second Brigade of our division first received the shock of the evening's charge, and when it was seen that it could not withstand it, the Seventh Rhode Island, in reserve, was ordered to form a new line near the Pegram house, and an order which, unfortunately, was not received by him,

was despatched to General Curtin to fall back to the line thus established. If this movement had been made it is probable that the heavy loss in the brigade would have been avoided. Speculation as to the causes which occasioned this disaster to our corps is, perhaps, unprofitable, and can afford but little consolation; but one fact seems clear, that the delays and blunders of general officers, rather than cowardice or misconduct of the men fighting at the front, brought about the mortifying result. The vexatious and apparently needless halt after the first success of the Fifth Corps in the morning has been alluded to. This gave the enemy time to reinforce his threatened line, and the rebel commanders, thoroughly familiar with the ground, had their customary advantage of being able to direct their movements understandingly.^[23]

[23] This action is called by the Confederates the battle of Jones' Farm. Lane's North Carolina brigade formed the enemy's right; one of Wilcox's brigades the left, with McRae's North Carolina brigade as a support. The latter, however, "rushed forward to participate in the fight." See History of Lane's North Carolina Brigade, in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 1881, pp. 354-356.

During the night a storm began, and the day following was one of the most dismal and uncomfortable ever experienced by the regiment. No movement was attempted, but details were employed in reversing the works behind which we were bivouacked, so they might afford protection in case of an advance by the enemy. The work was very difficult, as the constant rain gave the freshly turned earth the consistency of mud. The aspect of the men, as they painfully prodded the moist ground with sticky shovels or crouched around smoky and sputtering fires, was lugubrious in the extreme, and their feelings corresponded with their looks. Occasional shots were exchanged by the pickets, and one man of the regiment, while sitting near a fire, was wounded by a stray bullet.

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CHAPTER XXIV. AGAIN IN THE TRENCHES.

The morning of October 2d was bright and clear, and the lines were soon formed for an advance. We moved forward about a quarter of a mile, to a point not far distant from the Boisseau house, where we fell to in earnest and began the construction of a line of works which were destined to be our protection for many weeks.

We were greatly annoyed during the forenoon by a sharp-shooter, evidently posted in a tree, and by the raking fire of a battery, also screened by trees, which occasionally caused a lively scattering by sending a shell whizzing diagonally across our line. One of these burst in the ranks of Company K, wounding three men and killing two; one of the killed being Sergeant Daniel A. Burton. The fire from the battery slackened in the afternoon, but the "reb" sharp-shooter kept at work so persistently that it seemed extremely desirable to put a stop to his fun. Accordingly, Colonel Draper detailed James Knowlton, of Company E, and Corporal Frank Bell, of Company F, two good shots, to relieve us from this annoyance if possible.

They crept out some distance beyond the picket line, found cover, and waited for indications. They had not long to wait, for soon the crack of a rifle was heard, and from a tree in the edge of the woods back of the enemy's picket line rose a telltale puff of smoke. Both took careful aim, fired, and to their delight saw a gray-clad Johnny come tumbling heels over head out of the tree. The next morning the rebel pickets told ours that the man shot was a lieutenant of sharpshooters. After this successful shot the work in the trenches was pursued with more safety and peace of mind, and by nightfall a strong rifle-pit stood between us and the enemy, behind which we pitched our tents and sought repose with a pleasant consciousness of being once more "in camp."

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The day had been full of work and interest. The part of the new line built by the Thirty-sixth was on open ground, while the rebel position was masked by thick woods, and the fire from unseen batteries and sharpshooters was harassing in the extreme. During the morning General Meade, accompanied by a brilliant staff, passed along the line and halted in the rear of the regiment, probably furnishing an additional inducement to the rebel gunners to serve their pieces well. In the evening Major Barker, Captain Fairbank, Captain Burrage, and some of the men, went over the ground in front of our lines, under cover of the darkness, and buried our dead, whom the enemy had stripped of their clothing and left where they fell.

October 3d passed more quietly. Shots were occasionally fired on the picket line, but no hindrance was experienced in the work of strengthening the fortifications, which was the principal business of the day. Engineers were engaged in laying out forts, two of which, named Fort Fisher and Fort Welch, were in time completed, and formed a prominent feature of the defences, as the line here made an angle, the works to the left of these forts being the protection for the extreme left of the army of the Potomac.

October 4th. Comparative quiet prevailed until the afternoon, when there was a lively breeze on the picket line. In our immediate front, and held by our pickets, was a deserted house, to which reference has already been made, lately occupied by Dr. Boisseau. As this house stood on rising ground, and commanded a view of the enemy's line, it was surmised that it might be made the object of an attack. In anticipation of such an event, Captain Morse, with his company, was, on the 3d instant, detailed as a reserve picket force, and took up a position in a small rifle-pit near the house a short distance to the rear of the picket line. The rebels had during the day kept up a desultory fire, which made the position of the few men stationed in the building somewhat uncomfortable; but nothing unusual was noted until about four o'clock, when the enemy attacked the picket line of the Second New York, of our brigade. The capture of this line let the enemy into the rear of the picket pits of the Thirty-Sixth, and those adjacent to the house were precipitately evacuated; but the reserve force held its ground until convinced that the enemy was present in superior numbers, when it fell back, leaving the house and a few men in his possession. Our loss was four men captured,—Corporals Charles Bottomley and George H. Mills, of Company C, and privates Reuben Jackson and Lyman McDowell, of Company E. Mills and Bottomley were shortly afterwards paroled; but Jackson and McDowell were fated to swell the ranks of that mighty army the story of which is sadly told by the words, "Died in rebel prisons." The picket line was at once reinforced, and the captured posts were retaken. A second attack of the enemy was unsuccessful. After dark, in accordance with orders, Captain Burrage, who was brigade officer of the day, gave directions for the burning of the building. It was soon a mass of flame, and presented a brilliant spectacle, the weird effect being heightened by the sharp crack of the rifles as the outposts on both sides blazed away at random, each desirous to show to his antagonist that he was not to be caught napping. At daylight on the morning of the 5th the disputed property was a heap of ruins, and our pickets who had been drawn back, on account of the fire, took possession of their old pits without opposition.

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We were now for several days kept busy in the construction of earthworks, and the regimental camp was twice moved; but by the 7th instant we were well settled, and were made happy by the ever-welcome appearance of the paymaster.

This day was also marked by the arrival of a new stand of colors. The old flags, which in the wanderings of over two years of active service had been borne in ten States of the Union, and in both victory and defeat had been zealously guarded as the emblems of our organization, State

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and National, were now returned to the care of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts. Stained by the elements and blood, and torn by shot and shell, with both staves shattered by rebel bullets, they gave silent but faithful testimony to the vicissitudes through which the men who followed them had passed.

During this month an unexpected loss befell the regiment, caused by the retirement from the service of Lieutenant-Colonel Draper and Captain Morse, who left for home October 13th, to the great regret of their comrades of the Thirty-sixth, whether officers or enlisted men. Although young men, both were veteran officers of tried courage and recognized ability, and we would gladly have retained them; but their term of service had now expired, both having served in the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts before entering the Thirty-sixth. Lieutenant-Colonel Draper was soon after brevetted Colonel and Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious service."

Major Barker succeeded to the command of the regiment, and soon after received a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, dating from October 12th, 1864. The command of Company C devolved upon First Lieutenant P. G. Woodward.

On the 14th inst. the regiment was for the first time in its history ordered out to witness a military execution. The condemned was a private of the Second Maryland, named Merlin, who by the division court-martial, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Draper was president, had been found guilty of an attempt to desert to the enemy. The division was formed in an open field on three sides of a square, in the centre of which the doomed man was seated, blindfold, on a coffin placed at the side of an open grave. Familiar with death as the spectators were, it was an impressive scene as the firing detail silently drew up before the criminal, and at a preconcerted signal (the dropping of a handkerchief) discharged a volley which sent the soul of the deserter to its final account.

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With the exception of the removal of the camp to a point nearer the breastworks there was continued quiet until the 25th when rumors of a movement became rife, and toward night orders were received to pack up and be ready to march at dusk. We were soon in readiness, but the night passed without the arrival of the expected order. The next day brought additional indications of a contemplated movement of considerable magnitude, and at one o'clock P.M. tents were struck, and the regiment marched to a large field near by, where, after participating in a brigade drill, it bivouacked for the night. The time allowed for rest was brief, however, as the sleeping soldiers were aroused at two o'clock on the morning of the 27th. While we awaited in the darkness the momentarily expected order to "Fall in," a mail arrived and was distributed by the flickering light of the army candle, and many a man as he read the welcome message from home felt, as he thought of the morrow, that it might be for him the last.

The movement in which the regiment was about to engage we found to be one of great importance, from the result of which much advantage to our arms was hoped. General Grant, it appeared, had decided to make one more attempt to turn the enemy's right flank, and, if possible, interrupt his communications, before the weather should become so bad as to render the roads impracticable for aggressive warfare. A large part of the troops attached to the Second, Fifth, and Ninth Corps were withdrawn from the entrenched line for this purpose. The duty assigned to the Fifth and Ninth Corps was to advance upon the extreme right of the enemy's works, and capture them if possible, thus turning his flank; while the Second Corps was to make a detour to the west, cross Hatcher's Run in the vicinity of Burgess' Mills, and operate against the Southside Railroad.

At four o'clock we were on the road, and soon reaching the left of our line marched through an opening made in the works for our passage. The column then moved forward over an uneven country, heavily wooded in parts, and quite unfamiliar to the officers in command. The Fifth Corps worked its way with difficulty to a position to the left of the Ninth, and a general advance was attempted. The Third Division (colored) of the Ninth Corps led in this movement, and struck the enemy's line about two miles from our intrenchments. The black men behaved admirably, driving the rebels to the shelter of their fortifications, which were found to be so formidable and well garrisoned that an escalade was deemed inadvisable; and the position gained was simply held, for a time, to await the result of the movement to the left. The other divisions of the Ninth Corps remained in support of the Third Division, and the regiment busied itself during the day in throwing up a line of rifle-pits, behind which it bivouacked at night. The night was rainy, and our condition anything but comfortable, as we wearily waited for the day.

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The weather improved on the morning of the 28th, but, instead of the anticipated assault, we found that preparations were being made for the withdrawal of our forces, as it transpired that the operations of the two corps on our left had proved unsuccessful. Crawford's division, of the Fifth Corps, had crossed Hatcher's Run, with the intention of gaining a position behind the rebel right flank; but became separated in the thick forest, and had remained all night in a dangerous plight, but was fortunately withdrawn without serious loss. The Second Corps had advanced, as directed, to Burgess' Mills, where it was thrown into some confusion by an assault of the enemy, from which it soon rallied and drove back the assailants, capturing many prisoners, and, although partial success was gained at this point, the evident strength of the rebel forces made further offensive operations inadvisable.

Our division was ordered to retire about noon, and, in conjunction with a division of the Fifth Corps, executed a very pretty manœuvre. The troops of the Ninth Corps formed in line of battle, leaving an opening through which those of the Fifth passed by the flank; the latter then in turn formed in line and in like manner guarded the passage to the rear of the other column. The movement was conducted with the coolness and regularity of a parade, notwithstanding the

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rattling fire of the skirmishers, which furnished an exciting accompaniment. After reaching our old line of defence we marched quietly back to our lately abandoned camp, and reoccupied it.

Soon after the return from this unprofitable excursion the regiment received a material addition to its strength by the consolidation with it of the Twenty-first Battalion Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers. This command was the remnant made up of reënlisted men of the Twenty-first Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, and was justly proud of its long and brilliant record. On account of the smallness of its numbers it was ordered to join our larger force; but its veteran members were naturally averse to the change, as by it their old regiment lost its identity in a younger one; neither did the men of the Thirty-sixth regard with favor the accession of recruits in this wholesale manner, as their ten companies were now compacted into seven, and their accustomed formation lost. Military necessity is regardless of sentiment, however, and the change was peacefully made, the new-comers being pleasantly received; and they faithfully served with the regiment until its departure for home, when they were transferred to the Fifty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers.

The following regimental order in reference to this consolidation and organization was issued:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT,
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS, November 1st, 1864.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS NO. 28.

In obedience to Special Orders from War Dept., A.G.O. No. 358, the Thirty-sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers is consolidated into seven companies, and the Twenty-first Battalion Massachusetts Volunteers is transferred to the Thirty-sixth Regiment to complete the organization.

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The Thirty-sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers is consolidated as follows:—

Companies K and B to B.
" G and I to G.
" C and H to C.

The Twenty-first Battalion to be H, I, and K.

Commissioned officers are assigned as follows:—

Co. A, Capt.	J. A. Marshall;	1st Lieut.	Saml. Osborne.
" B, "	Wm. H. Hodgkins,	"	Austin Davis.
" C, "	J. B. Smith,	"	P. G. Woodward.
" D, "	H. S. Burrage,	"	E. F. Emory.
" E, "	J. B. Fairbank,	"	G. W. Harwood.
" F, "	T. E. Ames,	"	J. Hancock.
" G, "	A. S. Davidson,	"	W. H. Brigham.
" H, "	E. F. Raymond,	"	J. R. Davis.
" I, 1st Lieut.	F. M. McDermott;	2d Lieut.	A. R. Mott.
" K, Capt.	C. W. Davis;	1st Lieut.	W. H. Sawyer; 2d Lieut. W. H. Morrow.

By order of T. L. BARKER,
Maj. Comd'g Reg't.

Thomas H. Haskell, *Adj't.*

Many of the officers were absent from the regiment, serving in various capacities: Captain Hodgkins was A.C.M. Third Division, Ninth A.C; Captain Smith, Provost Marshal, Second Division, Ninth A.C; Captain Ames. A. Aide-de-camp, First Brigade, Second Division, Ninth A.C; Captain Raymond, Assistant Inspector General, Second Division, Ninth A.C; Captain Davis, on detached service; Lieutenant Austin Davis, on detached service, recruiting in Massachusetts; Lieutenant Brigham, absent, sick at Annapolis, Md.

The uncertain and disagreeable weather, characteristic of a Virginia winter, had now set in, and stormy days came with such frequency that the more enterprising and active men began the work of "fixing up their tents." The experience gained at Falmouth and Lenoir's Station was of value, now that the erection of mud chimneys and log underpinnings became a frequent occupation. The hospitality of the thrifty ones who first became the happy owners of fireplaces was often subjected to a severe strain, when their improvident friends crowded in to view the improvements, and, beguiled by the genial warmth, outstayed their welcome.

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Little of severe duty fell to our lot at this period, the work of picketing the front constituting the main employment; and this was quite a peaceful pursuit when compared with that of the summer, as there was no firing on the line, and our relations with the enemy's outposts were generally friendly.

This feeling of confidence, however, was broken, November 1st, by the capture of Captain Burrage. He was on duty as brigade officer of the day, and his instructions allowed him to exchange papers, if an opportunity offered,—an exchange having taken place at this point almost daily for some time. In visiting the picket posts, in company with the division officer of the day, Captain Burrage found a rebel officer waiting to exchange papers on a road which ran through

the woods where our division had suffered so severely September 30th. Leaving the division officer of the day, Captain Burrage walked down the road and met the rebel officer. The latter had with him three Richmond papers, and these Captain Burrage, who had only a single Washington paper, received, promising to bring out another paper in the afternoon. Having made his rounds of the picket posts on our brigade front, Captain Burrage carried the papers he had received to General Curtin's head-quarters. On revisiting his lines, in the afternoon, he learned that the rebel officer had not appeared. After waiting a while, wishing to fulfil his promise even to an enemy, he concluded to call some one out from the rebel line. Unfolding the paper, and waving it in his hand, he walked down the road to the point where he exchanged in the morning. Then passing an angle in the wood he came in sight of the rebel picket line, which was about fifty yards distant. Halting, and still waving his paper, he saw a rebel soldier leave his post as if to go for an officer. In a minute or two the soldiers stood up in the rebel pits, levelled their muskets, and an officer called out, "Come in, or we'll fire!" To attempt to escape was useless, and Captain Burrage was compelled to go in.

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General Curtin at once gave orders to capture, in retaliation, the first rebel officer found approaching our lines to exchange papers. For a while the enemy made no efforts in this direction; but, about a fortnight later, Roger A. Pryor, formerly a General in the Confederate service, but now a courier attached to General Lee's head-quarters, came over to exchange papers near the place where Captain Burrage was captured. A captain of the 11th New Hampshire, who had not forgotten General Curtin's order, met him, and, drawing his revolver on him, marched him into our lines. Pryor was at once sent to Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor, and after some negotiations, continued through several months, both Captain Burrage and General Pryor were at length exchanged.

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CHAPTER XXV. IN WINTER QUARTERS.

During the latter part of November the Ninth Corps was ordered to the right of the line to relieve the Second Corps, which had been on duty in the trenches in front of Petersburg since the movement of the Ninth Corps to the Weldon Railroad, in August. On the 29th the brigade marched to the vicinity of Hancock Station, on the military railroad, and was assigned to the main line of trenches, the Thirty-sixth being detailed for duty in Fort Rice as its permanent garrison. Thus, after an absence of nearly three months, the regiment was again on duty in the old line, a little to the left of the position it occupied during the summer months. Though in a new location all the scenes around us were familiar. Immediately on our left stood the celebrated Fort Sedgwick, better known in military histories as Fort "Hell,"—a name given to it by the soldiers on account of its exposed situation, which invited the fire of the enemy's artillery. It was frequently subjected to terrific cannonading from the guns opposite.

In front of us stood the grim batteries in the enemy's main line of defence. The principal battery in that portion of the line was in Fort Mahone,—called by the rebel soldiers Fort "Damnation," for the same reason which won for Fort Sedgwick its profane sobriquet. The brigade extended from Fort Meikle on the right, held by the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, connecting with the left of the First Division, to Fort Davis, about forty rods to the left of Fort Sedgwick, held by the Seventeenth Vermont, Fifty-Sixth Massachusetts, and Thirty-first Maine, which constituted the right of General Griffin's (Second) brigade.

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The principal duty devolving upon the regiment during the winter was picket duty in the trenches. The picket line was an intrenched work about one hundred and fifty yards in front of the fort, and about the same distance from the rebel picket line. Little of an exciting nature occurred during the day, but at night the picket-firing was kept up by both sides. There was more or less artillery firing from the main lines on each side, the shells going over our heads. When the enemy became aware of the change of troops in their front, and the substitution of the Ninth Corps for the Second, they supposed that the colored troops still belonged to the Ninth Corps, and their firing was sharp and continuous; but after being told that the colored regiments had been transferred to another department they subsided into their usual round of firing. At times the batteries indulged in lively duels. Almost directly in front of the line occupied by the regiment was a battery containing one or more eight-inch columbiads, which threw its shells to a great distance in the rear of our main lines, and annoyed the signal station at the Avery house, the range of which they had obtained. In one of the artillery duels our guns in Fort Sedgwick poured such a fierce fire into this battery as not only effectually to silence it, but finally, by a lucky shot, to burst the gun which had caused so much trouble.

During the raid which General Warren made with the Fifth Corps to Nottaway, in December, the regiment was ordered to be in readiness to march, but was not withdrawn from the fort; and again, in February, during the movement to Hatcher's Run, it was expected that the regiment would be ordered to the left; but the order to be prepared for movement was not followed by orders to leave.

Now and then an incident transpired to enliven the spirits of the men. On one occasion, after some days of extremely cold weather, firewood became very scarce on the picket line, and one of our sergeants called out to the enemy that he proposed to cut down a large tree which stood midway between the picket lines. He accordingly went out, followed by five men with axes; but before he could begin the work of chopping, he was joined by a rebel lieutenant and four men with an axe, who had come out for the same purpose. As each side claimed the tree it was agreed that both parties should assist in cutting it down, and then divide it as equally as possible. The top fell toward the enemy's lines, and two men stood on the trunk, back to back,—they who had stood so often face to face,—and cut through the trunk, our men taking the butt and the enemy the branches. That night the blaze of the little fires in the rear of each picket line added to the comfort of the men in their weary watches.

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On the 31st of January a truce was declared during the passage of Vice-President Stephens and the Peace Commissioners from Petersburg to City Point. Many of the men along the entire Petersburg front crossed the lines to "confer with the enemy" in the peaceable exchange of coffee and sugar for tobacco and such other commodities as the "Johnnies" had.

During a portion of the month of January the regiment was commanded by Captain Fairbank, in the absence on leave of Lieutenant-Colonel Barker. Adjutant Haskell also received a leave of absence, and some of the enlisted men were permitted to go home on furlough.

Once or twice battalion drill was ordered on the open ground in rear of the fort; but, as the enemy had perfect range of the place, they did not propose to allow any show or parade in force, and their well-directed shots rendered any exposure for such a purpose impracticable.

Tidings of the steady and successful march of General Sherman's army were frequently received, and information of the capture of Fort Fisher, Wilmington, and Charleston was communicated to the enemy in shotted salutes of one hundred guns from all the batteries in the main line of works.

Toward the close of February there were many indications that the enemy contemplated the evacuation of Petersburg, and attempt a junction with the army of General Johnston in North Carolina. Desertions from the troops along our front became very frequent, and the statements

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made by these men tended to arouse the apprehension of the commanding officers lest the enemy should elude our grasp. The pickets were kept constantly alert, and on dark and foggy nights scouts were sent out to ascertain if any movement was being made by the enemy. For the month succeeding the 25th of February there were numerous indications of changes in the enemy's position. These movements were accompanied with much yelling and firing on the part of the confederates, and whenever the scouts or skirmishers advanced they were followed to our lines by large numbers of deserters. One night, early in March, we saw the flames of an extensive fire in Petersburg, and heard distinctly the ringing of the bells. The reserves were under arms, and moved up to the main line, prepared to follow any withdrawal of the enemy. After the excitement had subsided the rebel pickets informed us that the fire in the city was accidental. Thus week by week, and month by month, the winter passed away, and the warmer sun and opening ground and balmy air proclaimed the approach of spring, that season for more active and exciting work. Toward the middle of March enormous quantities of supplies were forwarded to the left. The trains were loaded with provisions, and the tops of cars covered with men returning to their regiments from hospitals and convalescent camps.

Old soldiers needed not to be reminded that an active campaign would soon be inaugurated, and with the proverbial instinct begotten of experience began that personal preparation for effective work and rapid marching in selecting what things to throw away. Inspections became more frequent and exacting, and the fact of a speedy movement "was in the air." Sutlers were ordered to City Point. The reserve division was moved to the left of Fort Davis, to stake out and fortify a new defensive line covering the left and rear of the Ninth-Corps line, and in a few days had a strong line of intrenchments.

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While these preparations were in progress, in fact, while the army of the Potomac was under marching orders, the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly assumed the offensive. On the night of the 24th of March, the day General Grant issued his orders for a forward movement of his armies, a strong force of the enemy, consisting of Gordon's corps and Bushrod Johnson's division, the whole commanded by General Gordon, was prepared for an attack on the right of the Ninth Corps. Before daylight on the morning of the 25th three heavy columns of the enemy charged and captured the main line on our right from Battery Nine to Fort Haskell, including Fort Stedman, the principal work in that portion of the line. The columns after reaching the works charged to the right and left of the aperture, and advanced a heavy line to the rear to seize the military railroad and sever connections with City Point. By this time a portion of the Third Division, under General Hartranft, reached the scene of action, and attacked the enemy with such vigor as to drive him into Fort Stedman and the adjoining lines. With the reinforcements from this division the troops on the right and left of the works held by the enemy were enabled to form a line perpendicular to the main line, and not only successfully resisted any attempt of the enemy to advance, but confined him to that portion of the line already occupied.

Preparations were at once made to retake the captured line; and General Hartranft's division, by a gallant charge, succeeded in reoccupying the works, and captured more than nineteen hundred prisoners. While this movement was in progress on the right, the troops of the Second and Fifth Corps, on the left of the Ninth, attacked and captured the enemy's strongly intrenched picket line in their front, gaining very valuable ground, capturing nearly a thousand prisoners, repelling several desperate attacks of the enemy to recapture the works.

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In the action at Fort Stedman the regiment was represented by Captain Hodgkins, who was serving on the staff of General Hartranft, commanding Third Division. It was an action in which the Ninth Corps won deserved credit, exacting from the enemy a bloody price for his temerity, and fully avenging the disaster at the explosion of the mine eight months before.

Comparative quiet was maintained by the enemy for a few days following their repulse on the 25th. On the 27th General Sheridan and the Cavalry Corps arrived in rear of our lines, and moved to the left. On the 29th the surplus artillery of the army of the Potomac, two hundred pieces, was sent to the Ninth Corps, and the several corps designated for the turning movement on the left moved out. The operations of the army had begun on a grand scale.

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CHAPTER XXVI. THE FINAL ASSAULT AT PETERSBURG.

The enemy's works from the Appomattox to a point in front of Fort Sedgwick were part of the old interior line of defences. At this point the old line turned to the enemy's right, forming an angle, but the works were continued parallel with our front by a kind of spur, which diverged from an old line and swept down toward Hatcher's Run. The Ninth Corps fronted the whole of this old line to the angle and about two miles of the spur. When the main army moved to the left, on the 29th of March, the corps was disposed so as to hold our front line to Fort Davis, and a line of works running back from that point and covering our left and rear. In other words our left was curved backward into a fish-hook shape, and our position became isolated.

On the night of the 29th a considerable detail of the regiment was sent out to level a disused parapet, some two or three hundred yards in front of the fort. While at work the men were startled at about ten o'clock by the sound of rapid cannonading on the right. Looking toward the Appomattox they saw the air filled with shells, the burning fuses appearing like gigantic fireflies. It was an attractive spectacle, and for a few moments the men leaned on their spades and gazed; but as the firing ran rapidly down the line, and mortar-batteries and pickets began to open in their immediate front, there was a sudden and unanimous decision that a view from the *inside* of the fort was not only preferable, but of the most pressing importance. The regiment turned out and took position in the fort ready for action, but nothing occurred beyond the noise and a few casualties.

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General Parke received orders on Thursday afternoon, the 30th, to assault the enemy's works at some point in his front, at four o'clock, the following morning. The point of attack was left to his discretion. He had already selected the position in front of Fort "Hell" (Sedgwick), on the Jerusalem Plank road, and at nightfall Hartranft's division and Potter's division, except the Thirty-sixth and the other regiments garrisoning the forts, were massed in rear of Fort Sedgwick. Before midnight, however, orders were received suspending the assault, the troops were returned to their camps, and, although everything was constantly on the *qui vive*, there was no movement for the ensuing two days.

Shortly before five o'clock on Saturday, the 1st of April, General Parke received orders to assault at four o'clock the next morning, and the same dispositions were made as before. At ten minutes before ten in the evening came a telegram from General Meade, directing Parke to open all his artillery at once, push forward skirmishers, and follow them up with columns of assault. Before the necessary arrangements were completed these orders were modified by instructions that the assault in force should be contingent on developments of weakness on the part of the enemy. The artillery opened, and the skirmishers demonstrated all along the line. The enemy was found to be in force and everywhere prepared except opposite the line between Forts Hays and Howard, where Griffin's brigade of our division surprised and captured two hundred and fifty pickets. The original plan was accordingly adhered to, and preparations for assaulting at four o'clock the next morning were made.

At three o'clock General Parke entered Fort Rice, and established his head-quarters for the coming battle. Potter's and Hartranft's divisions, and Harriman's brigade of Willcox's,—all of which had been lying massed behind Fort Sedgwick for two hours,—moved forward at the same hour and formed a column between our main line and picket line. The enemy's pickets were in close proximity to ours, but the movement was executed so quietly as to give no warning to them. The formation was in column of regiments. On the right of the Jerusalem Plank road, its left resting on the road, was Hartranft's division of Pennsylvanians, six regiments, the Two hundred and seventh leading; the Two hundredth and Two hundred and ninth were held in reserve. On the right of Hartranft was a second column, consisting of Harriman's brigade, of Willcox's division, five regiments, with the Thirty-eighth Wisconsin leading, and the Twenty-seventh Michigan and Thirty-seventh Wisconsin in reserve. On the left of the Jerusalem Plank road, right resting on the road, was a third column, our own division, minus the Thirty-sixth and five other regiments which were in the forts. Griffin's brigade, six regiments, led by the One hundred and seventy-ninth New York, had the advance, supported by our own brigade, Curtin's, with the Thirty-ninth New Jersey in front, followed in order by the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, and Fifty-eighth Massachusetts. At the head of each of these three columns was a storming party, flanked by pioneers with axes to cut away abatis, etc.; and a detail of one hundred men from the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery accompanied them to serve captured guns. Ely's brigade, of Willcox's division, occupied our line from the Appomattox to near Fort Morton, opposite the Crater, and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, of Harriman's brigade, was stretched along the part of the line at the Crater vacated by its brigade on the moving to the left to join in the main assault. To mislead the enemy as to the real point of attack, these troops on the right were ordered to make a strong demonstration at four o'clock, which was to be followed by the advance of the three columns along the Jerusalem Plank road.

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Such was the situation in the trenches at Petersburg just before dawn on that eventful April day. Only a few hundred yards in our front, veiled partly by darkness and partly by the morning mist, stood the grim fortifications which had so long defied us that they had begun to seem impregnable. Behind them lay the left wing of that army whose right had been driven the day before, reeling and bleeding, from the field of Five Forks. Upon the valor of this unscathed remnant depended the salvation of Lee, and, knowing the quality of that valor, there were few in

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Fort Rice whose hearts did not beat anxiously for the columns in blue out there in front of Fort Hell, silently awaiting the signal to advance. Along the opposing line our chief of artillery counted ninety-one guns, ranging from six-pounders to eight-inch columbiads (one of which we remember as making some very poor practice at our signal station in the rear of Fort Rice), and thirty-five mortars, from Coehorns to ten-inch. Against them we had four four and one-half inch Parrotts, eleven thirty-pounder Parrotts, forty-two light twelve-pounders, thirty-four three-inch Rodmans, four ten-inch, fourteen eight-inch, and twenty-two Coehorn mortars,—in all ninety-one guns and forty mortars. Just what troops were in our front it is impossible to tell. The prisoners brought into Fort Rice during the day were Alabamians; and a rebel colonel, who was interviewed at Farmville by a member of the Thirty-sixth, said he commanded an Alabama brigade occupying the line opposite Fort Rice. The salient opposite us (Miller's or Reeves') appears to have been manned by a battery from Mobile. Our old friends of the Thirty-fourth Virginia (Bushrod Johnson's division) were relieved several days before the assault, and were at Five Forks. The difficulty is that the rebels made no official reports of the closing engagements of the war, and such unofficial accounts as are accessible are meagre in details.

At four o'clock the artillery opened and fired vigorously for several minutes. Then Willcox made his demonstrations on the right. The Fifty-first Pennsylvania captured some of the pickets at the Crater, and Ely's brigade carried about two hundred yards of the enemy's main line; but were finally compelled to fall back. At half-past four the main attack began. The columns moved at quick time and very little cheering. The picket line was broken instantly. As we stood at the parapet in Fort Rice, peering into the mist, we could see little or nothing of the assault; but we could hear the blows of the pioneers' axes on the *chevaux de frise*, and the shouts of command. The musketry fire of the enemy increased, and following the flash of their cannon we could distinguish the "whish" of the double charges of canister. Presently new sounds came over the field. Exultant Yankee cheers told us our boys were inside the works. Then we heard short, sharp summons to surrender, coupled with epithets and rifle-shots, as the "Johnnies" took the chances of flight. The first gray-back we saw was a short, jaunty chap, who trudged across the field, toward the fort, alone and quite unconcerned, passed through a little gap in the abatis, climbed the parapet, and, coolly bidding us good-morning, asked if we had some hard bread and coffee. As he sat in the bomb-proof and regaled himself he told us he belonged to a Mobile battery in position opposite us, and that when he heard the Yanks coming he prudently retired to the magazine, only to emerge after his battery had been cleaned out, and the Yanks were in full possession. Afterward a considerable party of prisoners were brought in,—Alabamians, a sullen, indomitable-looking crowd, boasting of how they would have whipped us if they had had nearer our numbers. The captures in this charge were twelve guns and eight hundred prisoners. Describing the assault, General Parke says in his official report:—

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"The stormers and pioneers rushed on, and under a most galling fire cut away and made openings in the enemy's abatis and *chevaux de frise*. They, now closely followed by the assaulting columns, which, undeterred by an exceedingly severe fire of cannon, mortar, and musketry from the now aroused main line, pressed gallantly on, capturing the enemy's works in their front. Colonel Harriman's column, reinforced by the two reserve regiments, swept up to the right until the whole of what was called by the enemy 'Miller's salient' was in our possession. Potter's column swept down to the left. This part of the enemy's line was heavily traversed, affording him a strong foothold, and he fought from traverse to traverse with great tenacity. We drove him slowly back for about a quarter of a mile, when, being reinforced and aided by strong positions in the rear, he checked our further progress in that direction. A most gallant, but unsuccessful, attempt was made to carry his rear line. The captured guns were at once turned upon the enemy, served at first by Infantry volunteers, and then by details from the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery volunteers from the batteries in the rear.

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"Just after we broke through the enemy's lines, and at a most critical time, I was deprived of the valuable services of Brevet Major-General Potter, who was severely and dangerously wounded. I directed Brigadier-General S. G. Griffin to assume command of his division, and by him the division was ably and gallantly commanded during the rest of the day. It being by this time fully daylight, no further attempt was made to advance; but attention was turned to securing what we had gained, and restoring the organization of the troops, unavoidably much shattered by the heavy fighting and the advance over broken ground in the darkness.

"This was rendered the more difficult by the great loss we had sustained in officers, especially field officers, and by the very exposed position occupied by our troops. The captured line was promptly recovered, and made tenable as possible, the difficulty being increased by the forts and batteries on that line being open in the rear.

"By reason of these untoward circumstances much time elapsed before I considered the troops in sufficiently good shape for another forward movement, and in the meantime I received, at 7.30 A.M., the following despatch:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY POTOMAC,
7.26 A.M., April 2d, 1865.

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"*Maj. Gen. Parke*,—General Meade sends for information the following from the Lieut. Gen.

"As I understand it, Parke is attacking the main line of works around Petersburg, whilst the others are only attacking an outer line which the enemy might give up without giving up Petersburg. Parke should either advance rapidly, or cover his men and hold all he gets.

'ALEX. S. WEBB,
Bvt. Maj. Gen. and Chief of Staff.

"At 7.45 I received the following despatch:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY POTOMAC,
April 2d, 1865, 7.40.

"*Maj. Gen. Parke*,—The General Commanding directs that you hold on to all you have got, and not to advance unless you see your way clear.

'ALEX. S. WEBB,
Bvt. Maj. Gen. and Chief of Staff.

"About this time the enemy made an attempt to get up a charge on us, but our fire was so hot that they did not get many men outside their lines.

"We then held a distance of about four hundred yards on each side of the Jerusalem Plank road, including several forts and redans. The enemy made no further movements, with the exception of being very busy, planting more guns, and keeping up an incessant and murderous fire of sharpshooters, until just before eleven o'clock, when he made a heavy and determined assault on the captured line; but we repulsed him at all points, with much loss. It being evident to me that the enemy was resolved to regain, at all hazards, the portion of their lines held by us, and nearly all my reserve being in, and learning from General Wright that he was moving toward Hatcher's Run, leaving a wide gap between us, I deemed it advisable to report the state of affairs to army head-quarters, and request reinforcements.

"The request was promptly complied with, and Benham's and Collis' brigade from City Point, and Hamlin's brigade of the Sixth Corps, were ordered to my support. The enemy continued to make heavy and desperate attempts to recapture his lost works, but without success. But, though my men stood up nobly to their work, this long and wearisome struggle was beginning to tell upon them."

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At about three P.M. the enemy succeeded in regaining a few of the traverses on the left, which gave them a flank fire upon a small detached work on the left of Plank road, held by one of the regiments of Curtin's brigade, and occasioned its temporary abandonment; but, General Collis reporting to me with his brigade about this time, I at once put him in under direction of General Griffin, and the enemy was again driven from the portion of the line he had just retaken.

Between four and five o'clock P.M. General Hamlin arrived, with his brigade from the Sixth Corps, and I directed him to report to General Hartranft, by whom he was placed in support of the left of his line. These reinforcements having rendered my line secure I was disposed to make another effort to drive the enemy from his position in the rear, but the exhausted condition of my troops forced me to reluctantly abandon the idea.

"We accordingly strengthened ourselves as much as possible, whenever practicable transferring the enemy's *chevaux de frise* to the front of the reversed line and on the right, connecting by a cross-line the extreme point we held with our main line."

General Hartranft speaks in his report of three rebel charges to retake the works,—one at quarter past eleven A.M., one at five minutes past one P.M., and one at three P.M. These charges were delivered from the line of works in the rear of and commanding the captured line. The assault at three o'clock was in plain view from Fort Rice, and seemed to us the most formidable. Collis' brigade, consisting of the Sixty-eighth and One hundred and fourteenth Pennsylvania, the Twentieth New York State Militia, and the Sixty-first Massachusetts, was just going up to the line, when the rebels emerged from their works and came on with such steadiness and determination that a portion of our line wavered, as we could plainly see, and many men broke precipitately to the rear. Collis' line appeared to waver too, as if undetermined whether to go forward to the line or fall back. It was a critical moment. General Parke and his staff watched, with evident anxiety. All day long the boys had laid along that line under a galling fire from front and flank. A heavy mortar, planted at our right, between the enemy's first and second line, in a pit fifteen or twenty feet deep, as we afterward discovered, had kept up a fatal practice upon them in spite of all our gunners' efforts to silence it. Traverse by traverse they had driven the "Johnnies" down the line, paying for every foot of ground with their blood; and now it looked as if all might be lost. But no! Where one man quailed, a dozen stood undaunted, answering the rebel yell with Yankee cheers and bullet. We saw some of our color-bearers leap upon the works and wave the flags. It was like an inspiration. The line became firm. Collis' brigade wavered but for a moment, and then swept forward magnificently and opened fire. The gallant Connecticut Heavies, who were serving the guns in the captured works, stuck to business unflinchingly, only piling in the canister a little faster when the infantry line showed signs of weakening. There was a mighty cheer as we saw the column of gray break and surge back whence it came. We could hardly have been more exultant, indeed, had we known then that the last armed rebel we were destined to behold had disappeared forever from our view.

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Although the Thirty-sixth took no active part in this engagement, as a regiment, many of the men performed laborious and dangerous service in carrying ammunition up to the captured line. Major Raymond, of General Potter's staff, Major Hodgkins, of General Hartranft's, and Captain Ames, of General Curtin's, were of course actively engaged. As a matter of general interest, a tabular statement of the losses in the corps are appended:—

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Command.	Killed.		Wounded.		Missing.		Total.		Aggregate.
	C.O.	E.M.	C.O.	E.M.	C.O.	E.M.	C.O.	E.M.	
First Division	1	28	22	206	1	22	24	256	280
Second Division	10	110	37	564	3	94	50	731	781
Third Division	7	91	25	430	1	40	35	561	594
Artillery Brigade		6	1	20			1	26	27
Total	18	235	85	1,210	5	156	110	1,574	1,682

CHAPTER XXVII. CLOSING SCENES.

Heavy skirmishing was kept up during the night along the Ninth-Corps line, and the batteries on our right opened at short intervals, according to orders. The regiments of our brigade which had borne the brunt of the fighting the day before were relieved, and returned to their former positions in the main line about midnight. The evacuation of Petersburg was anticipated, and General Parke instructed the troops to exercise the greatest vigilance, in order to detect at the earliest possible moment any movement of the enemy. Soon after midnight the skirmishers advanced, but found the enemy's pickets still out in strong force. Explosions occurred in the city, and all indications pointed to a speedy retreat.

After an anxious, wakeful night to the garrison of Fort Rice, the morning of the 3d of April dawned clear and beautiful. With the first approach of day the troops in front advanced, found the enemy's works deserted save by a few pickets, who were captured, and pushed forward toward the city only to find that it had already been abandoned. The first sound that greeted our ears was the glad cry, "Our flag waves over Petersburg!" It was, indeed, true. The sound of battle had died away. The enemy, who had withstood our advance for so many months, had vanished from our view. Ely's brigade of the First Division was the first to enter Petersburg. The formal surrender was made to Colonel Ely at twenty-eight minutes past four A.M., and the flag of the Second Michigan was hoisted over the Court-House. Great cheering followed, which was renewed later by the receipt of the glorious tidings that our army was in possession of Richmond, and that the enemy was in full retreat.

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Soon after daylight the troops returned from the city to their former positions, to prepare for a forward movement. Orders were received to break camp, and be ready to march at a moment's notice. Haversacks were filled, and everything was prepared for an immediate advance. Never were marching orders more cheerfully obeyed. The day, for which we had toiled, and fought, and prayed so long, had dawned upon us, and few, indeed, of that garrison resisted the impulse to ascribe all the glory to the God of battles. Soon after sunrise the regiment partook of its last breakfast in the bomb-proofs of Fort Rice, which had been its home for four months. At nine o'clock orders were received to move in the direction of Petersburg, and in a short time the command moved over the breastworks, across the picket line, through the enemy's defences which had been the scene of the sanguinary battle of the day before, and marched to Cemetery Hill, where a halt was ordered. While resting here a cavalcade approached. It was the escort of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. As the men recognized Mr. Lincoln their enthusiasm could not be restrained, and amid the thundering cheers which he graciously acknowledged, the President rode on toward the city, where he received a grand ovation.

At eleven o'clock the column marched into the city, by the main street, and we were soon surrounded by the colored people, who gave expression to their joy in tears and smiles and shouts of welcome. Hundreds of children thronged around the soldiers, and many asked for bread, which was freely given to them by the happy men. Many of the soldiers divided their substance with the poor whites remaining in the town, and one of our men was seen feeding five little children at one time with the rations which he carried, leaving him a short supply for the next three days. We were soon informed that the reason of this keen desire for food was owing to the fact that for some time previous the price of flour had been \$1,050 a barrel! At such a price, with scarcity of Confederate scrip, it is not to be wondered at that many poor people were made happy at the sight and taste of bread.

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At noon the corps was concentrated in the city proper. The remainder of the Army of the Potomac, without even entering the city which it had besieged for ten weary months, had hurried westward, to intercept the retreating enemy, and was marching on the river road. General Parke was ordered to leave one division to guard Petersburg and the railroad, and move with the rest of his corps, as guard for the wagon-trains, on the Cox road. At one o'clock the preparations were completed, and the Second and Third Divisions resumed the march, the Second having the right, leaving the First Division to guard the city. About a mile and a half west of the city the road forks: the northern road (nearest the Appomattox) being called the river road; the southern, which runs parallel with the Southside Railroad and crosses it many times, being called the Cox road. Just west of Sutherland Station, where Sheridan's force struck the railroad, the river road forks, the southern fork being known as the Namozine road, named from the stream whose course it follows. The regiment marched all the afternoon, and at night bivouacked beyond Sutherland Station, twelve miles from Petersburg, on the Southside Railroad. Generals Grant and Meade slept there that night.

On the 4th the march was resumed. The roads were badly cut up, and the enormous trains, with the reserve artillery, moved slowly, rendering the march difficult and tedious. The country improved in appearance as we advanced westward. The peach-trees were in full blossom, and everything about us tended to inspire hope and courage. We passed several hospitals filled with the enemy's wounded, and during the day many rebel prisoners passed to our rear *en route* for Petersburg under guard. Nearly all of them were worn down with hard fighting and hunger, and many were fed from the commissary supply train. At night the regiment bivouacked near Beasley's,—a great tobacco plantation,—about twenty-five miles from Petersburg, the division

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occupying a line seventeen miles in extent, covering an extended front, and picketing all the roads leading south.

On the 5th the march was resumed. The movement was from left to right, covering the entire line of road occupied by the moving trains. The division on the left of the line moved first to the right, and extended the line in that direction, covering the Southside Railroad. At night the regiment bivouacked at Black's and White's Station, thirty-five miles from Petersburg. On the sixth, at noon, the regiment left camp and marched ten miles, to Nottaway Court-house, where corps head-quarters had been established. Here the regiment was detailed to guard a supply train to army head-quarters, which were supposed to be at or near Jetersville, a station on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, about fifteen miles north of Nottaway Court-house. We marched all night over a rough road, and reached Jetersville at eight o'clock, on the morning of the 7th, to find that army head-quarters had moved during the night to High Bridge, on the Southside Railroad, and were still some fifteen miles in advance of us.

After a short halt, for the men to make coffee and the teams to be fed, we moved forward, following the line of the Danville Railroad in the direction of Burkesville. Arriving within five miles of the latter place, our direction was again changed to the north-west, and the regiment proceeded across the country to Rice's Station, on the Southside Railroad, which place was reached about eight o'clock on the morning of the 8th. The regiment had now been marching two days and nights in search of army head-quarters, without sleep, having halted for refreshment but twice since leaving Black's and White's, and then only long enough to make coffee. At Rice's Station the regiment was relieved from further guard duty with the train, and went into camp. In the meantime the remainder of the brigade had moved forward to Burkesville, about eight miles in our rear. A despatch was at once sent to General Curtin, commanding the brigade, informing him of our position, and asking for orders; in reply to which we received orders to proceed to Farmville, ten miles in advance, on the Southside Railroad, and relieve the provost-guard at that place.

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On the morning of the 9th, the regiment marched to Farmville, a town situated on the Appomattox river, five miles west of High Bridge, and fifteen miles north-west of Burkesville. We reached this place about noon. The regiment was at once detailed as provost-guard, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barker was appointed provost-marshal. The town contained a population of about two thousand; and here we found a large number of wounded Confederate soldiers, and many prisoners captured in the movement to this place a day or two before. The troops relieved by our regiment moved westward, to join their commands in the pursuit of Lee's army. This was the ever memorable day when, at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, General Lee, at Appomattox Court-House, twenty miles distant, surrendered the remnant of the army of Northern Virginia to General Grant.

Intelligence of the surrender was quickly transmitted to head-quarters, and no pen can portray the effect upon the men as the glorious news spread from camp to camp like a conflagration. Men who in the stern hour of battle had been unmoved and undaunted; in gloom and disaster cheerful and hopeful; in hunger, privation, weariness, and sickness calm and unruffled,—now shouted and wept in turns like children, and gave expression to their feelings in yells of delight. The goal had at length been won; the trials and hardships and sufferings of weary years had culminated in victory. Some of the men of our regiment, on duty at the church, entered it for the purpose of ringing the bell, but could find no bell-rope. Not to be baffled in his purpose, Michael Sullivan, of Company F, climbed up through a scuttle-hole over the gallery, and found a ladder under the seats, by which he ascended into the belfry. There remained about six inches of rope attached to the tongue of the bell, which he seized and struck with all his force, his head meanwhile being inside the bell. He rang the bell as long as his strength would permit, and its joyful peal was heard with astonishment by the town's people, and great delight by the troops. At night bonfires were blazing everywhere, and a long time elapsed before quiet was restored.

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The next day the remainder of the brigade moved to Farmville, and encamped south-west of the town. General Curtin was assigned to duty as post commander. Division and corps head-quarters remained at Burkesville. Lieutenant-Colonel Barker, as provost-marshal, established his head-quarters in a large building formerly used as a store, situated on the main street, in the central part of the town. The regiment was quartered in the town, and furnished safeguards of from one to five men to protect the property of the citizens in various places in the surrounding country. Guard duty in the town was also performed by the regiment. The duty was arduous and wearisome, as it included not only the regular guard duty, but the labor of issuing rations to the impoverished citizens, who poured into the town from all directions for food. A careful record was preserved of all to whom relief was afforded, with the quantity of rations issued to each, involving a vast amount of clerical labor. In addition to this duty paroles were made out for all the Confederate prisoners found in the place, and for hundreds of others who came to the village from Appomattox Court-House. During the stay of the regiment at this place the following number of Confederate soldiers were paroled by the provost-marshal:—

Officers and men in the General Hospital	582
Officers in the Institute	22
Detailed Hospital Attendants	34
Hospital Stewards	4
From the field of Appomattox	<u>1,742</u>
Total	<u>2,384</u>

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On Saturday, April 15th, Captain Henry S. Burrage, who had been absent since November 1st, when he was captured in front of Petersburg, returned to the regiment, and on the following day he was appointed Acting Assistant Adjutant-General on General Curtin's staff. Late in the afternoon of that day a telegram was received from Washington, announcing the assassination of President Lincoln. At first this information was regarded as a hoax or a camp rumor; but all doubt was soon banished, and the sad intelligence was confirmed in the formal announcement of his death by General Meade.

The sad intelligence cast a shadow of gloom over the entire nation; but nowhere was the sorrow more profound than among the soldiers of the army of the Potomac. The closing days of that wonderful life had been spent in its camps, and within sound of some of its last terrible battles. The heart almost crushed by the burden of responsibility and care, borne throughout the long years of war, had been lightened and cheered by its glorious victories, and the men were bound to him by ties of admiration and affection. The general sorrow which pervaded the army was shared by the citizens of Virginia. They felt that the South had lost its best friend, and while they appreciated and applauded the magnanimity of General Grant, now that the war was virtually ended, they relied upon the warm heart of the President to inaugurate measures for reconstruction which should unite the hearts of the people of the North and the South. Nowhere was this feeling more general than among the people of Farmville. As soon as the death of the President was formally announced the Mayor, in accordance with the generally expressed wish of the citizens, convened the Common Council, and the following official action was taken:—

TOWN HALL, FARMVILLE, VA., April 18th, 1865.

A called meeting of the Common Council of Farmville was held this day at Town Hall.

The object of the meeting being explained, and an official communication from General Curtin, commanding this post, having been read, announcing the death by assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, and the orders of the General commanding this department as to the proper observance of the day of the funeral obsequies of the late President, the following action was taken:—

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Resolved, That the Common Council of the Town of Farmville have heard with profound regret the tragic fate of the late President of the United States; that we regard the event as a great national calamity, particularly and especially to the South; and while we deplore the country's loss, we at the same time feel the warmest sympathy for the family whose head has been so suddenly and ruthlessly hurried into eternity.

Resolved, That we cordially approve and will conform to the order of the Commanding General in the proper observance of the day of the burial of the late President, and recommend to the citizens suspension of all business operations, and unite in the common hope that this afflictive dispensation of Providence may not impede the restoration of peace and happiness to our country.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished General Curtin, commanding post.

(Signed) W. W. H. THACKSTON, *Mayor*.

J. H. MOTTLEY, *Clerk*.

The day following (April 19th) being the day appointed for the funeral obsequies of the lamented President at the national capital, in accordance with general orders from the commanding General, all unnecessary labor was suspended. It was a day of sadness in the camps, though the sun shone brightly and the songs of birds filled the air. In the afternoon a memorial service was held in the Presbyterian church, which was very largely attended by the citizens and soldiers, and a memorial discourse was delivered by Rev. Mr. Severance, of Farmville. As the congregation sat in reverent attitude, listening to the solemn music and the words of prayer and eulogy, it was hard to realize that the beloved President had indeed finished the work of life. We remembered him then as we had seen him on that triumphant morning, only sixteen days before, when, in response to our thundering cheers, the careworn face was lighted with joyful smiles as he rode into the city which the victorious army of the Potomac had won.

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Now a whole nation was in tears. In one short week it had been plunged from the summit of happiness into the valley of mourning. Flags, lately mast-head high in every breeze, were trailing, and joyful hearts were in sorrow at the great calamity which had befallen the nation. Nowhere was Lincoln more beloved and honored than in the army, and nowhere that day were there deeper expressions of sincere and poignant grief.

On the 21st of April our stay at Farmville came to a sudden end, upon the receipt of orders to march to Petersburg and City Point. The brigade, with the exception of the Thirty-sixth, had marched the day before. At half-past seven A.M. the regiment left Farmville and marched, *via* Rice's Station, to Burkesville, where we arrived at four P.M. Here we received the gratifying intelligence that the remainder of the journey was to be made in cars, and not on foot. A train was soon in readiness, and at eight o'clock P.M. we left Burkesville, and, at a rate not exceeding five miles an hour, proceeded to City Point, which place was reached at four o'clock on the morning of the 22d. As the journey was made direct, passing through Petersburg in the night by rail, we had no opportunity of looking again upon the scenes of our battles and hardships for ten weary months. It would have been gratifying had we been permitted to survey the scene of the

battles in June, the crater and the lines of earthworks, undisturbed and in security from the deadly bullet; but it was destined that our latest recollection of that war-scarred ground should be associated with the scenes of strife and carnage.

Upon reaching City Point the regiment went into camp not far from the landing, to await the arrival of the remainder of the brigade, which was marching by the highway. On the 24th, at noon, the brigade arrived, and went into camp near by, and on the 26th, at ten o'clock at night, we went on board the steamer "Vidette," and lay at the wharf until daylight, when we steamed down the James river, past historic scenes, reaching Fortress Monroe at two P.M. The journey was continued, and Alexandria was reached at noon of the 28th. The brigade marched through Alexandria in column of companies, and proceeded to the high ground beyond the city, in front of Fort Lyon, where we found, in a comfortable camp, that portion of the corps which had preceded us.

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On the 30th, Private James Dolligan, of Company K, one of the men transferred from the Twenty-first, was instantly killed, while sitting in his tent, by the careless firing of some colored troops, who were discharging their pieces near by. This was the last casualty in the regiment.

Camp-life near Alexandria was comparatively easy and pleasant. Many of the restraints of the service were removed, although the discipline was fully maintained. The men were allowed more personal liberty; many were permitted to visit Washington, and many others availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting Mount Vernon, which, throughout the war, had been regarded as sacred ground, and had not been molested by either Confederate or Union troops.

Occasionally the camps were brilliantly illuminated at night. On the night of the 12th of May an unusual scene was witnessed in a torchlight parade. The men had carefully saved all the candles that could be obtained. These were placed in the muzzles of their guns, the muskets being used as torches. After forming in line of battle many evolutions were executed, and the various movements presented a novel and beautiful spectacle to all beholders.

On the 21st of May the long-expected and eagerly awaited orders were received from the War Department for the speedy muster-out of all regiments whose term of service should expire before October 1st. Preparations for this happy event began immediately. Soon the camp was in a state of busy excitement. Cracker-boxes and barrel-heads were converted into use as tables, and all the camp-writers were busily engaged in preparing muster-out rolls and discharge papers.

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This agreeable employment was interrupted temporarily by orders to proceed to Washington, and participate in the grand reviews of the army of the Potomac and the West. Early on the morning of the 22d of May the regiment, with the entire corps, proceeded in light marching order to Washington, and bivouacked for the night on the open ground east of the capitol. On the morning of the 23d the men were astir early, preparing for the review. The Ninth Corps followed the cavalry, having the right of the column of infantry. The corps marched in column of companies at half distance, with a front of eighteen files. The First Division, constituting the garrison of the defences of Washington, had the extreme right, and was followed by the Second and Third Divisions, with their respective brigades, in numerical order. The day was superb. Not a cloud obscured the sun, and none who marched in the ranks of the veteran and victorious army of the Potomac on that brilliant day will ever forget the splendid pageant.

The infantry, being in light marching order, presented a fine appearance. The men were dressed in their best, wore white gloves, and nearly all carried bouquets in the muzzles of their guns. The tattered, blood-stained banners were garlanded with flowers, and many of the officers' horses wore brilliant wreaths. Great preparation had been made for this magnificent pageant. Stands for spectators had been erected at every convenient spot, and the great crowds in attendance were excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the martial display. Thousands of school-children sang patriotic songs and showered bouquets of flowers as the column passed. At the White House great stands had been erected on both sides of the avenue, and at this point, amid immense cheering and the thunder of artillery, the army passed in review before President Johnson, the leading Generals, and the Governors of the States. Here one face was missing. Here all that seemed wanting to complete the sense of triumph was the form of Abraham Lincoln, at whose call these veterans had left their homes in defence of their country, and who, since the close of the fighting, had been called to his reward. Recollections of him, and the memory of comrades who had fallen rushed upon us. Our feelings found fitting expression in the language of Brownell's poem:—

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"And in all our pride to-day,
We think, with a tender pain,
Of those who are far away;
They will not come home again.

"And, lo! from a thousand fields,
From all the old battle-haunts,
A greater army than Sherman wields,
A grander review than Grant's!

"Gathered home from the grave,
Risen from sun and rain,
The legions of our brave
Are all in the ranks again.

"The colors ripple o'erhead,
The drums roll up to the sky,
And with martial time and tread
The regiments all pass by,—
The ranks of our faithful dead
Meeting their President's eye."

For more than six hours the march continued through the streets of Washington, amid scenes as magnificent as those when the armies of Rome carried their victorious eagles through the streets of the Eternal City. After passing in review, the regiment continued its march through Georgetown, and at night occupied its regular camp.

After this all was bustle and activity in preparation for our muster-out and return home. Day after day the air was filled with the music, and cheers, and good-byes of the troops who had been mustered-out, as they left their comrades in battle and the scenes of war, to go to their homes and engage in the pursuits of peaceful life. Reviews and parades were substituted for guard duty and drill. On the 3d of June, the anniversary of the terrible day at Cold Harbor, General Parke reviewed the Second Division, and on the 5th General Curtin, temporarily in command of General Hartranft's division, was tendered a complimentary review by the regiments of his old (First) brigade. This was the last parade of this veteran brigade, and elicited the following commendation from General Curtin:—

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HEAD-QUARTERS THIRD DIVISION, NINTH ARMY CORPS,
NEAR ALEXANDRIA, VA., June 6, 1865.

To the Officers and Men of the First Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps:

—
I desire to express to you, one and all, my heartfelt appreciation of the kindly feelings which prompted the review of last evening. On that occasion your appearance was as gratifying to me as honorable to yourselves. In your movements you exhibited that true soldierly bearing which, on the field and in the camp, has ever distinguished the soldiers of this brigade. In the Carolinas, in Maryland, in Kentucky, in Mississippi, in Tennessee, and in Virginia, your valor and heroic endurance have won for you an imperishable name. Victory has at length crowned your efforts, and the efforts of the brave men associated with you.

In parting with you who are about to repair to your homes allow me to express my sincere thanks for the prompt and cheerful manner in which you have at all times performed every duty while under my command. To those of you who remain allow me to say, be patient. I trust the day is not far distant when it will be practicable for you, also, to return to your homes. Until that day arrives let your bearing be such as not to detract from, but to add to, your present well-earned reputation. As you go to your homes you will bear with you the proud consciousness of duty successfully performed, and will receive from your countrymen the applause of a grateful people; while in all the years to come, as you revert to the scenes now so rapidly closing, it will be your pride to say, "I fought with Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps," and there will be associated with all this your part in the history of the First Brigade, Second Division.

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To the families and friends of your comrades, who have so nobly fallen in the defence of their country, I tender my heartfelt sympathy.

JOHN I. CURTIN,
Brevet Brigadier-General.

On the 6th all preparations for muster-out having been completed, orders were received for the regiment to be in readiness to depart on the following day. That evening the regiment organized a torchlight procession, and, escorted by the brigade band, marched to the camp of our comrades of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania. It was the last time these organizations, which had been so intimately associated since September, 1862, were to meet as regiments. During the entire term of the Thirty-sixth, through all the vicissitudes of its service, this gallant regiment of Pennsylvanians had never been separated from it; and in every battle in which we had been

engaged we had felt their strong support upon our right or left.

After a season of fraternal conversation Colonel Gregg, of the Forty-fifth, delivered the following address:—

"Officers and Men of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers:—

"Nearly three years of toil and blood have passed since our first acquaintance with you. Thinned in numbers, we had then just left the victorious fields of South Mountain and Antietam. From that day to the present—in camp, on the toilsome march, and in the conflict of battle—you have stood side by side with us, contending for our country against treason and oppression. Your record is one of which the glorious old Bay State may well be proud; and we are sure she will ever count your organization one of the noblest she has sent to the field.

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"Amid scenes of conflict we have learned to love and honor you; and as the blood of our heroes has there mingled together, so have our hearts been united in one fraternal bond of union, which time cannot sever. With the brave men of the Thirty-sixth by our side, we were always sure of hearty support and final victory; each vied with the other in deeds of valor and trials of endurance, and both shared equally the honors won.

"Together we have thus fought, together we have rejoiced and wept,—rejoiced at the success of our united arms, wept for the fallen brave around us.

"Now all is changed. The white-winged messenger of Peace beckons us from scenes of conflict to once more resume the avocations of industry and domestic tranquillity. You are about to leave us and return to your homes in the old Bay State. We have met probably for the last time. Here, under the folds of our colors, let us strengthen these feelings of love and affection which have so closely united our destinies in the field. Let us, also, in remembrance of our comrades who have so nobly fallen, and whose memory we will always cherish, pledge ourselves anew to the flag and the country we love.

"Brave and faithful sons of Massachusetts, the victory is won! Return to your homes, and, as you recount the valor of your arms, say that the Keystone boys of the Forty-fifth, sons of your ancient sires, defended with you the liberties of our fathers assailed by rebellion and wrong.

"Comrades of the Thirty-sixth, we bid you an affectionate farewell!"

This address was received with great applause. Appropriate responses were made by members of the Thirty-sixth; and we returned, late at night, with the conviction that we bore with us the esteem and affection of that gallant regiment.

On the march back to their quarters the regiment halted at the camp of each regiment of the brigade, and exchanged farewell cheers and greetings with our comrades, who were to remain in the service yet a little longer.

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On the eighth of June, in accordance with orders, the recruits and the Twenty-first men were transferred to the Fifty-sixth Massachusetts, and the regiment was mustered-out of the service of the United States by Lieutenant Rose, division mustering-officer. At three o'clock P.M., escorted by the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Colonel Gregg, and the brigade band, we marched to Alexandria. The Forty-fifth had made special preparations for this parade. All the non-commissioned officers carried small American flags on their bayonets, and the regiment presented a splendid appearance. At Alexandria we bade our comrades good-by with cheers, and embarked for Washington. After considerable delay at the latter place cars were loaded with the troops and baggage, and the homeward journey commenced. Many delays and discomforts attended this journey; but they were all borne with a spirit of equanimity and resignation, because we knew this to be the last excursion of the kind we should ever make. Philadelphia was reached at noon of the 9th, and the regiment enjoyed the hospitality of the city at the famous Cooper Shop refreshment-rooms, receiving a warm greeting, and obtaining abundant cheer, and much-needed rest. Late in the afternoon the journey was resumed. New York was reached during the night, and the regiment marched to the battery, where quarters were provided. The next day, about noon, the regiment took the cars on the Shore line. Soon we were within the limits of the dear old mother Commonwealth, and on the evening of the 10th we arrived at Readville, where we pitched our tents for the last time. During the following day, Sunday, many friends and former comrades visited the camp, and warm welcomes were extended. On Monday, the 12th, Company B received an ovation from the citizens of Charlestown, and on Tuesday, the 13th, the entire regiment visited the city of Worcester, and received a most hearty and generous public greeting. The little band of bronzed and hardy veterans presented a strange contrast to that regiment of more than one thousand men, who, nearly three years before, had marched the same streets on the journey to the front; but the reception compensated for these years of toil and hardship.

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The following account of the reception is taken from the "Worcester Spy" of June 14:—

RECEPTION OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel T. L. Barker, arrived in this city yesterday, and were formally received and welcomed home by the city authorities in the afternoon. The State Guard, Captain Fitch, and Captain Chamberlain's

Company of State Militia, with Goddard and Riedle's band, performed escort duty. The line was formed on Front street, and the procession, accompanied by the city government and a large number of past officers who have been in the service from this city, marched down Main street and countermarched to Mechanics' hall, where the formal reception took place, and the returned veterans partook of a collation provided by Hudson, under the direction of the city government.

Many of the buildings on Main street were decorated with the national colors, and flags were flying in all directions. The returned soldiers were welcomed with hearty cheers along the line of march, and on entering the hall were greeted with waving of handkerchiefs and prolonged applause by the crowd of ladies that filled the galleries. After the veterans and their escort had taken their places at the tables, His Honor Mayor Ball addressed the regiment as follows:—

Officers and Soldiers of the Thirty-sixth Regiment:—

GENTLEMEN,—We are assembled to congratulate you upon your auspicious return from the field of conflict, honor, and danger which has witnessed your daring, your valor, and your heroism, for the past three years. Now we see, consummated in your return, the ardent longing of your hearts when you left us. In this we share with you your joy. Joy, that you should have been preserved to return once more to enjoy the blessings and humanities of civil life, the fruits of your labors. For the honorable part you have borne in the great civil war, accept our acknowledgments of high appreciation of the noble service you have rendered a noble and just cause. Allow us to share with you some of your intense joy at the victories, in achieving which you have borne such a memorable part. In these victories we have rejoiced, as the pealing bell, the booming cannon, and the glaring bonfire have attested. These have been our oratory and have furnished our eloquence. At your success our joy has been too deep for human speech, and our elation too excited to be bounded or measured by mere human speech. We know this to be your joy, and in its realization we congratulate you most cordially, most earnestly; and here we welcome you, in behalf of the city, to this hospitality, in token of our appreciation of the high service you have rendered the city, the State, and the country. We welcome you cordially again to the bosom of civil life. With you we rejoice again in the return of so many of you safe from the perils of the camp and the battle-field to your homes and your friends. With you we join in your sorrow for the noble and the brave that you have left on the battle-field. Their eyes longed to see this hour,—a privilege they have been denied. You have been blessed in the seeing, and with you we will honor their names and respect their memories. We welcome you again to the pursuits of civil life, where victories attend activity, resolution, and energy, as well as in the exciting scenes and service of the camp; and we rejoice with you that you have aided in giving a new meaning to the dear old flag, in whose defence you have endured so much. Be it ours to cherish it evermore with vastly more increased love than ever we did before. Great is our rejoicing that yours is the memory of that great day when Richmond fell. Proud may you be of the recollection of that mighty event; and long may the years remain to you in which to enjoy the peace of your labors; and may we all be one in purpose and aim, hero and civilian, to rightfully cherish these memories, and to use, with pure motives, these blessings vouchsafed to us by kind and indulgent Heaven, through your valor, your sufferings, your patriotism.

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The divine blessing was then invoked by Rev. Nathaniel Richardson, Chaplain of the Thirty-sixth, after which the company did ample justice to the collation. During the repast Mr. C. C. Starring performed upon the organ a variety of national and patriotic music, and a quartette of male voices from Dale Hospital, members of the Warren Phalanx of Charlestown (Company B), gave two patriotic songs, which were warmly applauded.

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At the close of the repast, in behalf of the regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith returned thanks to the city authorities for the courtesies and welcome extended to them. He said it was a proud day for American soldiers, and a proud day for the Thirty-sixth to return and to receive the approbation of the city from which they went away three years ago to fight the battles of the Republic. When we then left this city we received our flag from the ladies of Worcester, and our commander pledged himself and us that it should be honorably defended and returned. He has long since left us; but the promise was binding, and to-day we return it without dishonor. We count it a matter of pride that in all our arduous service and on many hard-fought fields the Thirty-sixth Regiment has never lost a color or a flag.

On account of the lateness of the hour the speech-making was abbreviated; and after the soldiers had cheered for the mayor, the ladies, and the citizens of Worcester, and the spectators had given nine hearty cheers for the Thirty-sixth Regiment, the assembly dispersed.

The following is a list of the officers who have returned with the regiment:—

Colonel.—Thaddeus L. Barker.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—James B. Smith.

Major.—Edward T. Raymond.

Adjutant.—Thomas H. Haskell.

Quartermaster.—Augustus H. Tuttle.

Surgeon.—Albert H. Bryant.

Chaplain.—Nathaniel Richardson.

Captains.—Ames, Marshall, Hodgkins, Fairbank, Burrage, Davidson, and Woodward.

First Lieutenants.—Harwood, Perley, Cross, Osborne, Austin Davis, Jonas H. Davis, Morrow, Mott, and Field.

Second Lieutenants.—Goodell, Phelps, Babcock, and Howe.

On Monday, June 19th, at four o'clock P.M., the regiment assembled at Readville, was paid in full, and discharged from the service of the United States, and its record in the suppression of the Great Rebellion passed into history. [Pg 311]

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CHAPTER XXVIII. CONCLUSION.

This narrative of the prominent events in the campaigns of the regiment, its enrolment, journeys, marches, battles, camps, and final discharge, conveys but little idea of its interior history, the associations of its members with each other, the routine of army life, and the daily experience of the individual soldier. All this is a portion of that unwritten history impressed indelibly upon the memory of the surviving members.

A spirit of fraternity and good-will pervaded the regiment throughout its term of service. It was a compact, homogeneous body of men, remarkably free from envy, strife, and jealousy. It came into the service under the second call for three hundred thousand men for three years. The early enthusiasm, caused by the breaking out of the war, had in a measure subsided. The military service was known to be arduous, dangerous, and severe. Hardship, hunger, disease, battle, and death must be confronted, and this very fact was the inspiration of the hour. Men knew that the war was likely to continue for the full term of their enlistment. The regiment was composed of good material. While there were many men above the age of thirty-five, and many even above the age of forty-five, yet the number of young men was so largely in excess of these that the average age of the entire regiment was hardly twenty-four years.

It was composed, in the main, of men of good moral character. But few were addicted to the vice of intemperance. The hard-earned pay was carefully husbanded, and sent to those who needed it at home. Not an officer or man was dismissed the service, or dishonorably discharged; not an officer or man was court-martialled. The high standard of moral character was due doubtless, in a great degree, to the influence of home; but the example of many men of strong religious character, prominent among whom were Orderly Sergeant White and the lamented Sergeant Merrick, had much to do in maintaining the tone of morality. All the vacancies existing among the commissioned officers were filled by promotion from the rank and file. After the muster-in, in 1862, not a commission, excepting to a chaplain, was issued to a person outside the regiment, nor was there an appointment made from civil life. Officers and enlisted men of the Thirty-sixth were commissioned in other regiments, and many others, of all grades, were detailed to various positions of trust and responsibility in the several divisions and corps of the army. As we recall the names of those who received appointments to honorable positions in other organizations we cannot fail to remember and claim the following-named as our own: Captain Prescott and Lieutenants Gird and Tucker were commissioned in the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts. Prescott as Major, and Gird as Captain sealed their devotion with their lives,—the first in the Crater, the second in the Wilderness. Tucker rose to the command of his regiment, after receiving fearful wounds, which hastened his death. Private Swords of Company B, was commissioned Captain, was wounded at North Anna, captured at Fort Stedman, and brevetted Major. Lieutenant Levi N. Smith, of Company D, was called to a position of great responsibility in the Commissary Department at army head-quarters, and was brevetted Colonel for efficient services. Sergeant Brown, of Company B,—one of the first of the Color Sergeants,—was commissioned Captain in the Twelfth Kentucky, and won a medal of honor for gallantry at Franklin, Tennessee. Private Snell, of Company E, and Corporals Benjamin Edmands and Chapman, of Company B, were commissioned Lieutenants in different regiments of colored troops, and rendered gallant service. The first served upon the staff of General Crawford; the second won a good name in South Carolina; and the third was killed in the great explosion at Mobile, on the very day of our muster-out of service, leaving the record of a gallant and faithful soldier. These are treasured as a part of the contribution of the regiment to the cause of Freedom in other organizations.

Nor do we forget the many brave and faithful men, as worthy as any of these, who served their entire term without any of the honors and privileges conferred by rank: Sergeants, capable of commanding companies, who were wounded in battle, and unable to rejoin their comrades in the field; or were, in some cases, commissioned, but not able to avail themselves of the rank on account of the reduced number of men in their companies and consequent inability to muster; or, as in the case of others, mustered-out of service as supernumerary Sergeants by reason of consolidation and transfers, and others equally brave and trusted, who toiled, and labored, and fought in the ranks with no incentive but a desire to render their full measure of loyal service, and who made a record of which they and their comrades may well be proud.

The associations born of common suffering and danger, and cemented by battle-blood, have continued and strengthened with the lapse of time. Soon after the war a Regimental Association was formed, which bears the name of "The Burnside Association of the Thirty-sixth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers." General Burnside, then Governor of Rhode Island, acknowledged the receipt of an invitation to attend one of its reunions in the following characteristic letter:—

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
PROVIDENCE, Dec. 4, 1866.

MY DEAR SIRS:—I am more than sorry not to be able to attend the meeting of your Association to-morrow. The occasion would be interesting to me, not only as the anniversary of the raising of the siege of Knoxville, but as a reunion with my old comrades of the Thirty-sixth. You know what good reasons I have for honoring your gallant regiment. It served in the Ninth Corps from its first arrival in the field until the close of the war, and made for itself a record second to none in the

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service. The affection in which I hold all its surviving members, and the reverence with which I cherish the memory of the departed, have been begotten by a long and pleasant acquaintance in the field as comrades in arms. My best wishes and prayers will follow you through life.

For the honor conferred upon me by calling your Association after my name, please accept my warmest thanks.

With the hope that I may have opportunities of meeting you at some of your future anniversaries, and with the wish that you may have a most joyful reunion, I remain, sincerely your friend,

A. E. BURNSIDE.

The Annual Reunions of the regiment, held at Worcester on the 2d of September, the anniversary of the departure of the Thirty-sixth for the seat of war, have always been largely attended, and the sons of the dead and the living comrades have been admitted to membership, and participate in these seasons of festivity and cheer. At all these gatherings we recall the memories of those who went forth with us never to return.

"How they went forth to die!
Pale, earnest, from the dizzy mills,
And sunburnt, from the harvest hills,
Quick, eager, from the city's streets,
And storm-tried, from the fisher's fleets,—
How they went forth to die!"

ROSTER AND RECORD
OF THE
THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY,
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,
1862-65.

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The roster of commissioned officers contains the names and, as far as can be ascertained, the full military record of all who were commissioned in the Thirty-sixth Regiment, and the officers transferred to it from the Twenty-first Regiment. The record of the enlisted men is based upon the original muster-in rolls of the regiment by companies, as appeared on the 27th of August, 1862, the day the regiment was mustered into the service of the United States. The names of recruits have been added to the companies into which they were mustered. The record accounts for those only who were enlisted for the Thirty-sixth Regiment. The names of the men of the Twenty-first and Twenty-ninth regiments appear in the histories of their respective regiments. The roster and record have been carefully compared with the rolls in the office of the Adjutant General, who has furnished every facility in obtaining as complete a record as it is now possible to make.

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ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS.

FIELD AND STAFF.

COLONELS.

HENRY BOWMAN. 28. Clinton.

Captain, 15th Mass. Vols., Aug. 1, 1861; captured at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861; prisoner of war at Richmond, and hostage for Confederates held in New York for trial as pirates; paroled Feb. 22, 1862; exchanged August, 1862; Major, 34th Mass. Vols., Aug. 6, 1862; Colonel, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; commanding First Brigade, First Division, 9th Army Corps, June 1, 1863; resigned July 27, 1863; recommissioned October, 1863; on special duty, Chief of Staff of Gen. Willcox, commanding at Cumberland Gap and in East Tennessee, Nov. 21 to Dec. 25, 1863; rejoined regiment at Blaine's Cross Roads, Tenn., Dec. 26, 1863, but was unable to muster as Colonel, the regiment being below the minimum; appointed Asst. Q.M. U.S. Vols., Feb. 29, 1864; was on duty with Third Division, 9th Army Corps, during the Virginia campaign of 1864, and was afterwards stationed at Baltimore and Philadelphia; served at the latter place until the close of the war.

THADDEUS L. BARKER. 36. Fitchburg.

Captain, Co. A, Aug. 19, 1862; Major, May 6, 1864; commanding regiment from May 6, 1864, to June 3, 1864, July 18 to Aug. 10, 1864, and from Oct. 12, 1864, to close of the war; Lieutenant-Colonel, Oct. 12, 1864; Colonel, Nov. 13, 1864, but unable to muster, the regiment being below the minimum; wounded at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1863, and Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Lieutenant-Colonel.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

JOHN B. NORTON. 39. Charlestown.

First Lieutenant, 5th Mass. Vols. (3 months); Captain, July 8, 1861; Captain, 34th Mass. Vols., Aug. 12, 1862; transferred to 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; Lieutenant-Colonel, Aug. 28, 1862; commanding regiment, June 1 to July 30, 1863; resigned, July 30, 1863.

ARTHUR A. GOODELL. 23. Worcester.

Sergeant-Major, Third Battalion Rifles, M.V.M. (3 months), April 19, 1861; Adjutant, July 1, 1861; Captain, Co. C, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 16, 1862; Major, Jan. 29, 1863; Lieutenant-Colonel, July 31, 1863; commanding regiment from that date until Oct. 10, 1863, when he was severely wounded at Blue Springs, Tenn.; returned to regiment, April 1, 1864; resigned, May 5, 1864, in consequence of disability resulting from wounds; Brevet Brigadier-General U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the field during the war"; died at Worcester, Mass., June 30, 1882, on his 43d birthday.

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WILLIAM F. DRAPER. 21. Milford.

Private, 25th Mass. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; Second Lieutenant, Oct. 12, 1861; First Lieutenant, April 25, 1862; on detached duty with U.S. Signal Corps in North Carolina; Captain, Co. F, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 12, 1862; Major, July 31, 1863; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 6, 1864; commanding regiment from Oct. 10, 1863, with the exception of a few days in April, 1864, to May 6, 1864, when he was severely wounded at the battle of the Wilderness; returned to the command of the regiment, Aug. 10, 1864, and continued until his muster-out, Oct. 12, 1864, upon the expiration of three years' service; Brevet Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services in the field during the war."

JAMES B. SMITH. 23. Cambridge.

First Lieutenant, 25th Mass. Vols., Oct. 12, 1861; Captain, Co. K, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; commanding regiment from June 3, 1864, to July 18, 1864; Major, Oct. 12, 1864; Lieutenant-Colonel, Nov. 13, 1864, but was unable to be mustered in that grade, the regiment being below the minimum; Provost-Marshal, Second Division, 9th Army Corps, July 20, 1864, to close of the war; wounded in action at battle of Pegram Farm, Sept. 30, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Major; Brevet Colonel, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services in the field during the war."

MAJORS.

JAMES H. BARKER. 44. Milford.

Major, Aug. 28, 1862; resigned, Jan. 29, 1863.

EDWARD T. RAYMOND. 20. Worcester.

Sergeant, Co. K, 25th Mass. Vols., Sept. 10, 1861; First Lieutenant, Co. G, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; Captain, Jan. 30, 1863; Acting Assist. Inspector-General, First Brigade, First Division, 9th Army Corps, from June 3, 1863, until the reorganization of the Corps at Annapolis, April 20, 1864, when he was assigned to the same position in First Brigade, Second Division; Acting Assistant Inspector-General, Second Division, 9th Army Corps, Oct. 13, 1864, to the close of the

war, serving temporarily for two months, in 1864, as Inspector-General of the 9th Corps; Major, Nov. 13, 1864, but unable to muster, the regiment being below the minimum; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Captain; Brevet Major, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services during the operations around Richmond and Petersburg, Va."

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SURGEONS.

JAMES P. PRINCE. 24. Lynn.

Assistant Surgeon, 22d Mass. Vols., Oct. 1, 1861; Surgeon, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 13, 1862; Division Surgeon, First Division, 9th Army Corps, Feb. 11, 1864, and upon the reorganization of the Corps, April 20, 1864, was assigned to duty as Division Surgeon, Fourth Division, 9th Army Corps; appointed Surgeon, U.S. Vols., May 3, 1865; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, U.S. Vols.

ALBERT H. BRYANT. 25. Natick.

Private, Co. H, 13th Mass. Vols., July 16, 1861; discharged, May 20, 1862, to receive appointment as Surgeon, 9th New York Vols.; declined commission; Assistant Surgeon, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 29, 1862; Surgeon, 58th Mass. Vols., Aug. 12, 1864; declined commission; Surgeon, May 4, 1865; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865. From Feb. 11, 1864, until the close of the war he was the only medical officer on duty with the regiment.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

WARREN TYLER. 42. North Brookfield.

Assistant Surgeon, Aug. 21, 1862; resigned, Oct. 20, 1863; appointed Asst. Surgeon, 57th Mass. Vols., March 29, 1864; declined commission.

THOMAS C. LAWTON. 28. Sheffield.

Assistant Surgeon, Aug. 15, 1862; declined commission; commissioned Assistant Surgeon, 37th Mass. Vols.

CHAPLAINS.

CHARLES T. CANFIELD. 38. Worcester.

Chaplain, Aug. 28, 1862; resigned, Oct. 20, 1863.

NATHANIEL RICHARDSON. 57. Somerset.

Chaplain, April 14, 1864; mustered out with the regiment.

ADJUTANTS.

SETH ALONZO RANLETT. 22. Charlestown.

Private, Co. B, July 24, 1862; First Sergeant, Aug. 27, 1862; First Lieutenant, Dec. 1, 1862; appointed Adjutant, Dec. 17, 1862; mustered out on account of physical disability from disease incurred in the service February 20, 1864. Previous to the appointment of Adjutant Ranlett, from Sept. 2 to Dec. 17, 1862, the field duties of Adjutant were performed by First Lieutenant George L. Chipman, Co. A.

WILLIAM H. HODGKINS. 22. Charlestown.

Private, Co. B, July 23, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Oct. 17, 1862; Acting Adjutant, Jan. 19, 1863, to May 31, 1863; Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, First Brigade, First Division, 9th Army Corps, June 1 to July 30, 1863; First Lieutenant, Oct. 17, 1863; on special duty, Aide-de-Camp to General Willcox, in East Tennessee, Nov. 22 to Dec. 26, 1863; Adjutant, from Jan. 1, 1864, to July 14, 1864, and Acting Adjutant to Aug. 21, 1864; Captain, May 6, 1864; Aide-de-Camp to General Ferrero, commanding Fourth Division, and Assistant Commissary of Musters, Fourth Division, Aug. 21, 1864, and was transferred with that Division to the Army of the James; Asst. Commissary of Musters, Third Division, 9th Army Corps, General Hartranft, commanding, from Jan. 11, 1865, to close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865. Brevet Major, U.S. Vols., "for valuable and distinguished services at Fort Stedman, Va., March 25, 1865."

THOMAS H. HASKELL. 21. Charlestown.

Private, Co. B, July 24, 1862; Corporal, March 21, 1862; First Sergeant, Nov. 8, 1863. Severely wounded at battle of Spottsylvania Court-House, May 12, 1864. First Lieutenant, May 6, 1864; commanding Co. B, July 10, to Aug. 21, 1864; Adjutant, Aug. 21, 1864, to close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

QUARTERMASTERS.

FRANCIS B. RICE. 28. Worcester.

First Lieutenant and Regimental Quartermaster, Aug. 8, 1862; resigned, June 25, 1863.

JOHN C. CUTTER. 34. Winchendon.

Second Lieutenant, Co. D, Aug. 22, 1862; First Lieutenant, July 17, 1863; Regimental

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Quartermaster, from July 1, 1863; resigned, January 2, 1864.

AUGUSTUS S. TUTTLE. 38. Milford.

Second Lieutenant, Co. F, July 28, 1862; recruited the Company and commanded it until the arrival of Captain Draper, Sept., 1862; Brigade Ambulance Officer, from March 1 to June 17, 1863; First Lieutenant, May 16, 1863; Division Ambulance Officer, June 17, 1863, to Dec., 1863; Regimental Quartermaster, Jan. 2, 1864, declining Commission as Captain, to July 1, 1864, when he was appointed Acting A.Q.M., First Brigade, Second Division, 9th Army Corps, and served in that capacity to the close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

LUCIUS FIELD. 22. Clinton.

Private, Co. G, Aug. 18, 1862; Commissary Sergeant, Oct. 15, 1862; Quartermaster Sergeant, May 25, 1863; Acting Quartermaster, Nov. 16, 1863, to Jan. 2, 1864; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 1, 1864; First Lieutenant, Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; Acting Quartermaster from July 1, 1864, to close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Second Lieutenant.

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LINE OFFICERS.

CAPTAINS.

CHRISTOPHER SAWYER. 28. Templeton.

Captain, Co. H, Aug. 22, 1862; discharged for disability, Feb. 19, 1864.

STEPHEN C. WARRINER. 23. Monson.

Sergeant, 10th Mass. Vols., June 12, 1861; Captain, Co. E, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; resigned, April 22, 1864.

CHRISTOPHER S. HASTINGS. 48. Berlin.

Captain, Co. I, August 22, 1862; died at Mound City, Illinois, General Hospital, Sept. 8, 1863. He was the senior officer, in years, in the regiment, and was universally respected. His age exempted him from military service, but he obeyed the instincts of patriotism, and yielded his life at his country's call. His fellow-citizens bestowed upon him important trusts, which he fulfilled with rare fidelity. He was a brave, cheerful, patriotic man, winning the affection of his men, who regarded him as a father.

AMOS BUFFUM. 38. Templeton.

Second Lieutenant, 25th Mass. Vols., Oct. 12, 1861; resigned, March 31, 1862; Captain, Co. D, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; killed in action near Petersburg, Va., June 18, 1864.

S. HENRY BAILEY. 27. Northborough.

Captain, Co. G, Aug. 22, 1862; Acting Assistant Inspector-General, on staff of General Ferrero, commanding First Division, 9th Army Corps, Nov., 1863, to April 1, 1864; killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, 1864.

ALBERT PRESCOTT. 33. Charlestown.

First Sergeant, Co. K, 5th Mass. V.M. (3 months), April 19, 1861, to July 31, 1861; First Sergeant, Co. B, 36th Mass. Vols., July 30, 1862; Captain Co. B, Aug. 28, 1862; resigned, April 29, 1863; Captain, 57th Mass. Vols., March 2, 1864; Major, June 15, 1864; killed in the Battle of the Mine, near Petersburg, Va., July 30, 1864.

OTIS W. HOLMES. 27. Milford.

Sergeant, 25th Mass. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; First Sergeant, April 15, 1862; First Lieutenant, Co. F, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 12, 1862; Captain Co. B, May 2, 1863; died in Harewood General Hospital, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1864, of wounds received in action in the assault upon the enemy's works, near Petersburg, Va., on the morning of June 17, 1864.

T. EDWARD AMES. 24. Charlestown.

First Lieutenant, 34th Mass. Vols., Aug. 12, 1862; transferred to Co. B, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; Acting Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Welsh, commanding 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps, in November, 1862; Captain Co. F, Aug. 2, 1863; Acting A.A.G. 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps, Oct. 8, 1864, and Acting Aide-de-Camp to Brevet Brigadier-General Curtin, commanding brigade, to the close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865; Brevet Major, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious conduct before Petersburg, Va., April 2, 1865."

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EDWIN A. MORSE. 21. Worcester.

Private, Co. A, 3d Battalion Rifles, May 19, 1861; discharged for disability, July 24, 1861; Corporal, 25th Mass. Vols., Sept. 14, 1861; First Lieutenant, Co. C, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 22, 1862; Captain, Co. C, Sept. 9, 1863; severely wounded at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, 1864; mustered out at expiration of three years' service, Oct. 12, 1864.

JOSEPH A. MARSHALL. 21. Fitchburg.

Private, Co. B, 15th Mass. Vols., July 12, 1861; Second Lieutenant, Co. A, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 22, 1862; First Lieutenant, Sept. 1, 1863; Captain, April 23, 1864; wounded at the Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

JOHN B. FAIRBANK. 23. Oakham.

First Sergeant, Co. K, Aug. 11, 1862; Second Lieutenant, May 2, 1863; First Lieutenant, Oct. 23, 1863; Captain, May 13, 1864; wounded at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1863; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865; Brevet Major, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

HENRY S. BURRAGE. 25. Roxbury.

Sergeant, Co. A, Aug. 1, 1862; Sergeant-Major, Aug. 28, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Co. D, May 16, 1863; First Lieutenant, Nov. 17, 1863; wounded in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864; Captain, June 19, 1864; prisoner of war at Richmond and Danville, Va., from Nov. 1, 1864, to Feb. 22, 1865; Acting A.A.G., 1st Brigade, 2d Division, 9th Army Corps, April 16, 1865, to June 8, 1865; Brevet Major, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services in the campaign from the Rapidan to the James, March 13, 1865"; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

ALONZO S. DAVIDSON. 22. Clinton.

Sergeant, Co. G, Aug. 11, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Aug. 2, 1863; not mustered; Sergeant-Major, Oct. 15, 1863; First Lieutenant, April 24, 1864; Captain, June 23, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

PHILIP G. WOODWARD. 25. Orange.

Sergeant, Co. H, Aug. 6, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Oct. 26, 1863; not mustered; First Lieutenant, May 15, 1864; wounded in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864; Captain, Oct. 11, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

JOSEPH HANCOCK. 43. Milford.

Sergeant, Co. F, Aug. 5, 1862; First Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, July 8, 1863; First Lieutenant, Feb. 25, 1864; Captain, Oct. 12, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

AUSTIN DAVIS. 35. Oxford.

First Lieutenant, Co. K, Aug. 22, 1862; Captain, Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; on detached service from Sept. 1, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as First Lieutenant.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

JOSEPH W. GIRD. 22. Fitchburg.

Private, Co. F, 25th Mass. Vols., Oct. 4, 1861; First Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 11, 1862; resigned, May 19, 1863; Second Lieutenant, 57th Mass. Vols., Nov. 3, 1863; Captain, Dec. 31, 1863; killed in action at battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864.

ROBERT M. CROSS. 21. Palmer.

First Lieutenant, Co. E, Aug. 22, 1862; on special duty, Acting Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Leasure, commanding brigade, General Welsh commanding division, and General Willcox commanding forces at Cumberland Gap, 1863-1864; honorably discharged, July 24, 1864.

LEVI N. SMITH. 39. Templeton.

Sergeant, Co. A, 21st Mass. Vols., July 19, 1861; First Lieutenant, Co. D, Aug. 22, 1862; on detached duty as Acting Commissary; appointed Assistant Commissary of Subsistence, U.S. Vols., with rank of Captain, June 30, 1863; on duty at Head-quarters, Army of the Potomac, and served until the close of the war; Brevet Colonel, U.S. Vols., "for faithful and meritorious services during the war."

GEORGE L. CHIPMAN. 28. Fitchburg.

Second Lieutenant, Co. A, Aug. 6, 1862; First Lieutenant, Aug. 22, 1862; Acting Adjutant, Sept. 7, 1862, to Dec. 20, 1862; resigned, Oct. 23, 1863.

WILLIAM F. BRIGHAM. 23. Marlborough.

First Lieutenant, Co. I, Aug. 22, 1862; discharged for disability, Jan. 20, 1865.

HENRY S. ROBINSON. 31. Clinton.

Second Lieutenant, Co. G, Aug. 22, 1862; First Lieutenant, Jan. 30, 1863; severely wounded in action at Blue Springs, Tenn., Oct. 10, 1863, and was discharged for disability in consequence thereof, July 7, 1864.

P. MARION HOLMES. 22. Charlestown.

Private, Co. K, 5th Mass. Vols. (3 months), April 19 to July 31, 1861; Second Lieutenant, 34th Mass. Vols., Aug. 8, 1862; transferred to 36th Mass. Vols.; Second Lieutenant, Co. B, Aug. 22, 1862; First Lieutenant, May 2, 1863; killed in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1863.

HENRY W. DANIELS. 23. Worcester.

Private, Co. A, 3d Battalion of Rifles (3 months), April 19, 1861; discharged for disability, July 24, 1861; Second Lieutenant, Co. C, Aug. 22, 1862; First Lieutenant, July 31, 1863; killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, 1864.

FREDERICK H. SIBLEY. 24. Fitchburg.

Sergeant, Co. B, 15th Mass. Vols., July 12, 1861; Second Lieutenant, Co. I, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug.

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22, 1862; First Lieutenant, Aug. 2, 1863; died in U.S. General Hospital, Louisville, Ky., of disease contracted in the Mississippi Campaign, Aug. 17, 1863.

SAMUEL A. GOODSPEED. 38. Worcester.

Sergeant, Co. C, Aug. 13, 1862; Color Sergeant to June 27, 1863; First Sergeant, June 27, 1863; Second Lieutenant, July 17, 1863; First Lieutenant, Jan. 3, 1864; resigned, April 22, 1864.

JOHN A. RICE. 26. Worcester.

First Sergeant, Co. C, Aug. 8, 1862; Sergeant Major, June 28, 1863; Second Lieutenant, Co. C, July 30, 1863; Acting Adjutant, Oct. 17, 1863, to Jan. 1, 1864; First Lieutenant, Feb. 20, 1864; resigned, at Annapolis, Md., April 22, 1864.

EDWARD F. EMORY. 21. Fitchburg.

Private, July 17, 1862; Commissary Sergeant, Aug. 27, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Aug. 1, 1863, on detached service in Commissary Department; First Lieutenant, Feb. 21, 1864; Acting A.C.S., Fourth Division, 9th Army Corps, Hospital Department, April 21, 1864, to close of war; mustered out with the regiment June 8, 1865.

ALONZO A. WHITE. 29. Upton.

First Sergeant, Co. I, Aug. 8, 1862; commissioned Second Lieutenant, Co. I, July 31, 1863, but before the commission was received another Second Lieutenant had been mustered and assigned to that company; was in command of Co. I, as First Sergeant, during the East Tennessee campaign, and until May 12, 1864, when he was very severely wounded at the battle of Spottsylvania. While absent from the regiment, on account of wounds, he was commissioned First Lieutenant, dating from April 23, 1864, and could not muster in that grade on account of absence from the command. When he returned, in November, 1864, though not recovered from his wounds, the regiment had been consolidated into seven companies, and the 21st Battalion, of Mass. Vols., with its officers, transferred to it. Companies G and I had been consolidated; and the company having a Captain and First Lieutenant (all the officers allowed by the existing regulations), and also a First Sergeant, Lieutenant White, much against his wishes, was mustered out as a Supernumerary First Sergeant, Nov. 11, 1864. It was a case of extreme hardship, and after the close of the war a statement of the facts was made to the War Department, and General Sherman, Acting Secretary of War, issued a special order in the case of Lieutenant White, amending his record, and giving him rank and pay as a First Lieutenant from April 23, 1864, the date of his commission in that grade.

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DANIEL WRIGHT. 30. Clinton.

Corporal, Co. F, Aug. 6, 1862; Sergeant, Oct. 1, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Sept. 1, 1863; not mustered; First Lieutenant, April 23, 1864; wounded and captured while in command of the detachment of the 46th New York Vols. assigned to the 36th Mass. Vols., at the battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864; prisoner of war in rebel field-hospital from May 6 to June 1, 1864; Lynchburg hospital to June 30; Salisbury, N.C., July 1; thence to Andersonville, July 4 to Sept. 1; Florence, S.C., Sept. 4 to Dec. 17, 1864, when he was paroled; exchanged March 29, 1865; rejoined regiment April 1, 1865; was mustered in as First Lieutenant, and assigned to Co. F, which he commanded from April 1, 1865, to the close of the war; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

JOHN A. STEARNS. 20. Templeton.

Sergeant, Co. D, Aug. 6, 1862; First Sergeant, Oct. 11, 1862; First Lieutenant, May 13, 1864, but was unable to muster, being absent by reason of severe wounds received June 18, 1864, near Petersburg, Va., and was discharged for disability caused by his wounds, Oct. 29, 1864, as First Sergeant.

HIRAM N. OLCOTT. 21. Clinton.

Corporal, Co. G, Aug. 3, 1862; promoted Sergeant; Acting Sergeant-Major, June 3, 1864, to June 18, 1864, when he was severely wounded in action near Petersburg, Va.; First Lieutenant, June 19, 1864; not able to muster, absent wounded; discharged for disability from wounds, Dec. 23, 1864, as Sergeant.

GEORGE W. HARWOOD. 20. North Brookfield.

Private, Co. E, Aug. 12, 1862; promoted Corporal; Sergeant, July, 1863; First Lieutenant, June 23, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

SAMUEL OSBORN. 29. Leominster.

Sergeant, Co. A, Aug. 2, 1862; First Sergeant; First Lieutenant, July 7, 1864; mustered out with the regiment.

GEORGE A. PERLEY. 31. Gardner.

Sergeant, Co. H, Aug. 28, 1862; First Sergeant, July 2, 1864; First Lieutenant, Oct. 11, 1864; mustered out with the regiment.

ALLEN W. CROSS. 29. Westborough.

Sergeant, Co. K, Aug. 7, 1862; First Sergeant, May 2, 1863; First Lieutenant, Co. B, Oct. 12, 1864. Mustered out with the regiment.

JULIUS M. TUCKER. 21. Worcester.

Private, Co. B, 25th Mass. Vols., Sept. 16, 1863; Second Lieutenant, Co. E, 36th Mass. Vols., Aug. 8, 1862; resigned, July 29, 1863; First Lieutenant, 57th Mass. Vols., Jan. 1, 1864; Captain, Jan. 6, 1864; Major, June 14, 1864; Lieutenant-Colonel, June 15, 1864; very severely wounded in action; mustered out at the close of the war.

WILDER S. HOLBROOK. 21. Sutton.

Corporal, Co., 15th Mass. Vols., July 12, 1861; wounded in action at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861; discharged for disability from wounds, July 6, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Co. K, Aug. 22, 1862; resigned on account of disability resulting from former wounds, July 31, 1863.

WILLIAM L. HOWE. 23. Orange.

Private, Co. H, Aug. 4, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Jan. 30, 1863; died of disease at Milldale, Miss., July 7, 1863.

RUFUS HOWE. 24. Marlborough.

Sergeant, Co. I, Aug. 1, 1862; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 1, 1864; was in command of Co. I, with rank of Sergeant, from May 12, 1864, to Nov. 1, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

EDMUND W. NOYES. 18. Charlestown.

Private, Co. B, Aug. 11, 1862; Sergeant-Major, March 1, 1865; Second Lieutenant, to date from Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Sergeant-Major.

CHARLES W. WHITNEY. 21. Ashburnham.

Private, Co. A, July 22, 1862; promoted Corporal and Sergeant; First Sergeant, July 7, 1864; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as First Sergeant.

EDWARD CHAMBERLAIN. 20. Oakham.

Private, Co. K, Aug. 4, 1862; promoted Corporal and Sergeant; First Sergeant, Oct. 12, 1864; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as First Sergeant.

LIBERTY W. FOSKETT. 22. Winchendon.

Private, Co. D, Aug. 2, 1862; promoted Corporal and Sergeant; Acting First Sergeant from May 13, 1864; wounded in action, June 17, 1864; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1864, as First Sergeant.

FREDERICK W. BOSWELL. 26. Worcester.

Corporal, Co. C, Aug. 12; Sergeant, Aug. 1, 1863; First Sergeant, Dec. 4, 1864; Second Lieutenant, to date from Nov. 13, 1864; not mustered; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as First Sergeant.

GILBERT N. RAWSON. 26. Worcester.

Private, Co. C, Aug. 4, 1862; Corporal, June 11, 1863; Color-Sergeant from May 6, 1864; Second Lieutenant, Nov. 29, 1864, declined commission; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865, as Sergeant.

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COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS TRANSFERRED TO THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

CHARLES W. DAVIS. 35. Templeton.

First Lieutenant, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 21, 1861; Captain, March 3, 1862; mustered out at expiration of three years' service as Captain, March 3, 1865; Brevet Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel, U.S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious service in the field during the war."

WILLIAM H. SAWYER. 26. New Salem.

Sergeant, Co. K, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; First Sergeant, Oct. 26, 1862; First Lieutenant, April 26, 1863; Captain, Oct. 12, 1864; mustered out with 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865.

FELIX McDERMOTT. 26. Auburn.

Sergeant, Co. F, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; First Lieutenant, April 26, 1863; discharged from 36th Mass. Vols, for disability from wounds, Nov. 21, 1864.

JONAS R. DAVIS. 20. Templeton.

Corporal, Co. A, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; promoted Sergeant and First Sergeant; First Lieutenant, June 6, 1863; mustered out with 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

ABNER R. MOTT. 23. Ware.

Private, Co. I, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; promoted Corporal, Sergeant, and First Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, Sept. 7, 1864; First Lieutenant, Oct. 12, 1864; mustered out with 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

WILLIAM H. MORROW. 22. Barre.

Private, Co. K, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 21, 1861; promoted Corporal, Sergeant, and First Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, Sept. 7, 1864; First Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 29, 1864; mustered out with the 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

MARCUS M. COLLIS. 20. Palmer.

Corporal, Co. H, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; promoted Sergeant and First Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 13, 1864, but being a prisoner of war, was not mustered; transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865; First Lieutenant, 56th Mass. Vols., June 26, 1865; mustered out with 56th Mass. Vols., July 12, 1865, expiration of service, as First Sergeant.

BENTON PHELPS. 24. Barre.

Private, Co. K, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; promoted Corporal, Sergeant, and First Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 1, 1864; mustered out with the 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

CHARLES L. GOODALE. 33. Amherst.

Private, Co. H, 21st Mass. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; promoted Corporal and Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 1, 1864; mustered out with the 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

CHARLES S. BABCOCK. 25. Leyden.

Private, Co. I, 21st Mass. Vols., March 12, 1862; promoted Corporal and Sergeant; Second Lieutenant, 36th Mass. Vols., Nov. 29, 1864; mustered out with 36th Mass. Vols., June 8, 1865, expiration of service.

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Commissions as Second Lieutenants were issued to Peter Dooley, Cheshire, and Mason W. Tyler, Amherst, who were transferred to Thirty-Seventh Regiment before joining for service; and to T. Sibley Heald, Hubbardston; Edward A. Brown, Fitchburg; and William E. Shaw, Shrewsbury, which were declined.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF, NOT ENUMERATED IN ROSTER OF COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

OSTENELLO WASHBURN. 19. Holyoke.

Private, Co. K, Aug. 5, 1862; Sergeant, May 3, 1863; Sergeant-Major, July 24, 1864; discharged Feb. 15, 1865, for disability resulting from very severe wounds received in action at Pegram Farm, Sept. 30, 1864.

JOSEPH H. SAWYER. 32. Bolton.

Quartermaster Sergeant, Aug. 22, 1862; discharged for disability, Jan. 19, 1864, in consequence of amputation of the right leg, resulting from the accidental discharge of a musket in camp, May 28, 1863.

GEORGE T. PHELPS. 20. Harvard.

Private, Co. G, Aug. 13, 1862; Quartermaster Sergeant, Oct. 4, 1864; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

T. LYMAN ELLSWORTH. 29. Milford.

Corporal, Co. F, Aug. 6, 1862; wounded at Jackson, Miss., July 11, 1863; Commissary Sergeant, Jan. 19, 1864; wounded at Fort Rice, April 2, 1865; discharged on account of disability from wounds, May 29, 1865.

WILLIAM H. BLAKE. 29. Lynn.

Hospital Steward, Aug. 14, 1862; discharged for disability, July 1, 1863.

GEORGE F. PARISH. 42. Gardner.

Private, Co. G, July 25, 1862; Hospital Steward, July 5, 1863; mustered out with the regiment, June 8, 1865.

ALFRED CHAFFIN. 43. Holden.

Principal Musician, Aug. 22, 1862; discharged Nov. 30, 1862, by general orders War Department, relative to the muster-out of Principal Musicians, and leaders of bands.

LORENZO C. STRICKLAND. 18. Palmer.

Musician, Co. E, Aug. 15, 1862; Principal Musician, Nov. 30, 1862; on detached service in the general hospital, at City Point, during the summer and autumn of 1864, and his position was vacated on that account; returned to the regiment in January, 1865; Principal Musician from Jan. 8, 1865, to close of the war; mustered out with the regiment.

JOHN GARDNER. 18. Worcester.

Musician, Co. G, Aug. 15, 1862; appointed Principal Musician in the absence of Strickland, in compliance with Regimental Order No. 27, 1864, for conspicuous bravery, to date from Sept. 1, 1864. Upon the return of Strickland to the regiment, in January, 1865, he voluntarily resigned in

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order that Strickland might resume his original position; served to the close of the war as Musician of Co. B, and was mustered out with the regiment.

ROSTER OF ENLISTED MEN.

Name and Rank.	Age.	Residence, or Place credited to.	Muster into U. S. Service.	Remarks. Termination of Service.
Company A.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
Webb, Robert F.	34	Fitchburg.	July 14, '62.	Killed in action, at Poplar Spring Church, Va., Sept. 30, '64.
<i>Sergeants.</i>				
Burrage, Henry S.	25	Roxbury.	Aug. 1, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Foster, Waldo A.	20	Ashburnham.	July 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 30, '63.
Keyes, George E.	23	Princeton.	July 21, '62.	Killed in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Osborn, Samuel	29	Leominster.	Aug. 2, '62.	See commissioned officers.
<i>Corporals.</i>				
Bacon, John	36	Blackstone.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, January 17, 1863.
Bruce, Leonard O.	21	Townsend.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 29, '63.
Goodrich, Leonard.	20	Leominster.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 31, '62.
Hartwell, Adam J.	21	Groton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Died Jan. 21, '64, at Camp Nelson, Ky.
Knights, George E.	20	Fitchburg.	July 21, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Died Sept. 3, '63, at Nicholasville, Ky.
Mills, Hamilton A.	30	Fitchburg.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 24, '63.
Thornton, John J.	18	Fitchburg.	July 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wetherbee, Aaron F.	18	Fitchburg.	July 22, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Lamb, Chester F.	18	Groton.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lamb, Levi L.	21	Groton.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Wagoner.</i>				
Whittemore, Charles F.	34	Groton.	July 30, '62.	On detached duty from Nov. 1, '62; discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Privates.</i>				
Alexander, James M.	21	Blackstone.	Aug. 11, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Ames, Thomas J.	19	Leominster.	July 14, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Wounded in action, June 18, '64; discharged, June 17, '65, order of War Department.
Arnold, George S.	18	Leominster.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bachelor, Joseph H.	23	Fitchburg.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died, Nov. 16, '63, at Camp Nelson, Ky.
Barber, Charles S.	26	Fitchburg.	July 26, '62.	Transferred to V. R. C., May 31, '64.
Battles, Frederick C.	20	Fitchburg.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Beals, Foster E. L.	22	Lunenburg.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 5, '63.
Bixby, Aaron B.	23	Fitchburg.	Aug. 12, '62.	Transferred to V. R. C., Sept. 30, '63.
Bradley, Oscar L.	22	Blackstone.	Aug. 8, '62.	Transferred to V. R. C., Sept. 30, '63.
Brooks, Luke W.	32	Leominster.	Aug. 2, '62.	Transferred to V. R. C., Dec. 19, '63.
Brown, John.	44	Fitchburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.

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Burlingame, William H.	22	Blackstone.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Carter, Albert H.	18	Leominster.	Aug. 25, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Carter, Solon H.	19	Leominster.	Aug. 21, '62.	Wounded in action, June 6, '64; discharged for disability from wounds, June 16, '65.
Chamberlain, Levi.	24	Holden.	Aug. 7, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Chase, Joseph W.	19	Fitchburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died, Jan. 10, '65, of wounds received at Fort Rice, near Petersburg, Va.
Cook, Thomas J.	37	Fitchburg.	Aug. 17, '62.	Transferred to V. R. C., April 6, '64.
Coyle, Andrew.	29	Fitchburg.	Aug. 28, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Damon, George B.	18	Leominster.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 28, '63.
Derby, Charles H.	23	Leominster.	July 24, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Killed in action at North Anna River, Va., May 24, '64.
Farrar, Charles E.	18	Holden.	Aug. 2, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Fernald, William H.	20	Blackstone.	Aug. 3, '62.	Died of disease, April 30, '64, at Hall's Gap, Ky.
Frederick, Elisha H.	23	Townsend.	July 30, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Frederick, George H.	25	Fitchburg.	July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 21, '62.
French, John A.	23	Fitchburg.	July 26, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service; absent, wounded.
Fuller, Marshall.	20	Fitchburg.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 20, '63.
Gallop, Leroy R.	31	Leominster.	Aug. 3, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergt. Killed in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63.
Gibson, Andrew C.	29	Fitchburg.	July 3, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 31, '64.
Gibson, George P.	36	Leominster.	Aug. 2, '62.	On detached duty in Commis'ry Dept. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Greenman, James H.	26	Blackstone.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hamilton, James R.	24	Fitchburg.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., July 1, '63.
Hancock, Joseph	31	Fitchburg.	July 14, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 8, '63.
Howe, Franklin	22	Leominster.	July 22, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Humes, Joseph	20	Ashburnham.	July 28, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergeant. Died of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64. Acting Sergt.-Major.
Hurd, Charles E.	32	Fitchburg.	July 22, '62.	Reported as a deserter, May 2, '63.
Johnson, Windsor C.	19	Leominster.	July 29, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 10, '63.
Larkin, Michael	20	Fitchburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Reported as a deserter, March 29, '63.
Long, Michael	20	Fitchburg.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mack, George W.	18	Fitchburg.	July 21, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 5, '65.
Mahan, Thomas	24	Fitchburg.	Aug. 5, '62.	Died of disease, April 20, '64, at Annapolis, Md. Prisoner of war.
Makepeace, Francis A.	38	Fitchburg.	July 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 8, '62.
Marshall, James A.	24	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 8, '62; was left sick at Worcester, Mass.
May, Thomas	21	Fitchburg.	July 29, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 2, '65, in consequence of wounds received in action at North Anna River, Va., May 24, '64.
McIntire, George H.	31	Lunenburg.	July 18, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Meads, Stillman A.	38	Leominster.	Aug. 3, '62.	On detached duty. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Morgan,	27	Leominster.	July 25,	Appointed Wagoner. Discharged, June 8, '65;

Lewis W.	27	Leominster.	'62.	expiration of service.
Murphy, Patrick W.	20	Fitchburg.	Aug. 9, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged, July 2, '65.
Oakes, Thomas	36	Fitchburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Killed in the trenches in front of Petersburg, Va., Aug. 4, '64.
O'Brien, William	32	Fitchburg.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged, July 2, '65.
Osborn, Andrew B.	38	Leominster.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 22, '63.
Osborn, Wesley J.	22	Fitchburg.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Page, Charles D.	21	Leominster.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Patch, Ebenezer	18	Leominster.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Perkins, Francis H.	20	Ashburnham.	July 24, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Petts, Augustus	18	Westminster.	July 29, '62.	Taken prisoner in action, at Campbell's Station, Tenn. Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 12, '64.
Phelps, Charles	22	Fitchburg.	July 18, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Pitts, George S.	18	Lunenburg.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, June —, '63.
Pitts, Samuel, Jr.	21	Lunenburg.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 20, '63.
Pollard, Augustus	35	Fitchburg.	Aug. 4, '63.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Porter, S. Dwight	24	Leominster.	Aug. 3, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Oct. 7, 1863.
Prue, Aaron G.	24	Fitchburg.	July 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 20, '63.
Robinson, Charles H.	18	Leominster.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sherridan, Barney	26	Fitchburg.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sinclair, George A.	19	Leominster.	July 25, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sinor, William H.	18	Fitchburg.	July 13, '62.	Discharged, March 21, '64, for disability from wounds received in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63.
Smith, Charles	19	Leominster.	Aug. 2, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Jan. 20, '64.
Smith, George M.	21	Fitchburg.	Aug. 14, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Smith, Henry R.	19	Leominster.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 27, '63.
Smith, Orange F.	19	Fitchburg.	July 22, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Stearns, Charles W.	18	Leominster.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Stearns, George A.	19	Blackstone.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Stockwell, Orwell L.	19	Fitchburg.	July 17, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 21, '62.
Sullivan, Eugene	32	Leominster.	July 26, '62.	Promoted Corp. Died of disease, at Nicholasville, Ky., Sept. 1, '63.
Sullivan, John	18	Fitchburg.	July 26, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Taylor, Henry S.	36	Fitchburg.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 29, '63.
Thompson, Henry A.	18	Fitchburg.	July 21, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, Jan. 13, '65.
Tucker, Alfred S.	37	Holden.	Aug. 6, '62.	Prisoner of war. Died at Salisbury, N. C., Feb., '65.
Whitney, Charles W.	21	Ashburnham.	July 22, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Winch, Caleb	36	Fitchburg.	July 25, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wood, Aaron W.	18	Westminster.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 25, '63.
Wood, .	19	Westminster.	July 28, '62.	Discharged for disability. May 12, '64.

Francis A. Worcester, John <i>Recruits.</i>	30	Fitchburg.	'62. July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 3, '63.
Banforth, Frederick Banforth, Herman L.	27 21	Northampton. Lowell.	Aug. 25, '64. Sept. 13, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65. Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Chiller, Frank	18	Winchendon.	Jan. 4, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Easler, Richard	18	Leominster.	Dec. 7, '63.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Easler, William A.	41	Boston.	Feb. 19, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Merrick, Michael	38	Northampton.	Aug. 5, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Merritt, George S.	18	Heath.	Sept. 7, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Company B.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
Ranlett, S. Alonzo <i>Sergeants.</i>	22	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Brown, John H.	29	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Color-Sergt. Capt. 12th Kentucky Vols., Sept. 26, '63, and served to the close of the war. Received medal of honor for gallantry in action at Franklin, Tenn.
Crosby, Edwin F.	27	Charlestown.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Goff, Peter M.	32	Charlestown.	Aug. 10, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Simpson, James W. <i>Corporals.</i>	35	Charlestown.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted 1st Sergeant. Discharged for disability, Sept. 26, '63.
Ames, William S.	22	Stoneham.	July 15, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged for disability, Oct, 21, '64.
Call, Wm. S.	32	Charlestown.	Aug. 10, '62.	Died of disease, at Falmouth, Va., Jan. 21, '63.
Crafts, G. Frank	24	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 31, '64.
Davis, Obed R.	24	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Dow, James A.	34	Charlestown.	July 19, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged for disability, June 29, '65.
Patten, George W.	21	Charlestown.	July 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 4, '64.
Raymond, Charles.	22	Charlestown.	Aug. 1, '62.	Promoted Sergt. In consequence of disability from wounds received in action was transferred to V.R.C., Mar. 15, '65.
Todd, Henry <i>Musicians.</i>	25	Charlestown.	July 26, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Color-Sergt., March 1, '64. Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Robinson, Edward A.	18	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 21, '62.
Stocking, Edward <i>Wagoner.</i>	19	Charlestown.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 4, '63.
Kimball, A. W. <i>Privates.</i>	33	Charlestown.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Abbott, Joseph W.	26	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Abbott, Louis P.	20	Charlestown.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Abbott, Nathan E.	29	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 11, '64.
Baxter, Clarence	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 29, '64.
Blanchard, E. M. R.	18	Charlestown.	Aug. 1, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bradford,	19	Charlestown.	July 15,	Discharged. June 8, '65. expiration of service.

George F. Burdett,	26	Charlestown.	'62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 2, '63.
Francis S. Caldwell,	22	Boston.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 24, '63.
Charles A. Chapman,	22	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged March 4, '65, for promotion as Lt. U.S. Colored Troops. Killed in powder explosion at Mobile, Ala., June —, '65.
Walter Chase,	25	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	On detached service in Medical Dept. 9th A.C. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Charles H. Costello,	41	Charlestown.	July 16, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lawrence Coughlin,	25	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 22, '63.
Daniel J. Cragin,	19	Boston.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 24, '62.
Charles I. Crocker,	26	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 13, '62.
Benjamin F. Davis,	19	Boston.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Charles S. Deming, A. B. C.	19	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	On detached duty in Commissary Dept. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Disney Thomas W.	30	Charlestown.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 8, '65.
Doughty, James N.	18	Charlestown.	July 28, '62.	Promoted Corp. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Edmands, Benj. B.	27	Brookline.	Aug. 16, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, Jan. 20, '64, for promotion as Lt. 54th Mass. Vols.
Edmands, Geo. R. B.	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Edmister, Aaron	35	Charlestown.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died of wounds received in action near Cold Harbor, Va., June 7, '64.
Edwards, Henry	44	Charlestown.	Aug. 7, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 21, '64.
Fiske, John F.	20	Charlestown.	July 29, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Glazier, Albert W.	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	Appointed Musician. Discharged for disability, Nov. 6, '63.
Gould, Charles W. E.	20	Charlestown.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hadley, Henry F.	35	Charlestown.	Aug. 27, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 10, '63.
Hall, Joseph B.	20	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 2, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
Hall, William F.	22	Charlestown.	July 28, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 17, '63.
Haskell, Thomas H.	21	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Hodgkins, William H.	22	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Hodgkinson, William F.	27	Charlestown.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 4, '62.
Hopkins, S. E. W.	19	Charlestown.	July 25, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hyde, Warren G.	29	Charlestown.	July 30, '62.	Discharged, July 22, '65, expiration of service, special order of War Dept.
Johnson, Cephas R.	32	Charlestown.	July 29, '62.	Died of disease, Feb. 11, '64, at Falmouth, Va.
Kemmick, John	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 26, '63.
Knowles, Francis W.	19	Charlestown.	Aug. 6, '62.	On detached service in Adjnt.-Genl. Dept. with Maj.-Gen. Willcox. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lamont, John	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 1, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lincoln, George H.	19	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 20, '62.
Locke, Albert F.	19	Charlestown.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Sept. 5, '63.
Mallon, Cad H.	20	Charlestown.	July 28, '62.	On detached service, Clerk 9th Corps Headquarters. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mann, Henry			Aug. 10	

A.	42	Charlestown.	Aug. 10, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 19, '63.	
McNear, Frank E.	17	Charlestown.	July 28, '62.	On detached service, Clerk 9th Corps Headquarters. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Merrill, Henry S.	19	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 23, '64.	
Morrison, Scott	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 2, '62.	Died of disease, March 26, '63, at Baltimore, Md.	
Moseley, C. Henry	25	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp., Sergt. and 1st Sergt. Discharged, Nov. 11, '64, from wounds received in action, June 29, '64, near Petersburg, Va.	
Mousley, George W.	25	Charlestown.	Aug. 2, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 27, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.	
Newcomb, Fred A.	23	Charlestown.	Aug. 3, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 9, '64.	
Niles, Thomas A.	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died of disease, July 17, '63, near Jackson, Miss.	
Noyes, Edmund W.	18	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Packard, J. Wesley	18	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Killed in the trenches in front of Petersburg, Va., July 30, '64.	
Paine, George W.	19	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 339]
Perkins, John S.	18	Charlestown.	July 27, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., July 14, '63.	
Pippey, Edward W.	25	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 9, '65, order of War Department.	
Poole, William H.	20	Charlestown.	July 26, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 26, '63.	
Prescott, George W.	19	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 23, '64.	
Priest, John T.	19	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 17, '65, by order of War Department, in consequence of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Rackliffe, John S.	19	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Killed in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Robertson, James H.	18	Charlestown.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Rogers, Edmund M.	25	Charlestown.	Aug. 6, '62.	On detached service, recruiting. Discharged, June 16, '65, expiration of service.	
Rogers, S. Augustus	22	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	On duty at Regimental Head-quarters. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Rowe, George	28	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '63.	Died of disease, Aug. 14, '65, near Louisville, Ky.	
Sagar, Oscar	26	Somerville.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 30, '62, at Falmouth, Va.	
Small, Frank M.	20	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	On detached service in Adjt.-Genl. Department, 9th Corps Head-quarters. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Southwick, George W.	33	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Jan. 19, '63.	
Spear, James E.	27	Charlestown.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 7, '65, by order of War Dept., expiration of service.	
Spurr, E. Wells	18	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.	
Swift, Wm. H.	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 14, '62, near Warrenton, Va.	
Swords, Henry L.	20	Charlestown.	July 26, '62.	Discharged, Oct. 8, '63, for promotion; Lieut. and Capt. 59th Vols., Brevet Major U.S. Vols.	[Pg 340]
Swords, Thomas A.	18	Charlestown.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 29, '63.	
Tibbetts, Stephen W.	21	Charlestown.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Tufts, John	26	Charlestown.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65.	
Waitt, Moses S.	23	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to U.S. Navy, March 1, '64.	
Walden, W. F.	24	Charlestown.	Aug. 11, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured during attack on Fort Sanders, Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 29, '63; died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 29, '64.	
Webster, George W.	39	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Reported as a deserter. Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, to make good the time lost by absence.	

Webster, Wm. N.	20	Charlestown.	July 25, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wellington, Arthur N.	18	Charlestown.	July 26, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 11, '63.
Westcott, Charles M.	26	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
White, Eben, Jr.	18	Charlestown.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 6, '63.
Whiting, George W.	21	Somerville.	July 26, '62.	On detached service. Discharged May 29, '65, order of War Department.
Whiton, Joseph H.	18	Charlestown.	July 28, '62.	Regimental Mail Messenger. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wilkins, James R.	26	Charlestown.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Recruits.</i>				
Doyle, William H.	18	Charlestown.	Dec. 9, '63.	Transferred to V.R.C., in consequence of disability from wounds, '64.
Gartland, Michael.	35	Charlestown.	Mar. 14, '64.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Grenier, Godfrey	19	Greenfield.	Nov. 9, '63.	Enlisted for one year. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lamont, Daniel, Jr.	19	Charlestown.	Dec. 11, '63.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65.
Turnbull, William	39	Charlestown.	Dec. 22, '63.	Transferred to V.R.C., in consequence of wounds, Feb. 1, '65.
Company C.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
Rice, John A.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	See commissioned officers.
<i>Sergeants.</i>				
Boswell, Chas. H.	29	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured, Dec. 15, '63, near Rutledge, Tenn. Died at Belle Isle, Richmond, Va., Feb. 15, '64.
Freeman, George E.	28	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Goodspeed, Samuel A.	38	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Stevens, Henry C.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Corporals.</i>				
Bacon, John W.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Boswell, Frederick W.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Bowles, George F.	22	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Clissold, Walter	23	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 19, '65, for disability.
Fiske, Frederick L.	19	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Noyes, Charles F.	27	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Rice, Henry H.	24	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Died at Washington, D.C., June 1, '64, of wounds received in action at North Anna Riv., Va., May 24, '64.
Whipple, Albert B.	27	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Promoted Sergt., May 12, '64; Color Sergt. Transferred to V.R.C., Dec. 19, '64, for disability from wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Blanchard, Ezra	23	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Rogers, Merrill C.	18	Rutland.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Wagoner.</i>				
Bennett, Harrison A.	20	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Privates.</i>				
Adams, George T.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 16, '64.
Allen, Horace	23	Worcester.	Aug. 14,	Transferred to V.R.C., discharged, July 3, '65,

N.	35	Worcester.	'62.	expiration of service.
Bailey, A. Fernando	26	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Promoted Corp., Oct. 11, '62; Sergt., June 11, '63; 1st Sergt., Aug. 1, '63. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Bangs, Edward P.	24	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bassett, George E.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65. expiration of service.
Bixby, Jacob W.	35	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, wounded.
Blake, George P.	19	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 8, '64.
Blake, R. Elliott	21	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Promoted Corp., May 12, '64. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Boswell, James S.	22	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Died of disease, at Milldale, Miss., July 19, '63.
Bottomley, Charles S.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 12, '65, order of War Dept., expiration of service.
Bradley, Thomas H.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	On detached service. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Briggs, Frederick W.	30	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp., Aug. 1, '63; Sergt., April, '64; 1st Sergt., May 12, '64. Discharged, Nov. 7, '64, for disability from wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Brooks, Lewis M.	20	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 3, '63, at Cincinnati, O.
Brown, Archibald L.	19	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Brown, Dexter F.	33	Milford.	Aug. 16, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 11, '63.
Bruso, Joseph, Jr.	19	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Butterworth, Jonathan	18	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Buxton, Joseph	23	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Carpenter, Edward M.	43	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Chambers, Hiram E.	40	Worcester.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 9, '63, at Cairo, Ill.
Connor, Thomas	21	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Converse, Merrick B.	41	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 14, '64.
Curtis, Eben T.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 4, '63.
Cutting, Wm. A.	32	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Daniels, Myron M.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 5, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Davis, Luke K.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 1, '65, for disability from wounds received in action.
Dixon, Dwight I.	37	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, April 12, '64, at Annapolis, Md.
Duckworth, Franklin	18	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 16, '64, for disability.
Fuller, Barnard	35	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gates, Frederick S.	20	Worcester.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Nov. 17, '64.
Gleason, Levi L.	33	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, May 25, '65, order of War Dept., for disability.
Harty, Edmund	31	Phillipston.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, sick.
Harty, William	21	Phillipston.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, sick.
Hodgkins, Daniel	32	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	On special duty as Regimental Armorer. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Humphreys, Henry H.	22	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hyde, Charles	42	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 2, '64.

Charles Jones, George C.	26	Milford.	Aug. 15, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 31, '64.
Kelley, Frank S.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died, May 8, '64, of wounds received in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
King, Austin W.	36	New Salem.	July 29, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 13, '63.
Ladd, Lyman S.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 4, '64.
Lawrence, William	31	Worcester.	Aug. 27, '62.	On special duty in Q. M.'s department. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Locke, Thomas W.	44	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 16, '63.
Logee, Stephen F.	22	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged, June 29, '65, expiration of service.
Loring, Charles F.	30	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, Nov. 27, '63.
Loughlin, Michael	19	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Lovell, Henry	23	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65; expiration of service.
Marshall, Emanuel R.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 11, '64.
Merritt, Fanning T.	31	Worcester.	Aug. 1, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Merritt, Jesse S.	41	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 29, '63.
Miller, Riley A.	23	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mills, George H.	29	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corporal, May 12, '64. Prisoner of war. Paroled. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Miner, Edward M.	31	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Reported as deserter, Oct. 27, '62.
Nye, Frederick	22	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65; expiration of service.
Olin, William M.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Park, Daniel H.	40	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Prisoner of war at Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died, at Andersonville, Ga., May 13, '64.
Parker, Charles W.	39	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 4, '63, at Cincinnati, O.
Plaisted, William A.	34	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	On detached duty. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Putnam, Alonzo S.	39	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Corporal, Oct. 11, '62. Sergeant, Nov. 1, '62. Transferred to V.R.C., March 31, '64.
Rawson, Abel	33	New Salem.	July 25, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 2, '63.
Rawson, Charles B.	24	Springfield.	Aug. 20, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 14, '63.
Rawson, George A.	27	Worcester.	Aug. 20, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged for disability, April 11, '64.
Rawson, Gilbert N.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	See Commissioned officers.
Rawson, Joseph D.	35	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 15, '64.
Rawson, Lewis N.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Reynolds, Lucius A.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Prisoner of war at Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died, at Andersonville, Ga., July 7, '64.
Robinson, Clarke	25	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Died, July 31, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Ruth, Frederick	18	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Prisoner of war at Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died, at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 17, '64.
Searles, Edwin	34	Worcester.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., for disability from wounds. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Smith, Israel H.	23	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Prisoner of war at Rutledge, Tenn. Sole survivor of ten captured. Discharged, June 9, '65, at Annapolis, Md., by order of War Dept., expiration of service.
Smith, William A.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 27, '63, at Nicholasville, Ky.
Stone,	24	Worcester.	Aug. 9,	Discharged for disability, May 11, '64.

Marshall	34	Worcester.	'62.	Discharged for disability, May 11, '64.
Stowe, George W.	23	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 5, '64.
Taynton, Chas. H.	25	Worcester.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, sick.
Thompson, John A.	38	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 15, '64.
Twichell, Hartwell C.	38	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured at Wilderness, Va. Died, at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 21, '64.
Ward, Hiram G.	29	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 24, '63.
Ward, Israel	27	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	Promoted Corporal, Feb. 1, '64. Sergeant, Dec. 5, '64. In charge of Pioneers. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Washburn, Otis	32	Orange.	July 31, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wedge, Joseph H.	19	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, sick.
Wheelock, Calvin	40	Milford.	Aug. 18, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Whitcomb, Calvin M.	26	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Wood, Charles W.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Recruits.</i>				
Maynard, Joshua	23	Northfield.	Dec. 31, '63.	Discharged for disability, May 11, '64.
Murdock, Henry	25	Northfield.	Jan. 1, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.
Towne, Charles E.	19	Worcester.	Feb. 29, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.
Company D.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
Walker, Joseph	37	Royalston.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 29, '63.
<i>Sergeants.</i>				
Fisher, Charles B.	22	Templeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 8, '63, at Covington, Ky.
Fosket, Wellington	42	Winchendon.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 30, '62.
French, Adams E.	30	Winchendon.	July 28, '62.	Color Sergt. Died at Washington, D.C., June 17, '64, of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Stearns, John A.	20	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	See commissioned officers.
<i>Corporals.</i>				
Brooks, Stephen T.	27	Templeton.	July 25, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64, commanding company.
Buffum, Cyrus G.	28	Templeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 12, '63, at Louisville, Ky.
Doane, William C.	27	Royalston.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 22, '62.
Foster, Daniel W.	28	Athol.	July 19, '62.	Died of disease, Feb. 13, '63, at Newport News, Va.
Higley, Levi H.	24	Templeton.	July 28, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Died of disease, May 17, '64, at Annapolis, Md.
Holman, Albert G.	29	Winchendon.	July 19, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 2, '65.
Parker, Cornelius G.	30	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 5, '62, at Rectortown, Va.
Perry, Francis D.	27	Winchendon.	July 23, '62.	Promoted Sergt., Nov. 1, '62. Color-bearer. Discharged for disability, Jan. 8, '64.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Brooks, Benj. F.	18	Templeton.	July 24, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Cobleigh, Henry	18	Templeton.	July 24, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Wagoner.</i>				
Byam, Charles F.	25	Winchendon.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 18, '64.
<i>Privates.</i>				

Alger, Cyrus	30	Winchendon.	July 23, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Jan. 12, '65.
Allen, Austin E.	34	Winchendon.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Allen, Courtland A.	27	Gardner.	July 27, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Prisoner of war, May 12, '64, and escaped. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Baker, Harrison C.	18	Royalston.	July 30, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Barrus, William D.	27	Royalston.	July 30, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent; sick.
Bosworth, Henry A.	18	Winchendon.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 12, '63.
Bowker, George W.	41	Royalston.	July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 12, '65, order of War Dept.
Breen, Peter	44	Winchendon.	July 19, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Brigham, James L.	21	Templeton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Brooks, George A.	19	Templeton.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 12, '63.
Brooks, George W.	30	Winchendon.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 28, '65, at Portsmouth Grove, R. I., Gen'l Hospital.
Brown, Frederick M.	21	Winchendon.	July 28, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Buseunius, Adolphus	24	Royalston.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, March 17, '65.
Chamberlin, Stillman	23	Royalston.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Chase, Daniel W.	19	Winchendon.	July 28, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent; wounded.
Chase, George L.	24	Winchendon.	July 30, '62.	Died, June 8, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action.
Chase, William D.	29	Winchendon.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Coburn, Martin V.	24	Winchendon.	Aug. 17, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Coombs, John L.	18	Winchendon.	July 25, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Oct., '63.
Damon, Theodore F.	21	Winchendon.	July 26, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 29, '62, at Washington, D. C.
Day, James H.	30	Templeton.	July 28, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, June 10, '65, order of War Dept.
Demary, John M.	28	Winchendon.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Felch, Samuel E.	43	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 3, '62.
Fenno, Frank M.	21	Templeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Foskett, Liberty W.	22	Winchendon.	Aug. 2, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Foster, Addison	21	Gardner.	July 25, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 25, '62, at Falmouth, Va.
French, Lucius	19	Royalston.	July 22, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Frye, Benjamin A.	21	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Giles, Sanford	36	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Died, May 16, '64, of wounds received in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Gilman, Jeremiah	26	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Goddard, Augustus A.	21	Templeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 16, '64.
Godding, Edward	25	Winchendon.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hale, Livsey B.	18	Winchendon.	July 25, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Nov. 19, '64, for disability from wounds received in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '64. Discharged, July 12, '65.
Hale, Samuel B.	29	Winchendon.	Aug. 2, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.

Hare, Dennis	58	Phillipston.	July 30, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Hayden, Charles W.	19	Winchendon.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 30, '62.
Hill, Salem	41	Royalston.	July 31, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Jewett, Charles	18	Gardner.	July 31, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 25, '63.
Johnson, Chauncey N.	38	Templeton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 20, '63.
King, Eugene C.	18	Royalston.	July 24, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 23, '63, at Nicholasville, Ky.
Lund, Edwin W.	23	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Martindale, James A.	30	Templeton.	July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 11, '65, order of War Dept.
Maynard, Martin L.	20	Athol.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 4, '65.
Merrill, Oscar	19	Winchendon.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Merritt, Irving L.	20	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Brigade Postmaster. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mills, Jonathan B.	35	Athol.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 20, '64.
Partridge, Greenwood	42	Winchendon.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 11, '63.
Patterson, Stephen H.	33	Templeton.	July 21, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 18, '65.
Perley, Lewis S.	18	Gardner.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 18, '65.
Pierce, Arthur F.	25	Royalston.	July 25, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 18, '62, at Hartwood, Va.
Pierce, Franklin	20	Warwick.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 11, '62, at Falmouth, Va.
Plummer, George E.	24	Winchendon.	July 28, '62.	Killed in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '65.
Powers, Hiram E.	19	Winchendon.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 23, '63, at Covington, Ky.
Potter, Benjamin F.	33	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 21, '63.
Rich, Munroe	21	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Rich, Robert T.	45	Winchendon.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 23, '65.
Richardson, Martin W.	19	Phillipston.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 16, '62.
Russell, Henry	18	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Died, Aug. 10, '64, of wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., Aug. 8, '64.
Sawin, Emory	44	Athol.	July 21, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C.
Sawtell, Alden J.	20	Winchendon.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Sawtell, John L.	32	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 22, '62.
Sawyer, Christopher E. B.	32	Templeton.	July 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sawyer, Oscar L.	19	Phillipston.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 27, '63.
Shepardson, John	18	Royalston.	July 25, '62.	Killed in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Smith, William	40	Winchendon.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 2, '65.
Tandy, Nathan S.	18	Royalston.	July 25, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 26, '63.
Tatro, Marcus	32	Winchendon.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Turner, Ephraim, Jr.	28	Templeton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '63.
Underwood, Charles	24	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Discharged, June 8, '65. Absent, wounded.
Unham, Otis			July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 21, '65. Order of War

Upton, Ouis K.	19	Royalston.	July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 21, '63. Order of War Department.	
Upton, Julius G.	29	Templeton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Oct, 7, '63.	
Warner, Edwin T.	31	Winchendon.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Washburn, William	42	Athol.	July 21, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 5, '63, at Nicholasville, Ky.	
Wheeler, Charles	19	Templeton.	July 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wheeler, Ezra L.	39	Templeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Aug 11, '64.	
White, Asaph M.	22	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
White, Roland N.	19	Royalston.	July 21, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Died June 25, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
White, Stephen P.	33	Royalston.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died of disease, May 3, '64, at Annapolis, Md.	
Whitney, Augustus S.	18	Templeton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Whitney, Francis L.	22	Winchendon.	July 29, '62.	Died June 16, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Williams, Henry A.	35	Winchendon.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 352]
Wright, George S.	21	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
<i>Recruits.</i>					
Bruce, Robert	30	Winchendon.	Dec. 22, '63.	Prisoner of war, captured on march, May 23, '64, near North Anna river, Va. Died at Richmond, Va., June 9, '64.	
Doyle, Luke	36	Winchendon.	Dec. 29, '63.	Discharged for disability, May 30, '65.	
Long, John	38	Petersham.	Aug. 23, '64.	Discharged for disability, May 24, '65.	
Osborne, Franklin A.	37	Royalston.	Feb. 27, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Raymond, George A.	22	Royalston.	Jan. 5, '64.	Died June 4, '64, of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Renef, William	25	Gt. Barrington.	Nov. 27, '63.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Rogers, William J.	20	Athol.	Aug. 1, '64.	Enlisted for one year. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Company E.					
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>					
Tiffany, Bela B.	27	Monson.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
<i>Sergeants.</i>					
Merrick, Lucius L.	33	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Died Oct. 10, '64, of wounds received in action at Pegram Farm, Va., Sept. 30, '64.	
Snell, M. Porter	23	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, April 20, '64, for promotion, as Lieut. U. S. colored troops.	
Thompson, Azel	26	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 27, '63.	
Tupper, Henry M.	31	Monson.	July 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 17, '64.	
<i>Corporals.</i>					
Boyden, David	19	Worcester.	Aug 2, '62.	On color-guard and detached service. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Carpenter, Charles C.	20	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 26, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.	
Gilbert, Charles	20	Worcester.	Aug. 2, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C. Jan. 5, '64.	[Pg 353]
Haskell, W. James	34	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Keep, Marcus	21	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Died at Fairfax Seminary Hospital, June 9, '64, of wounds received in action, at Spottsylvania, Va., May, '64.	
Truden, John B.	19	Monson.	July 15, '62.	Transferred to Battery E, 2d U.S. Artillery, Sept. 2, '62.	
Wetherill, James A	23	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Died of disease, July 20, '63, at Brownsville, Miss.	

James A. Whitcomb, Leonard <i>Musicians.</i>	21	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 22, '62.	
Moore, Hubert O.	18	Lowell.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Strickland, L. C. <i>Teamster.</i>	18	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	See non-commissioned staff.	
Nicholas, Alvin S. <i>Privates.</i>	23	Monson.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 6, '63, at Camp Nelson, Ky.	
Aldrich, John C.	18	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Ballou, George W.	35	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 10, '63.	
Barrows, Homer A.	19	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C, April 10, '64.	
Barton, John M.	21	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, wounded.	
Beebe, Warren W.	23	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 9, '63.	
Benjamin, Cyrus M.	21	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 20, '63.	
Blanchard, Thomas	20	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, March 10, '63, for promotion as Lieut. U. S. colored troops.	
Bond, Sanford C.	25	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 30, '65.	
Bowen, Henry	32	Sturbridge.	Aug. 10, '62.	Reported as deserter, June 10, '63.	
Bumstead, George F.	18	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 354]
Burt, Geo. D.	28	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died, of disease, Sept. 4, '63, at Baltimore, Md.	
Butler, Dwight E.	20	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Chaffin, Nathan	43	Heath.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 5, '62, at Washington, D.C.	
Cheever, Moses A.	41	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 19, '64.	
Clark, Joseph V.	23	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Clough, Charles F.	18	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 4, '63.	
Clough, Gilman J.	21	Charlton.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to Battery E, 2d U.S. Artillery, Sept., '62. Discharged, Feb. 15, '64.	
Colburn, Dwight	27	Monson.	July 14, '62.	Killed in action, near Petersburg, Va., June 18, '64.	
Colegrove, George	18	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Cooper, Dearborn T.	30	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 10, '63.	
Davis, Josiah B.	22	Monson.	Aug. 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 23, '65.	
Drake, Alvarado D.	18	Upton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, April 1, '64, Covington, Ky.	
Fletcher, George F.	19	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Fowles, George	18	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Frost, Wm. S.	18	Brimfield.	Aug. 13, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Gage, Lovell L.	23	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 5, '64.	
Gallivan, Henry	18	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 15, '65, for disability.	
Gilbert, Lyman H.	25	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 6, '62.	Killed in action, at Pegram Farm, Va., Sept. 30, '64.	
Green, George M.	21	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 22, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.	
Hadley, F. Daniel	30	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 17, '65.	

Harrington, J. H.	27	Rowe.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Aug. 10, '63.
Harris, Nelson	19	Charlton.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 2, '65.
Harris, Silas M.	26	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 22, '63.
Harris, Wm. H.	40	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 19, '62.
Harwood, George W.	20	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 12, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Henry, George O.	22	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Holloway, William	40	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 14, '63.
Jackson, Charles	21	Palmer.	July 17, '62.	Died of disease, June 15, '63, at Louisville, Ky.
Jackson, Reuben	20	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Pegram Farm, Va., Oct. 4, '64. Died, at Salisbury, N. C, Nov. 26, '64.
Jenks, Frank L.	18	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, '63.
Johnson, George W.	30	Monson.	July 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 15, '65, order of War Dept. Absent, wounded.
Keyes, John.	22	Grafton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
King, Wiles A.	22	Monson.	July 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 18, '63.
King, Wm. H.	18	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Knowlton, James M.	26	Monson.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lathrop, Walter D.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lester, William	44	Monson.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Macomber, Henry	19	Oakham.	Aug. 2, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Macomber, William	18	Oakham.	Aug. 2, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Serg't. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Color-bearer from June 17, '64, to close of the war.
Mailhouse, Lewis	19	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Maynard, Solomon R.	24	Paxton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disability, Mar. 5, '63, at Newport News, Va.
McDowell, Lyman	19	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Pegram Farm, Va., Oct. 4, '64. Died at Salisbury, N. C., Feb. 1, '65.
Mitchell, Edward	42	Canton.	July 19, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 19, '62.
Morgan, Andrew J.	29	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Morgan, Romanzo A.	20	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 25, '63.
Nelson, Willard	21	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Nicholas, George H.	19	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Norbry, Edward A.	22	Sutton.	Aug. 3, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Osborn, John Ward	21	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged, June 19, '65, expiration of service, order of War Department.
Pepper, George E.	27	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Perry, Fred. L.	19	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability from wounds (right arm amputated), March 15, '65.
Powers, David A.	21	Millbury.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Powers, George H.	18	Millbury.	Aug. 2, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 2, '63, at Camp Dennison, Ohio.
Rider, Hiram	31	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 10, '63.
Rider, Hiram A.	27	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Oct. 3, '63.

Shaw, George D.	18	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 30, '65.	
Shepard, Horace C.	28	Sturbridge.	Aug. 8, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 10, '63.	
Sherman, Charles O.	18	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Stebbins, Justus	19	Monson.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Sutcliffe, Isaac	38	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 19, '63, at Cincinnati, Ohio.	
Thompson, William	44	Palmer.	July 19, '62.	Died of disease, '63, at Baltimore, Md.	
Tupper, Albert	20	Monson.	Aug. 15, '62.	Died of disease, Jan. 14, '64, at Portsmouth Grove Hospital, R. I.	
Varney, Frank	21	Millbury.	Aug. 2, '62.	Died of disease, July 29, '63, at Vicksburg, Miss.	[Pg 357]
Ward, George E.	20	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 5, '62, Worcester; not muster'd with the regiment.	
Walker, Joseph L.	38	N. Brookfield.	July 25, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Waters, Edward A.	18	Millbury.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 1, '65.	
Waters, Lyman S.	19	Millbury.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C. Jan., 1865.	
Wheelock, Joseph B.	29	N. Brookfield.	July 27, '62.	Discharged, for disability, Mar. 27, '65.	
Whitney, William F.	18	Worcester.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wilder, Wales T.	37	Ware.	July 21, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wood, Myron R.	23	Monson.	July 17, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63. Date and place of death unknown.	
<i>Recruits.</i>					
Bell, Leander	19	N. Brookfield.	April 4, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Bond, Elijah	18	Millbury.	Dec. 29, '63.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Carter, Andrew	30	Sunderland.	Aug. 22, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Davis, Wareham	37	Monson.	Feb. 15, '63.	Died of disease, July 11, '64, at Annapolis, Md.	
Holbrook, Warren C.	18	Bedford.	Aug. 20, '64.	Prisoner of war. Captured Oct. 2, '64. Died Nov. 5, '64, at Salisbury, N. C.	
Lemon, Francis L.	37	Monson.	Feb. 27, '64.	Discharged, for disability, May 12, '65.	
McManus, John	24	Palmer.	Jan. 4, '64.	Prisoner of war. Captured Oct. 2, '64. Exchanged. Died April 1, '65, at Annapolis, Md.	
Rider, William		Monson.	June 9, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Smith, William H.	18	Millbury.	Jan. 1, '64.	Died of disease, Aug. 9, '64, at Millbury, Mass.	
Warriner, Alfred E.	18	Monson.	Mar. 14, '64.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to '56th Mass. Vols.	
Waters, Trueman B.	18	Millbury.	Jan. 2, '64.	Died of disease, March 16, '64, at Camp Nelson, Ky.	[Pg 358]
Company F.					
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>					
Legg, Edwin	25	Milford.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 5, '63.	
<i>Sergeants.</i>					
Brown, George A.	38	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted 1st Sergt., discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Cheever, Nathaniel	39	Milford.	July 22, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 14, '63, at Milford, Mass.	
Hancock, Joseph	43	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Houghton, Nathan H.	38	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 30, '63.	
<i>Corporals.</i>					
Carpenter,	30	Milford.	Aug. 5,	Died of disease, Jan. 14, '63, at Milford, Mass.	

Hiram	29	Milford.	'62.	Died of disease, Jan. 14, '63, at Milford, Mass.	
Cox, Nelson	28	Milford.	July 21, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hawkins, George M.	28	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 4, '64.	
Higgins, John J.	27	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, May 16, '65.	
Littlefield, Ammiel	36	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Mascroft, Henry C.	31	Sutton.	Aug. 7, '62.	On detached duty in Quartermaster's Dept. Discharged for disability, Jan. 13, '65.	
Montague, Benj. H.	31	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged for disability from wounds, May 19, '65.	
Wright, Daniel	30	Sutton.	Aug. 6, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
<i>Musicians.</i>					
Batcheller, Lindsay J.	18	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 3, '63.	
Metcalf, Charles O.	27	Ashland.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 30, '64.	
<i>Wagoner.</i>					
Adams, Charles O.	27	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 21, '63.	[Pg 359]
<i>Privates.</i>					
Adams, Orrick H.	25	Milford.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Aldrich, Henry K.	25	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service. Absent, sick.	
Allen, Frank E.	18	Milford.	Aug. 18, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 21, '63.	
Anson, Ezekiel W.	25	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 24, '63, at Louisville, Ky.	
Balcom, Abel H.	35	Grafton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Feb. 15, '64.	
Baldwin, Albrona	26	New Salem.	Aug. 9, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.	
Bell, Frank N.	18	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Bennett, George R.	29	Sutton.	Aug. 3, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Blanding, Andrew M.	36	Oxford.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Bliss, John G.	35	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Died of disease, July 23, '63, at Milldale, Miss.	
Briggs, Charles J.	33	Sutton.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Cain, Michael	33	Milford.	July 27, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Carlton, Wm. G.	32	Milford.	July 21, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.	
Carpenter, Willard	37	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 24, '63, at Camp Dennison, Ohio.	
Cummings, Chas. S.	23	Lynn.	Aug. 27, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.	
Davis, Gaylon, Jr.	42	Milford.	July 21, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.	
Day, Usher H.	24	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Dore, John	45	Oxford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 31, '64.	
Eager, Calvin	36	Sutton.	Aug. 9, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 5, '63.	
Eames, George A.	28	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 16, '63, at Louisville, Ky.	
Eccles, Roger	39	Clinton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Petersburg, Va., '64. Died at Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 9, '65.	
Ellis, George H.	23	Milford.	Aug. 4, '62.	Killed in action, near Jackson, Miss., July 11, '63.	[Pg 360]
Ellsworth, T. Lyman	28	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	See non-commissioned staff.	
Finn, John	20	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	

			'62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Fitzgerald, Michael	26	Milford.	July 21, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Oct. 31, '63.
Frame, Henry L.	29	Lynn.	Aug. 27, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gassett, Alton G.	18	Mendon.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gleason, Jesse D.	32	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Killed in the trenches in front of Petersburg July 25, '64.
Green, Wm. S.	28	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Greenlaw, Theophilus M.	30	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 27, '63, at Knoxville, Tenn.
Greenwood, James H.	26	Milford.	July 31, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hall, John G.	20	Sutton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C.
Handly, Levi L.	26	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., April 1, '65.
Hart, Edward	18	Charlton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 15, '64.
Haynes, Walter S.	28	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 28, '63.
Howard, George S.	19	Sutton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Howard, Olevan	18	Milford.	July 28, '62.	Died of wounds received in action, near Jackson, Miss., at Cincinnati, O., Sept. 24, '63.
Howard, William H.	25	Sutton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease at Camp Dennison, Ohio, Sept. 6, '63.
Howe, Samuel G.	44	Worcester.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 28, '63.
Hoyt, Amos	20	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Killed in action, near Jackson, Miss., July 11, '63.
Hussey, George L.	28	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 15, '63.
Johnson, Isaac	27	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.
Johnson, Napoleon B.	34	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Jones, Theodore	22	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Keenan, Hugh	38	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Oct. 31, '63.
Keenan, John	19	Milford.	July 26, '62.	Killed in action, near Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Kimball, Herbert A.	18	Sutton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lapham, James M.	35	Milford.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 8, '65, order of War Dept.
Leland, Edward J.	20	Mendon.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Leyden, John	44	Milford.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Lowell, Lucius	19	Mendon.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Macy, Edward B.	19	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Nov. 23, '63.
Mann, Noyes, Jr.	29	Milford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. Died of disease, at Knoxville, Tenn., April 27, '64.
Marble, Albert A.	22	Sutton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 3, '63.
Markin, Thomas	22	Milford.	July 24, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Martin, Edwin A.	25	Oxford.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corp. Killed in action, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Maynard, George L.	20	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 23, '63.
McCarty, Dennis	18	Milford.	July 24, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mitchell, Riley	45	Milford.	July 21, '62.	Died of disease, at Alexandria, Va., Feb. 11, '63.

Moore, John, Jr.	27	Milford.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Newton, Geo. B.	24	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Penniman, Wm. C.	23	Sutton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Perham, Willis D.	18	Milford.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 15, '64.	
Perry, Enoch J.	23	Milford.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 9, '64.	
Pierce, John A.	38	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., May 30, '64.	
Roper, Francis	18	Princeton.	July 26, '62.	Died of disease, at Falmouth, Va., Jan. 18, '63.	[Pg 362]
Rose, John L.	25	Milford.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 25, '65.	
Sanderson, George P.	27	Lynn.	Aug. 27, '62.	On detached duty in hospital. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Sibley, Franklin	29	Sutton.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 19, '64.	
Simons, Anson	29	Sutton.	Aug. 3, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 16, '62.	
Smith, Chester J.	23	Oxford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died, June 3, '64, of wounds received in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Smith, James	34	Clinton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Spear, William R.	38	Milford.	July 28, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 7, '64.	
Sprague, Nathan K.	23	Milford.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Feb. 2, '64.	
Sullivan, Michael	40	Milford.	July 22, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65. expiration of service.	
Taylor, Jothan L.	25	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease at Crab Orchard, Ky., Sept. 7, '63.	
Taylor, Orren S.	18	Milford.	July 25, '62.	Died, June 23, '64, of wounds received the same day in the trenches in front of Petersburg, Va.	
Titus, John M.	24	Sutton.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Ward, Russell	25	Sutton.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 5, '63.	
Whipple, Richard M.	23	Sutton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wilson, Samuel	28	Milford.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 14, '63.	
Winch, John M.	24	Leicester.	Aug. 2, '62.	Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.	
<i>Recruits.</i>					
Ames, Frederick C.	19	Stoneham.	Jan. 27, '64.	Died, June 25, '64, of wounds received in action, June 17, '64, near Petersburg, Va.	
Bell, Edward G.	18	Milford.	Mar. 24, '64.	Promoted Corp. Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65. Discharged, July 12, '65.	
Legesay, Joseph	26	Milford.	Mar. 30, '64.	Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65. Discharged, June 22, '65, order of War Department.	[Pg 363]
Company G.					
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>					
Cooper, Alexander	37	Warwick.	July 22, '62.	Discharged, Oct. 9, '64, for disability from wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., June 18, '64.	
<i>Sergeants.</i>					
Davidson, Alonzo S.	22	Clinton.	Aug. 11, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Horton, William H.	35	Berlin.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service as 1st Sergeant.	
King, William H.	20	Berlin.	July 18, '62.	Promoted 1st Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Partridge, Daniel W.	38	Princeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
<i>Corporals.</i>					
Boynton, Alonzo P.	40	Clinton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 28, '63.	
Davis,	34	Holden.	Aug. 16,	Promoted Sergt. and acting 1st Sergt. Wounded at Campbell's Station, Tenn. Nov. 16, '63. Discharged	

George D.	34	Holden.	'62.	Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 10, '63. Discharged for disability, May 25, '65, order of War Department.
Houghton, Ephraim W.	38	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Aug. 8, '64. Wounded in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63, while carrying the State color.
Lesure, Lovell A.	35	West Boylston.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 18, '65, order of War Department.
Mower, Livingston	27	Charlton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Sergt. and 1st Sergt. Died, June 24, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Olcott, Hiram W.	21	Clinton.	Aug. 3, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Perry, George W.	40	Clinton.	Aug. 10, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 13, '62, at Warrenton, Va.
Underwood, Sylvester T.	37	Warwick.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 28, '63.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Gardner, John	18	Worcester.	Aug. 15, '62.	See non-commissioned staff.
Rogers, Winslow B.	37	Holden.	Aug. 12, '62.	Died of disease, July 25, '63, at Vicksburg, Miss.
<i>Wagoner.</i>				
Hubbard, Stephen N.	38	Holden.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Privates.</i>				
Adams, Andrew	25	Millbury.	Aug. 15, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Aldrich, Hezekiah	23	Charlton.	Aug. 2, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died at Andersonville, Ga., July 30, '64.
Alexander, George E.	33	Uxbridge.	Aug. 14, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 18, '62.
Allen, Edmund M.	23	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died, Oct. 28, '63, at Knoxville, Tenn.
Bacon, William K.	27	Millbury.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 9, '63.
Beers, James A.	24	Charlton.	July 28, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 15, '64.
Bemis, Daniel H.	30	Clinton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 9, '63.
Bigelow, Abram G.	34	Princeton.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 20, '63.
Blandin, Warren F.	25	Oxford.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bridge, Jesse F.	35	Warwick.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 13, '64.
Burns, Martin F.	25	Clinton.	Aug. 20, '62.	Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
Chenery, Frank A.	23	Clinton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Killed in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '65.
Cobb, George B.	18	Warwick.	July 29, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 10, '63.
Coleman, John	29	Marlborough.	July 25, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 16, '63.
Comins, Lewis B.	29	Charlton.	Aug. 2, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Coughlin, Frank	34	Worcester.	Aug. 10, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 9, '63.
Cowan, Jason B.	21	Prescott.	Aug. 3, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Daniels, Sylvester A.	28	Millbury.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 13, '63.
Dorrison, Oscar A.	20	Clinton.	Aug. 12, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Dunn, William A.	18	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Killed in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Emerson, John S.	25	Millbury.	July 25, '62.	Died, June 6, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Engly, Davis B.	31	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Farmer, Nahum H.	19	Harvard.	Aug. 14, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Farnsworth.	33	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 18, '65, order of War Department.

John	36	Warwick.	'62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Mar. 31, '64.
Fay, John	22	Clinton.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Fay, Myron H.	18	Princeton.	Aug. 26, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 9, '63, at New Madrid, Mo.
Field, Lucius	22	Clinton.	Aug. 18, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Fisher, Abial	18	Clinton.	Aug. 18, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Flagg, Fred E.	18	Clinton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Blain's Cross Roads, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died at Belle Isle, Richmond, Va., March, '64.
Flagg, Frederick	40	Clinton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Fletcher, Andrew B.	18	Charlton.	Aug. 3, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Flynn, Charles	26	Milford.	Aug. 4, '62.	Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
Frazer, Peter	43	Oxford.	Aug. 14, '62.	Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
Fuller, Horace	33	Auburn.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gifford, Henry A.	41	Clinton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gill, Emory W.	27	Princeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gillespie, Michael	22	Charlton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 27, '63.
Gillespie, Patrick	21	Charlton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 28, '64.
Goodwin, Ebenezer	26	Warwick.	July 22, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 21, '64.
Grimley, Henry	30	Oxford.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 20, '63.
Hall, William H.	19	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Haskell, Joseph F.	20	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died, June 10, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Hastings, Lyman H.	21	Clinton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Jan. 16, '63, at Falmouth, Va.
Hastings, William A.	20	Clinton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Haven, George F.	18	Brookfield.	July 25, '62.	Killed in action at Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 29, '63.
Hawks, Almon	44	Heath.	July 22, '62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 2, '63.
Houghton, Alfred E.	26	Warwick.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to Second U.S. Cavalry, Dec. 27, '62.
Hubbard, Calvin	44	Holden.	Aug. 17, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured near Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died at Richmond, Va., Feb. 26, '63.
Jennison, R. B.	20	Auburn.	Aug. 4, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured Dec. 15, '63, near Blain's Cross Roads, Tenn. Died at Richmond, Va., Mar. 10, '64.
Jesman, William	26	Oxford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
Jewett, George H.	24	Clinton.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 28, '63.
Kelley, Daniel S.	33	Princeton.	July 25, '62.	Died May 21, '64, at Fredericksburg, Va., of wounds received in action at the Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Leavitt, Sullivan	34	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 12, '62.
Lincoln, George W.	39	Princeton.	Aug. 22, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Nov. 10, '63.
Martin, Michael	25	Clinton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
McGee, Patrick	36	Clinton.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 13, '63.
McGrath, Henry	25	Clinton.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 10, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
McInstrv.			Aug. 9,	Prisoner of war. Captured near Blain's Cross Roads,

Van Buren	22	Charlton.	'62.	Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died at Andersonville, Ga., Feb. 15, '64.
Merriam, John N.	23	Princeton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 16, '64.
Miner, Dwight	18	Clinton.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Mar. 19, '64.
Moore, Andrew	26	Charlton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Killed in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Morgan, James A.	20	Clinton.	Aug. 14, '62.	On special duty at Division Head-quarters. Discharged, June 8 '65, expiration of service.
Nelson, Lafayette	35	Warwick.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 22, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
Oakes, David J.	27	Prescott.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Palmer, Edward	19	Clinton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 28, '65, order of War Department.
Partridge, Lyman F.	34	Princeton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Serg't. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Phelps, George T.	20	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Priest, Charles W.	25	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Ray, Daniel H.	29	Sutton.	Aug. 4, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 12, '62.
Rich, Alonzo G.	18	Charlton.	July 28, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Salmon, Hugh	40	Uxbridge.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 10, '64.
Sawyer, Samuel	44	Millbury.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Smith, Thorret	43	Holden.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Stacy, Edward W.	20	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Taylor, Amos A.	18	Warwick.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 6, '63.
Vaughn, Marcus E.	21	Prescott.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 18, '63.
Vibert, Hiram	21	Worcester.	Aug. 4, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 2, '62. Did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
Wheeler, James	24	Fitchburg.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Williams, Joseph A.	19	Warwick.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Winchester, Emory	24	Sterling.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 25, '65, order of War Department.
Wood, Benjamin L.	37	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Worcester, George H.	20	Harvard.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 28, '64.
<i>Recruits.</i>				
Clifford, William	45	Lawrence.	June 9, '64.	Transferred June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.
Dadman, James F.	24	Harvard.	Dec. 8, '63.	Transferred June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.
Davidson, Lucius D.	18	Sterling.	Dec. 26, '63.	Died of disease, Mar. 28, '64, at Covington, Ky.
Elliott, Estes E.	21	Shirley.	Jan. 4, '64.	Died June 23, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Fisher, Francis H.	26	Berlin.	Oct. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Dec., '63. Discharged, May 16, '65.
Hall, Henry M.	44	Harvard.	Dec. 7, '63.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.
Haynes, John C.	29	Lancaster.	Jan. 2, '64.	Died of disease, Mar. 19, '64, at Camp Nelson, Ky.
Patrick, G. Henry	21	Worcester.	Oct. 14, '64.	Promoted Corporal. Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols., June 8, '65. Discharged, Aug. 7, '65, by order of War Department.
Company H.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
Fisher,	24	Worcester.	Aug. 10,	Transferred to V.R.C., March 2, '64. Commissioned

Theodore W. <i>Sergeants.</i>	24	Northfield.	'62.	1st Lieut. 62d Mass. Vols. April, 26, '65. Discharged by expiration of term of service, May 5, '65.	[Pg 369]
Miller, J. Hervey	30	Westminster.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged Nov. 7, '64, for disability from wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Perley, George A.	31	Gardner.	Aug. 8, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Whitney, Asaph B.	45	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 1, '65. Order of War Department.	
Woodward, Philip G. <i>Corporals.</i>	25	Orange.	Aug. 6, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Fisher, John A., Jr.	30	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged for disability, Nov. 7, '64.	
Greenwood, Marston D.	21	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 18, '63.	
Hadley, Henry	26	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 4, '63.	
Howard, Marcus M.	22	Orange.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Howard, William	26	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Mayo, Henry H.	21	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Pierce, Jerome	31	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Sergt. Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.	
Sawin, Farwell	31	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 9, '63, at Vicksburg, Miss.	
<i>Musicians.</i>					
Goodspeed, Thomas	21	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 1, '63, by reason of death of both his parents.	
Perley, L. Alonzo	21	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 19, '63, at Mound City, Illinois.	
<i>Wagoner.</i>					
Newton, Sewell D.	23	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 18, '65.	
<i>Privates.</i>					
Atherton, Amos B.	21	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 15, '65.	
Baker, Joel V.	21	Westminster.	Aug. 12, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 370]
Ballou, Ebenezer	42	Gardner.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 5, '63.	
Barnes, George W.	21	Westminster.	July 21, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 5, '63.	
Bishop, David N.	45	Gardner.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 2, '63.	
Bliss, Augustus E.	18	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, July 24, '63, at Milldale, Miss.	
Boyden, Henry	26	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 15, '63, at Vicksburg, Miss.	
Boyden, Loren C.	37	Northfield.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, Sept. 6, '63.	
Briggs, Waldo W.	28	Orange.	July 26, '62.	Prisoner of war. Died at Andersonville, Ga., May 10, '64.	
Buxton, Charles W.	18	Phillipston.	Aug. 19, '62.	Died of disease, July 23, '63, at Milldale, Miss.	
Chamberlain, Warren E.	23	Athol.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 12, '63.	
Clapp, Asahel	44	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died of disease, July 20, '63, at Clinton, Miss.	
Clark, George	30	Northfield.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan. 17, '63.	
Colburn, Augustus F.	21	Gardner.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Feb. 6, '65.	
Cruse, William H.	19	Westminster.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 13, '65.	
Cutting, Henry J.	26	Fitchburg.	Aug. 12, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 9, '63, Knoxville, Tenn.	
Cutting, Nathan F.	26	Westfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.	

Drury, Lyman M.	19	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Dutton, Samuel D.	25	Northfield.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Fisher, Charles D.	26	Athol.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 18, '63.	
Fisher, George A.	22	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Flint, Edward A.	24	Fitchburg.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Foskett, Albert	22	Orange.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 25, '65.	
Foster, Josiah	39	Westminster.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died, Oct. 4, '64, of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	[Pg 371]
Gilbert, Charles	32	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Died, July 9, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in the trenches near Petersburg, Va., June 27, '64.	
Goddard, Artemus W.	23	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 5, 1864.	
Goddard, William H.	21	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 17, '63, at Louisville, Ky.	
Gurrell, Wm.	18	Westminster.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Harris, Caleb C.	18	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died, Oct. 3, '64, of wounds received in action at Pegram Farm, Va., Sept. 30, '64.	
Harris, Joseph A.	28	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hastings, Elias O.	32	Princeton.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hayward, Joseph F.	24	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hills, James E.	20	Orange.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hobbie, John D.	18	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hodgman, Eugene W.	18	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 18, '64, at Washington, D.C.	
Holden, Jason C.	19	Gardner.	July 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Holton, Eugene D.	19	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, April 16, '64, at Camp Nelson, Ky.	
Howe, Wm. L.	23	Southfield.	Aug. 4, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
Jacobs, Herbert L. P.	19	Gardner.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Kelton, Charles O.	18	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Learned, Frank S.	18	Ashburnham.	Aug. 19, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Mellen, Jonathan W.	37	Orange.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 8, '63.	
Merrill, Henry S.	18	Athol.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Merrill, J. Arnold	19	Athol.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corp. and Sergt. Discharged for disability from wounds, Nov. 7, '64.	[Pg 372]
Miller, George W.	27	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died of disease, April 17, '63, at Baltimore, Md.	
Moore, Sumner	28	Orange.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Mossman, Austin	26	Westminster.	Aug. 18, '61.	Transferred to V.R.C., Nov. —, '64.	
Nichols, George B.	21	Gardner.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Parish, George F.	43	Gardner.	July 25, '62.	See non-commissioned staff.	
Perry, Charles M.	25	Templeton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, July 30, '63.	
Perry, Wm. H.	19	Phillipston.	Aug. 18, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Pierce, Joseph H.	18	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured at Pegram Farm, Sept. 30, '64. Exchanged. Discharged, June 21, '65.	
Pierce.			Aug. 11.		

Nelson P.	23	Westminster.	'62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Pratt, John W.	20	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Oct. 18, '64.
Pratt, Wm. H.	36	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 6, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
Reed, George W.	24	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Reed, Luther P.	26	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Remington, Dyer O.	34	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Rich, Joshua	32	Athol.	Aug. 5, '62.	Killed in action at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Rich, Osgood	25	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 23, '64.
Rugg, Wm. B.	40	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 26, '63.
Saunders, B. Frank	40	Gardner.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sawin, Harrison P.	21	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. 24, '62, at Knoxville, Md.
Seaver, Edward A.	18	Westminster.	Aug. 14, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 24, '63.
Smith, Daniel J.	37	Gardner.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 1, '63.
Smith, William N.	20	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Stevens, Edwin	39	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Killed in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63.
Stone, Elliott D.	28	Northfield.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Stone, John D.	24	Northfield.	Aug. 9, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 15, '64.
Thomas, Samuel	21	Barre.	July 29, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63. Died in captivity. Date and place unknown.
Turner, Frank H.	30	Northfield.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 20, '63.
Underwood, Samuel L.	20	Orange.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 30, '62.
Wallace, Franklin	33	Gardner.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Ward, Edmund S.	25	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died, June 18, '64, of wounds received in action near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Ward, Nathan W.	19	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 21, '63, at Knoxville, Tenn.
Wetherbee, Henry W.	23	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, Sept. 27, '64.
Winslow, Lewis D.	23	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 18, '62.	Killed in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.
Wood, Alden B.	37	Gardner.	Aug. 9, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C. Discharged, Nov. 10, '65.
Woodward, Hiram C.	40	Orange.	July 31, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 10, '63, at Camp Dennison, Ohio.
Woodward, Horace S.	42	Westminster.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died of disease, Oct. 19, '63, at Knoxville, Tenn.
Woodward, Warner C.	27	Orange.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
Young, Edward O.	18	Westminster.	Aug. 11, '62.	Died, May 14, '64, at Fredericksburg, Va., of wounds received in action at the Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
<i>Recruits.</i>				
Cochrane, John	16	Phillipston.	Mar. 21, '65.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vol.
Grafton, George	16	Phillipston.	Mar. 18, '65.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vol.
Company I.				
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>				
White, Alonzo A.	29	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	See commissioned officers.
<i>Sergeants.</i>				
Arnold.	--		Aug. 2.	

Russell	37	Oxford.	'62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Howe, Rufus	24	Marlborough.	Aug. 1, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Moore, Henry S.	27	Marlborough.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 1, '65, for disability, by order of War Dept.
Sprague, George W.	38	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 21, '64.
<i>Corporals.</i>				
Arnold, Savillion	22	Marlborough.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Chamberlain, Spencer C.	23	Berlin.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 22, '65. Order War Dept.
Houghton, Andrew J.	26	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Russell, John	32	Marlborough.	Aug. 1, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Discharged for disability, Nov. 11, '64.
Snow, Ansel L.	31	Berlin.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Southland, Judson	28	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Thompson, Samuel C.	22	Uxbridge.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Jan. 29, '64, at Portsmouth Grove Hospital, R.I.
Williams, Aaron M.	33	Uxbridge.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Houghton, Nathaniel J.	18	Clinton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Sawyer, Oliver	32	Berlin.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
<i>Wagoner.</i>				
Kimball, Joseph E.	35	Berlin.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability. Date unknown.
<i>Privates.</i>				
Adams, Charles B.	28	Worcester.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Allen, Nathan M.	31	Berlin.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., March 17, '64.
Bailey, William H.	38	Upton.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bardwell, George W.	30	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died, May 10, '64, at Fredericksburg, Va., of wounds received in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Barnard, Benjamin	40	Marlborough.	July 31, '62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 13, '63.
Barnes, Edwin	25	Bolton.	July 16, '62.	Died, Feb. 9, 1865, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in front of Fort Rice, Petersburg, Va., Dec. 29, '64.
Barry, James H.	18	Berlin.	July 12, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Killed in the trenches, near Petersburg, Va., July 1, '64.
Bartlett, Henry	21	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bartlett, Theodore H.	18	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Batchelder, Arthur B.	25	W. Boylston.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bates, Junius D.	21	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 20, '63.
Bean, Hiram P.	21	Marlborough.	Aug. 13, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 23, '65.
Bellows, Julius N.	26	Oxford.	Aug. 5, '62.	Died of wounds received in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.
Bigelow, Edwin J.	18	Berlin.	July 11, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 21, '63.
Bigelow, Solomon S.	40	Worcester.	Aug. 5, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 25, '63, at Nicholasville, Ky.
Bolton, Henry E.	27	W. Boylston.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bosworth, John A.	28	Upton.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Bowers, George H.	34	Shrewsbury.	Aug. 12, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 21, '63, at Camp Dennison, Ohio.
Brown, Josiah	20	Oxford.	Aug. 1,	Died of disease, July 26, '62, at Middle, Miss.

G.	39	Oxford.	'62.	Died of disease, July 20, '63, at Milldale, Miss.	
Brown, Nelson H.	18	Upton.	Aug. 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Brown, Oscar H.	20	Oxford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Aug. 3, '64.	
Brown, William N.	26	W. Boylston.	Aug. 8, '62.	Reported as a deserter, May 26, '63.	
Carter, George I.	18	Berlin.	July 24, '62.	Wounded, and captured in action, at Pegram Farm, Va., Sept. 30, '64; died at Petersburg, Va., same day.	
Carter, Israel F.	23	Berlin.	July 22, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 376]
Chamberlain, Lorenzo S.	29	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, Feb. 28, '64, at Knoxville, Tenn.	
Chamberlain, Orra	18	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Feb. 26, '64.	
Chase, Harvey J.	22	Berlin.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service; absent, sick.	
Childs, Daniel V.	23	Oxford.	Aug. 2, '62.	Killed in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Childs, Jacob L.	18	Oxford.	Aug. 2, '62.	Died of disease, April 4, '64, at Covington, Ky.	
Clafin, Myron W.	24	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, Mar. 28, '64.	
Clapp, Reuben L.	18	Stow.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., April 1, '65.	
Coburn, William H.	20	Berlin.	July 7, '62.	Died, Sept. 18, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at the Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64. On detached service in Provost-Marshall's Dep., Kentucky. Discharged Aug. 26, '65, expiration of service, having served three years, and was the last man mustered out of the regiment.	
Cole, George O.	18	Marlborough.	July 27, '62.		
Crocker, Ezra	41	Bolton.	July 27, '62.	Died, Dec. 10, '63, of disease, at Knoxville, Tenn.	
Crossman, John F.	19	Berlin.	July 26, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service; absent, sick.	
Crouch, Elathan	22	Marlborough.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 5, '63.	
Davenport, William	32	Upton.	July 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 16, '63.	
Farnsworth, Franklin	23	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Died, May 23, '64, at Fredericksburg, Va., of wounds received in action, at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.	
Fletcher, Francis	20	Sutton.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Dec. 8, '62, at Falmouth, Va.	
Fletcher, George F.	20	Berlin.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 377]
Florence, William	21	Berlin.	July 25, '62.	Died of disease, Mar. 5, '63, at Falmouth, Va.	
Goddard, Silas E.	20	Berlin.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 10, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.	
Goodnow, James H.	34	Marlborough.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Gould, William	37	Uxbridge.	Aug. 2, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hall, Benjamin	35	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Hall, Hezekiah	30	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died, July 26, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received June 24, '64, in the trenches in front of Petersburg, Va.	
Hall, William	28	Upton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C. Discharged, Aug. 27, '65.	
Hill, Ezra J.	22	Uxbridge.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.	
Holt, Oscar W.	19	Berlin.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Houghton, Josiah	18	Bolton.	July 28, '62.	Died, May 8, '64, en route to Fredericksburg, Va., of wounds received in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Howe, Charles H.	18	Clinton.	Aug. 15, '62.	Prisoner of war, captured, near Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63. Died, Aug. 27, '64, at Andersonville, Ga.	
Johnson			Aug. 8		

Johnson, Alvah H.	33	Upton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 5, '65.	
Lawrence, Henry	22	Harvard.	July 21, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 4, '63.	
Lavin, Luke	34	Upton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.	
Leighton, Hazen D.	18	Upton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C, Sept. 4, '64.	
Magee, Johnson	21	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 26, '63.	
Marble, Truman	21	Blackstone.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 7, '65.	
Martin, John T.	19	Berlin.	July 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Maynard, Emory T.	19	Berlin.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.	
McGrath, John	22	Upton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	[Pg 378]
Moore, Hopkins E.	25	Marlborough.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability.	
Mundell, George H.	29	Marlborough.	Aug. 7, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 5, '63, on board steamer "Hiawatha," en route from Vicksburg, Miss., to Cairo, Ill.	
Nourse, George	18	Marlborough.	Aug. 2, '62.	Killed in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Patten, Isaac R.	21	Upton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Killed in action, at Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.	
Perham, Lysander M.	27	Upton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, June 3, '65, order of War Dept.	
Richardson, Aaron M.	40	Auburn.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Roberts, James H.	32	Marlborough.	July 27, '62.	Supposed killed in action, at Spottsylvania, Va., May 16, '64.	
Rogers, Stephen S.	22	Upton.	Aug. 5, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Discharged June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Sawyer, George F.	39	Bolton.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Scarborough, Elias	29	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corp. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Seagrave, Clinton	23	Uxbridge.	Aug. 7, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C. Discharged, July 5, '65.	
Slocum, Erastus B.	32	Uxbridge.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 5, '63.	
Thomas, George H.	38	Bolton.	July 25, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
True, George S.	24	Marlborough.	July 25, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 12, '63.	
Wetherbee, Asahel C.	24	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, June 17, '65.	
Wetherbee, Henry M.	18	Bolton.	July 22, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wetherbee, Reuben L.	42	Bolton.	July 24, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 28, '65.	
Willis, George L.	37	Bolton.	July 27, '62.	Discharged for disability, Nov. 17, '63.	
Wheeler, Charles H.	19	Uxbridge.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wilson, Watson	20	Boylston.	July 22, '62.	Died, June 28, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	[Pg 379]
Woodbury, Elijah	38	Bolton.	July 23, '62.	Killed in action, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '63.	
Wood, George A.	22	Upton.	July 28, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 21, '64.	
Company K.					
<i>1st Sergeant.</i>					
Fairbank, John B.	23	Oakham.	Aug. 11, '62.	See commissioned officers.	
<i>Sergeants.</i>					
Duncan, George H.	40	Ashburnham.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 31, '65, order of War Department.	
Fish, Charles I.	22	Ashburnham.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, May 19, '65, order of War Department.	

Howell, Silas, Jr.	23	Oakham.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, June 22, '65, order of War Department.
Moore, Harlan P.	22	Holden.	July 28, '62.	Died of disease, March 1, '64, at Camp Nelson, Ky.
Putnam, Joseph D.	18	Warwick.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability.
<i>Corporals.</i>				
Avery, Charles B.	26	Holyoke.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Sergeant and First Sergeant. Died July 7, '64, at Washington, D. C, of wounds received in action, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
Cross, Allen W.	26	Westborough.	Aug. 7, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Green, Francis A.	40	Greenwich.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, Dec. 23, '64.
Harty, John B.	18	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability.
Lansey, Eli S.	30	Lunenburg.	Aug. 8, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C.
McDonough, Charles E.	19	Rutland.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 18, '63.
Metcalf, Otis	45	Ashburnham.	Aug. 5, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., April 18, '65.
Wright, Joseph W.	28	Holyoke.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Sergeant. Discharged for disability, Dec. 23, '64.
<i>Musicians.</i>				
Howe, Edson H.	44	Rutland.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to Band of 2d Division, 9th A. C, Nov. 1, '63.
Merrill, George H.	37	Lunenburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 9, '65, order of War Department.
<i>Privates.</i>				
Allard, Charles W.	26	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 15, '62, at Worcester, Mass.
Arley, Doctor	28	Northborough.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged for disability. Date not given.
Baxter, Adam	19	Fitchburg.	July 17, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept, 18, '62.
Biron, Frederick	19	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Died, Jan. 11, '64, at Knoxville, Tenn., of wounds received in action, at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63.
Blake, John H.	26	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Burton, Daniel A.	23	Douglas.	Aug. 12, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Died, Oct. 19, '64, of wounds received in action at Pegram Farm, Oct. 2, '64.
Butters, Henry W.	18	Fitchburg.	July 28, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged for disability.
Callihan, James	26	Fitchburg.	July 23, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 9, '63.
Callihan, Patrick	40	Douglas.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 19, '63.
Chamberlain, Edward	20	Oakham.	Aug. 4, '62.	See commissioned officers.
Chamberlain, Orrin S.	22	Fitchburg.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 14, '63.
Chamberlain, Silas L.	24	Fitchburg.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, May 29, '65.
Chapman, Leonard A.	25	Douglas.	Aug. 10, '62.	Killed in the trenches in front of Petersburg, Va., July 18, '64.
Cosgraves, Michael	30	Blackstone.	Aug. 9, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Cummings, James B.	18	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 16, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Cummings, John A.	37	Paxton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Discharged for disability, Dec. 27, '64.
Cutting, Samuel, Jr.	32	Northfield.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Dean, Daniel W.	19	Braintree.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, Nov. __, '62.
Dean, Seth	24	Braintree.	Aug. 8, '62.	Died of disease, Jan. 27, '63.
Dewing,			Aug. 9,	

Charles P.	26	Worcester.	'62.	Reported as a deserter, April 16, '63.
Doyle, John	45	Athol.	July 19, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured, Sept. 30, '64. Discharged for disability, June 22, '65, order of War Department.
Finney, John L.	29	Ashburnham.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, Jan. 13, '65.
Flynn, John	26	Fitchburg.	July 25, '62.	Died, June 5, '64, of wounds received in action at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '65.
Foley, James O.	24	Greenwich.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergeant. Discharged for disability, Nov. 11, '64.
Freeman, Elias H.	29	Douglas.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Foster, George W.	18	Fitchburg.	July 23, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C.
Gale, Chester B.	30	Ashburnham.	Aug. 15, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Gillis, James	44	Fitchburg.	July 12, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Graves, Henry E.	32	Marlborough.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Greenwood, Charles O.	23	Webster.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Griswold, William W.	44	Fitchburg.	July 26, '62.	Discharged for disability, Jan., '62.
Gould, Moses	35	Milford.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Hair, Addison S.	32	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 6, '62.	On detached service. Discharged, June 16, '65, expiration of service, order War Dept.
Harrigan, Jeremiah	16	Fitchburg.	Aug. 6, '62.	Died, July 19, '64, of wounds received in the trenches near Petersburg, Va., July 17, '64.
Haskell, Charles L.	42	Oakham.	July 27, '62.	Mortally wounded in action, near Petersburg, Va., April 2, '65, and died same day.
Hoffman, Max	22	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Promoted Corp. Killed in action, near Petersburg, Va., June 17, '64.
Hudson, Matthew	21	Douglas.	Aug. 20, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured in action, at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64. Died at Florence, S.C., Nov. 23, '64.
Johnson, James D.	28	Oakham.	Aug. 12, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., July 7, '63.
Joice, Bartholomew.	39	Fitchburg.	Aug. 16, '62.	Reported as a deserter, June 9, '63.
Joice, David	28	Fitchburg.	July 23, '62.	Reported as a deserter from General Hospital, May 20, '63.
Keyes, Joel	22	Deerfield.	Aug. 13, '62.	Discharged for disability, Feb. 11, '63.
King, Daniel	19	Fitchburg.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to Battery E, Second U.S. Artillery, Sept., '62.
Lahee, Jeremiah	21	Lenox.	July 29, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., July 1, '63.
Larby, Mitchell	23	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 12, '62.
Lawrence, John C.	26	Ashburnham.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Malendy, Alphonso H.	20	Deerfield.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Dec. '20, '64.
Mandell, Algernon S.	42	Heath.	Aug. 1, '62.	Discharged for disability from wounds, June 8, '65.
McCarty, Edward	19	Gardner.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., July 1, '63.
Merriam, Edward B.	21	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., and discharged, July 5, '65.
Morey, William	19	Douglas.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.
Mullen, Dennis	27	Millbury.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to Battery E, Second U.S. Artillery, Sept., '62.
Murphy, Dennis	28	Ashburnham.	Aug. 1, '62.	Transferred to Battery E, Second U.S. Artillery, Oct., '62.
Murphy, Morris	30	Fitchburg.	July 26, '62.	Reported as a deserter.
Nickerson, Cyrus W.	36	Ashburnham.	Aug. 11, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.

Oakes, Joseph Parker, George	18	Ashburnham.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, June 8, '65.	
	42	Princeton.	Aug. 14, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Sept. 1, '63.	
Pellet, Lewis	38	Oakham.	Aug. 4, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Rawson, Daniel, Jr.	38	Oakham.	Aug. 4, '62.	Died of disease, Aug. 4, '63, at Baltimore, Md.	
Reed, B. Miles	28	Oakham.	Aug. 12, '62.	Died, Jan. 17, '64, at Knoxville, Tenn., of wounds received in action, at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63.	
Rice, John	38	Westborough.	Aug. 18, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C., Jan. 3, '63.	[Pg 383]
Ryan, Thomas H.	19	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 31, '63.	
Sampson, George D.	18	Holyoke.	Aug. 7, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Sherbert, Charles	36	Ashburnham.	Aug. 6, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Aug. 20, '63.	
Sibley, Edward	29	Ashburnham.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged for disability, April 12, '65.	
Smith, Albert C.	22	Fitchburg.	Aug. 13, '62.	Died, July 10, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.	
Smith, Silas W.	26	Grafton.	Aug. 8, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergt. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Spaulding, Charles H.	21	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Reported as a deserter, Sept. 20, '63.	
Spooner, Edwin C.	38	Oakham.	July 30, '62.	Discharged for disability, March 25, '65.	
Stearns, Charles H.	26	Oakham.	Aug. 15, '62.	Died of disease, Sept. 15, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.	
Stevens, Joseph H.	26	Greenwich.	Aug. 4, '62.	Promoted Corporal and Sergt., color-bearer. Discharged for disability from wounds, Nov. 11, '64.	
Stevens, Robert	41	Leominster.	July 14, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Thompson, Alvin M.	39	N. Brookfield.	Aug. 11, '62.	Prisoner of war. Captured at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, '63. Died at Belle Isle, Richmond, Va.	
Tighe, John	32	Fitchburg.	Aug. 20, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service	
Vaughn, Sam'l Gardner	32	Lunenburg.	Aug. 24, '62.	Died, May 29, '64, at Washington, D.C., of wounds received in action at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64	
Ware, William	34	Paxton.	Aug. 7, '62.	Transferred to V.R.C.	
Washburn, Ostenello	19	Holyoke.	Aug. 5, '62.	See non-commissioned staff.	
Webster, George	28	Northfield.	Aug. 8, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wilder, Albert G.	22	Braintree.	Aug. 11, '62.	Promoted Corporal. Transferred to V.R.C., May 31, '64.	[Pg 384]
Wilson, Hiram	33	Uxbridge.	Aug. 22, '62.	Reported as a deserter, May, '63.	
Woodside, Samuel	42	Westboro'.	Aug. 5, '62.	Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	
Wyman, Asa	43	Athol.	July 21, '62.	Died of disease, May 7, '64.	
<i>Recruits.</i>					
Corey, Edward B.	19	Worcester.	Mar. 20, '65.	Transferred, June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Noi, Henry	18	Millbury.	Jan. 5, '64.	Transferred June 8, '65, to 56th Mass. Vols.	
Oliver, Sylvester F.	22	Ashburnham.	Jan. 5, '64.	Died of disease, Jan. 29, '65.	
Parker, Leonard H.	21	Lancaster.	Dec. 29, '63.	Unassigned recruit. Discharged, June 8, '65, expiration of service.	

RECAPITULATION.

Total number on the rolls of the regiment, including recruits, musicians, and all non-combatants:

Commissioned officers (including 10 of 21st Mass.)	77
Enlisted men	1,031
CASUALTIES IN THE SERVICE.	
<i>Killed and died of wounds in battle,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	5
Enlisted men	102
<i>Died of disease,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	3
Enlisted men	115
<i>Died in captivity,—</i>	
Enlisted men	25
<i>Discharged or transferred to V.R.C. for disability,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	9
Enlisted men	360
<i>Deserted,—</i>	
Enlisted men	37
<i>Transferred to Regular Army and Navy,—</i>	
Enlisted men	6
<i>Transferred to 56th Mass. Vols. (Recruits),—</i>	
Enlisted men	27
<i>Transferred to Band, Second Division, 9th A. C.,—</i>	
Enlisted men	1
<i>By special order War Department,—</i>	
Enlisted men	1
<i>Discharged for promotion,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	2
Enlisted men	35
<i>Resigned,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	15
<i>Honorably discharged,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	2
<i>Discharged, expiration of service,—</i>	
Commissioned officers	41
Enlisted men	322

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The number of deserters includes six who deserted at Worcester before the regiment left that city, and six others before it reached the seat of war,—reducing the number of desertions from the regiment while in the service to twenty-five.

The loss in the Thirty-sixth Regiment during its term of service, by deaths on the field and of wounds received in battle, and of disease contracted in the service, was twenty and one-half per cent. of the total number enrolled.

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NAMES OF ENLISTED MEN WHO DIED IN REBEL PRISONS.

It is impossible to ascertain the names of all the members of the regiment who were captured by the enemy and held as prisoners of war during the regiment's term of service; but the following is believed to be a complete list of those who died during their captivity:—

Company A.		
Augustus Petts	Andersonville	Aug. 12, 1864.
Alfred S. Tucker	Salisbury, N.C.	Feb., 1865.
Company B.		
Wm. F. Walden	Andersonville	Aug. 29, 1864.
Company C.		
Sergeant Chas. H. Boswell	Belle Isle, Richmond, Va.	Feb. 15, 1864.
Daniel H. Park	Andersonville	May 13, 1864.
Lucius A. Reynolds	Andersonville	July 7, 1864.
Frederick Ruth	Andersonville	Aug. 17, 1864.
Hartwell C. Twichell	Andersonville	Aug. 21, 1864.
Company D.		
Robert Bruce	Richmond, Va.	June 9, 1864.
Company E.		
Warren C. Holbrook	Salisbury, N.C.	Nov. 5, 1864.
Reuben Jackson	Salisbury, N.C.	Nov. 26, 1864.
Lyman McDowell	Salisbury, N.C.	Feb. 1, 1865.
Myron R. Wood,	date and place of death unknown.	
Company F.		
Roger Eccles	Salisbury, N.C.	Jan. 9, 1865.
Company G.		
Hezekiah Aldrich	Andersonville	July 30, 1864.
Frederick E. Flagg	Belle Isle, Richmond, Va.	March, 1864.
Patrick Gillespie	Andersonville	Aug. 28, 1864.
Calvin Hubbard	Richmond, Va.	Feb. 26, 1864.
R. B. Jennison	Richmond, Va.	Mar. 10, 1864.
Van Buren McInstry	Andersonville	Feb. 15, 1864.
Company H.		
Waldo W. Briggs	Andersonville	May 10, 1864.
Samuel Thomas	Captured at Campbell's Station, Tenn. Nov. 16, 1863.	
	Date and place of death unknown.	
Company I.		
Charles H. Howe	Andersonville	Aug. 27, 1864.
Company K.		
Matthew Hudson	Florence, S.C.	Nov. 23, 1864.
Alvin M. Thompson	Belle Isle, Richmond, Va.	Date unknown.

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Private Israel H. Smith, of Company C, the sole survivor of ten members of the regiment captured at Rutledge, Tenn., soon after the raising of the Siege of Knoxville, has furnished the substance of the following brief narrative of the circumstances attending the capture and the sufferings endured by himself and the brave comrades who did not survive the hardships and cruelty attending their confinement.

While the regiment was encamped at Rutledge, East Tennessee, during the pursuit of Longstreet, after the Siege of Knoxville, Smith, with nine other members of the Thirty-sixth, and a small detail from the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, under charge of Sergeant Charles H. Boswell, of the Thirty-sixth, were ordered out on a foraging expedition, the regiment being greatly in need of subsistence supplies. While out for this purpose they took possession of an old mill about four miles from camp. The detail of the Thirty-sixth was composed of Sergeant Charles H. Boswell, Privates Daniel H. Park, Lucius A. Reynolds, Frederick Ruth, and Israel H. Smith, of Company C; Hezekiah Aldrich, Calvin Hubbard, and Patrick Gillespie, of Company G; and Charles H. Howe, of Company I. These men were in the mill grinding corn, their rifles stacked in one corner, when, early in the morning of December 15, a boy came running into the mill saying that the rebels were approaching. Smith glanced out of the window and saw a squadron of men whom he supposed from their dress to be Federal Cavalry, but it afterwards appeared that their blue uniforms had been taken from one of our supply trains captured a day or two before. They numbered about four hundred, and immediately surrounding the mill they demanded a surrender. Resistance being hopeless, our men broke their rifle-stocks and gave themselves up to the rebel band, which proved to be a detachment of bushwhackers under General Wheeler. After the surrender the rebels threatened to shoot their prisoners if they did not give up their valuables. They took from them everything, money, rings, watches, keepsakes, and then forced

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them to give up their clothing, receiving for it in return the old clothes of the rebels. They were then taken about two miles from the mill and turned into an open field, where they spent the night, without shelter of any kind, the rain pouring in torrents. No fires could be made, and the night was one of great suffering.

The next day was extremely cold, and they were obliged to march without covering to their feet, over the rough, frozen roads to Rogersville, a distance of nearly thirty miles. Here they were turned into an old brick building. The next morning, the second after their capture, Smith received one biscuit and a small piece of maggoty bacon. They were then marched twenty-five miles to Bristol, on the line of the Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and put on board the cars and taken *via* Petersburg to Richmond. Here they were placed in an old tobacco warehouse, called Pemberton Castle. The first food given them was hailed with delight. When first seen some of the men remarked that it appeared to be well seasoned with pepper, but a closer inspection showed what was supposed to be whole pepper was, in reality, small bugs, and the dish was termed "bug" soup.

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Smith remained in this place one week, and was then sent to Belle Isle. Here, though snow lay on the ground, he had no shelter. During the day he made himself as comfortable as possible on the sunny side of a bank. At night he was obliged to walk nearly all the time to keep from freezing. He remained on the island until March 10, 1864, when he was sent to Andersonville.

Here he was summoned before the notorious Captain Wirz, who recorded his name, company, and regiment, at the same time cursing him because he came from Massachusetts. He was then marched into the Stockade, and placed in the Fourth detachment. His daily rations consisted of one pint of coarse meal and corn-cob, ground together, with a spoonful of pea-beans occasionally. His shelter was a hole in the ground. Without soap or towel or comb, or change of clothing, with nothing to read, and surrounded by all the depressing scenes of that dreadful place, he soon became ill, and was scarcely able to help himself; while his comrades wasted away to skeletons and died before his eyes.

On the 25th of November, 1864, after spending nearly a year in Southern prison pens, Smith was paroled at Savannah, Ga., and sent to Annapolis, where he was placed in the hospital, and remained until he was mustered-out of service. All the members of the regiment who were captured with him died of disease in rebel prisons.

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TRANSCRIBER'S NOTES

Corrected disabled date for Ostenello Washburn on p. [326](#) from Pegram Farm, Sept. 30, 1865 to Pegram Farm, Sept. 30, 1864 so that discharge date would be after casualty date. Agrees now with date from <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/battles/va074.htm>.

Changed mustered date for Lincoln, George H. on p. [338](#) from July 23, '64 to July 23, '62 so that discharge date would be after muster date.

Changed discharged date for Bowles, George F. on p. [341](#) from June 8, '56 to June 8, '65 so that discharge date would be after muster date.

Changed mustered date for Sherman, Charles O. on p. [356](#) from Aug. 4, '82 to Aug. 4, '62 so that discharge date would be after muster date.

Silently corrected simple spelling, grammar, and typographical errors.

Retained anachronistic and non-standard spellings as printed.

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