During the operations that followed Cedar Mountain — the Manassas or Second Bull Run campaign — the corps did not participate in the actual fighting to any great extent. Its artillery was engaged at times with creditable success in some of the contests at the fords of the upper Rappahannock, and in the battle of Chantilly it moved up in close support of the firing line. Its principal duties were confined to guarding the lines of communication and the protection of the supply trains, an important but inglorious task. In the course of this duty there were long, fatiguing marches, over dusty roads and under an August sun. There was much of hurrying to and fro under orders from army headquarters, some of which were useless and ill-advised; and, at times, the men suffered from lack of food and water.

The main army was driven back within the defenses of Washington, and on September second the corps arrived at Alexandria, where it halted and enjoyed a brief period of rest in safety. Here a general order was promulgated announcing that General McClellan was again at the head of the army. The news was received throughout the camps with loud cheers, and the feeling of despondency gave way to an enthusiastic hope of better things to come.

General Pope was relieved of his command, and his three corps were transferred to the Army of the Potomac. The Army of Virginia was no more.

Antietam.

On September fourth the corps moved to Georgetown, and, crossing the Potomac on the aqueduct bridge, marched thence to Tenallytown, a village in the District of Columbia, near Washington. The wagon train, with the camp equipage and other supplies necessary to the comfort of the troops, was found here, where it was awaiting their arrival. The brief stay at this place enabled the men to sleep in their tents, enjoy good food, get clean, and refit to some extent.

Gen. Alpheus S. Williams, of the First Division, was in temporary command of the corps. General Banks, whose ill-health at this time unfitted him for active service in the field, had been placed in charge of the defenses of Washington, and he took a final leave of the war-worn troops that had served so faithfully under him dur-

THE DUNKER CHURCH AT ANTIETAM.

From easterly side of Hagerstown and Sharpsburg Pike, showing side of the building facing the road, and end towards Sharpsburg. Monument to 34th New York on the left.

ing the arduous campaigns of the past year. Though it does not appear that the men were ever enthusiastic in his favor, he had gained their respect, and when he left he carried with him their best wishes for his future welfare. Entering the service without any military training or experience, he had displayed a courageous bearing in action and shown an ability of no mean order in the management of affairs. Sadly hampered at times by interference with his plans, he was patient and uncomplaining, and in this respect the records of his official correspondence with the authorities at Washington contrast favorably with that of the other generals at the time.

On the fifth Williams moved his command to Rockville, in Maryland, sixteen miles from Washington. Here five new regiments joined the corps,—the Thirteenth New Jersey and One Hundred and Seventh New York, three-years men, assigned to Gordon's Brigade; and three regiments of the nine-months levy—the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, which were placed in Crawford's Brigade, all in the First Division. These men, with their full ranks, clean uniforms and bright, new flags, were viewed with wonder and curiosity by the old campaigners. Each one of these regiments at dress parade showed a longer line than that of some veteran brigade. They still had some of the characteristics pertaining to raw recruits, having been in service but a month or so. They had attained, however, a commendable proficiency in drill, and in the great battle which soon followed it was noticed that they deployed under fire with steadiness, and faced the enemy with a cool courage that elicited praise in the official reports. Though the sound of their good-byes was still lingering in their northern homes, they were destined to fill scores of bloody graves before many days had passed.

Lee's victorious army had crossed into Maryland. An invasion of the North was threatened. Washington and Baltimore were in danger. McClellan was busily engaged in reorganizing and strengthening the shattered and defeated armies which had been turned over to his command in order to save the Capital and drive the exultant, confident enemy back into Virginia.

While at Rockville the corps moved a short distance and formed line of battle. The preparations indicated that an attack was expected. But not a shot was heard; in fact, there was no enemy within many miles. The cause of this alarm was unknown at the time, and has remained so ever since; at least it does not appear in any record. It may have been ordered merely for the purposes of drill — perhaps to give the new regiments an opportunity to acquaint themselves with an important part of their tactical duties.

In his advance through Maryland in pursuit of the enemy General McClellan moved his army in three parallel columns, the two corps of Sumner and Williams having the central line of march. Leaving Rockville on the ninth, Williams advanced his troops to Middlebrook; the next day to Damascus, where they halted for two days; and thence on the twelfth to Ijamsville, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The Twelfth Corps received its official designation as such on September 12, 1862, an important date in the history of this organization. In General Orders, No. 129, of that date, the President directed that the Second Corps of the Army of Virginia should become the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac.

On the thirteenth the Twelfth Corps, as now designated in orders, moved from Ijamsville to Frederick, fording the Monocacy River on the way. It arrived there at noon and halted near the town. The men stacked arms in the same fields that were occupied the previous day by the Confederate division of Gen. D. H. Hill. Within a few minutes a soldier of the Twenty-seventh Indiana — Private B. W. Mitchell — picked up a piece of paper containing an order written at Confederate headquarters, which he promptly handed to Col. Silas Colgrove of that regiment. This lost despatch, so opportunely found, was immediately transmitted through the ordinary medium of communication to McClellan's headquarters, where it was found to be a general order signed by Lee's adjutant-general, giving directions for the movements of the entire Confederate army and thus revealing the plans of the enemy. Colgrove says that this paper when picked up was wrapped around three cigars.*

Fully informed now as to the location and movement of each column in the Confederate army, McClellan gave immediate orders

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. II, p. 603. Century Company, New York.

for an advance, and overtaking them attacked their rear in the passes of the South Mountain. Here the enemy had made a determined stand, but he was defeated and driven out with serious loss.

On the same day — the fourteenth — the Twelfth Corps moved forward also, and marching through Frederick the troops pushed on towards the front, where the fighting had already commenced. Behind them the Sabbath bells were ringing in the Frederick steeples, their peaceful sound mingling with the sullen boom of the artillery at South Mountain and Harpers Ferry. The march this day, though not a long one, was wearisome in the extreme. The roads were occupied by cavalry, artillery and ammunition trains. The infantry moved across fields and through tall standing corn, where the still, close air intensified the suffocating heat. Up and over the Catoctin Range they climbed and then marched down into the beautiful valley of the Catoctin Creek, wading this stream long after dark. It was past midnight when the head of the column reached the field, and went into position ready to begin the fighting at daylight if necessary. But the enemy retreated during the night, leaving his dead unburied on the field.

Maj. Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, an old officer of the Regular Army, had been assigned to the command of the Twelfth Corps, and he joined it on the morning of the fifteenth, the day after the battle of South Mountain, General Williams resuming charge of the First Division. Mansfield was a white bearded veteran of advanced years, who had served in the Mexican war with many honors, and wounds as well. Prior to joining the Twelfth Corps he had held important commands at Fort Monroe, Norfolk and Suffolk. His dignified,soldierly demeanor created a favorable impression, and withal he had a kindly manner that appealed strongly to the men in the ranks. But fate had decreed that his term of command was to be all too brief, that it was soon to end in a soldier's death.

Resuming its march on the fifteenth the corps moved over the battlefield, thickly strewn with the ghastly evidences of the fighting on the previous day, and on into the valley of the Antietam Creek. While on the road there was a sound of cheering in the distance which swelled into a tumultuous roar as McClellan and his staff rode by. The men greeted him with enthusiastic shouts and tossed their hats wildly in the air. But when he passed the Third Wisconsin

and Second Massachusetts, these regiments, with the strict ideas of discipline inculcated by their West Point colonels, made no noisy demonstration, but, preferring to give the general a marching salute, fell into step and went by at carry arms with eyes to the front.*

The march this day led through the little hamlet of Boonsborough, where the church and several houses had been converted into hospitals for the Confederate wounded, while along the roadside lay many of their dead. General Mansfield was sitting on his horse near a dead Confederate who was covered with a blanket, when a sergeant in one of the new regiments stepped out of the ranks and pulled aside the covering to look at the dead man's face. Mansfield spoke up quickly — "There, there, Sergeant! No idle curiosity! Don't uncover the face of the dead. You will soon have a chance to see all you want of them." And the first man shot that the sergeant saw was Mansfield himself.

That night the corps bivouacked in the fields near Keedysville, not far from the Antietam Creek. The next morning — the sixteenth — brought orders to move, and line of battle was formed. Just over the low ridge of hills that skirted the stream a lively cannonade was in progress, that sounded as if it were close by. Hooker was shelling the enemy's lines on the farther side of the creek; at times a brisk skirmish fire was heard. The gray haired corps commander as he rode along his line announced that they were going into battle immediately; but his troops did no fighting that day. Everywhere the brigades and divisions of the other corps were going into position. As far as the view extended were regiments on regiments, many of them closed en masse on close column by division that looked like solid squares, with their colors in the center. It was a grand, a memorable sight. The hours passed quickly, and, in the fading light of a gorgeous sunset the men prepared their evening meal. Then, while the bugles were sounding sweet and clear from distant camps, they made their simple bivouac under the starlight and lay down to sleep.

But their rest was short. At eleven o'clock the men were awakened and ordered to fall in quietly; they were instructed to make no noise. Silently and half asleep the column moved off in the darkness, and crossing the Antietam on one of the upper bridges

* History of the Third Wisconsin. By Edwin E. Bryant. Madison: 1891.

PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

Monument in center to General Mansfield, commander of 12th Corps, marking spot where he fell. The 10th Maine and 107th New York, of Williams' Division, charged across the field in which the monument stands and drove the Confederates out of the East Woods, which at that time covered the higher ground at the left. Outline of South Mountain in the distance.

arrived at their designated position after a three hours' march. The corps was now on the farm of J. Poffenberger, at the right of the Union army, and in rear and partly to the left of Hooker's Corps. A heavy dew was falling, but the men threw themselves down in the wet grass for a few hours of sleep. They were soon startled from their heavy slumbers by a volley of musketry that rang out noisily on the night air from a piece of woods close by. It was an accidental collision between the Confederate pickets of Hood's Division and a regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserves. Nothing came of it, and soon all was quiet again.

Wednesday, September 17, 1862 — the day of the battle of Antietam. No bugle in the Twelfth Corps sounded reveille that morning; the call had already been sounded by the rifles of the skirmishers as they rang out sharp and clear on the morning air. This firing commenced at daylight — so early that the musketry showed a red flash in the dim mist that overhung the fields and woods. The dropping fire of the skirmish line was soon followed by heavy volleys intermingled with a rapid, continuous discharge of light artillery. Hooker, with his First Corps, had opened the battle by making a vigorous attack on the enemy's left.

Aroused by this heavy firing in its immediate front the Twelfth Corps fell into line. By Mansfield's orders the regiments were formed in column by division, closed en masse, with the exception of some of the new ones, which, on account of their full ranks, were formed in close column by companies. In this formation the troops moved forward up onto the plateau, where the First Corps was battling hard to retain possession of the ground which it had gained in its opening attack, and halted in close support of Hooker's line. It was now about six o'clock in the morning.

General Lee had selected for his position, in which to make a stand against the Union advance, the high ground situated on the tongue of land that lies between the Potomac and Antietam Creek, just north of the confluence of these streams. The ground sloped in front to the Antietam, and on the rear to the Potomac, on which the left of his line rested. His right ended at the creek, a short distance below the stone bridge — subsequently known as Burnside's bridge — and not far from where this stream empties into the Potomac. The general direction of the line was north and south. Parallel with it and a short distance within ran the stone pike

known as the Hagerstown Road. Near the south end of the Confederate position and protected by it was the village of Sharpsburg. At the centre, by the road, was a small brick building, known as the Dunker Church. Standing in the edge of the woods, without a spire or belfry, it resembled a country schoolhouse. Around and in front of this church the battle raged fiercely all day; it was the Hougoumont of that field. Jackson was in command of the Confederate left wing, with the divisions of Ewell, J. R. Jones, A. P. Hill and D. H. Hill; the right wing, under Longstreet, comprised the divisions of McLaws, D. R. Jones, Walker and Hood. Some of these troops did not arrive on the field until after the battle was in progress.

On the Union side the First Corps (Hooker's), supported by the Twelfth, was on the right; the Second Corps (Sumner's) supported by the Sixth (Franklin's), occupied the centre; and the Ninth (Burnside's), on the east side of the Antietam, held the left. The Fifth Corps (Porter's), on the east side also, was held in reserve. Franklin's troops — the leading division — arrived on the field at ten o'clock.

It was between six and seven o'clock in the morning that Hooker, in his contest with Ewell, found himself unable to make farther progress, owing to the reinforcements sent against him. He called on the Twelfth Corps for help. Mansfield, who had been personally superintending the deployment of the new regiments, ordered Williams's Division to the assistance of the First Corps, and then, deploying Greene's Division, put these veteran troops into action on Hooker's left.

Williams advanced in fine style, with Gordon's Brigade on his left and Crawford's extending on the right to the Hagerstown Road. One of Crawford's regiments — the Tenth Maine — passing to the left of the division, advanced to the woods on the east side of the turnpike, opposite the Dunker Church, and made a brisk fight for the possession of this vantage ground. General Mansfield, while directing the fire of these men, was mortally wounded and borne to the rear,* while his riderless horse galloped wildly back and forth over the ploughed field where this occurred. General Williams was now in command of the corps; and right well he discharged his

* History of the Tenth Maine. By Major John M. Gould. Portland: Stephen Berry. 1871.

PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

View of position held by Greene's Division, 12th Corps, on east side of Sharpsburg Pike. The line of the Pike is indicated by the buildings in the background. The end of the Smoketown Road, where it joins the pike at the Dunker Church, is seen at extreme right. The Maryland State monument is in front of the church on the opposite side of the pike.

duties during all the intricate movements and desperate fighting of the day.

Three regiments of Gordon's Brigade — Twenty-seventh Indiana, Third Wisconsin, and Second Massachusetts — encountered, in the famous cornfield, Wofford's Brigade of Hood's Division, inflicting on these opponents one of the bloodiest losses in the war. The Second was placed where it could deliver an effective cross fire. Colonel Work, of the First Texas, one of Wofford's regiments, states in his official report that he lost his colors, while his casualty return shows a loss in killed and wounded of eighty-two per cent of the number in action.*

But Gordon's brave fellows suffered terribly also. Colonel Colgrove, of the Twenty-seventh, reports that of the 443 in line with his colors, 209 were hit, or 47 per cent; and Colonel Ruger, of the Third Wisconsin states that of the 340 officers and men carried into the fight he lost 198, or 58 per cent. The Second Massachusetts captured the colors of the Eleventh Mississippi, of Hood's Division, taken by Sergeant Wheat, of Company E. And this was the kind of men that fought under the flags of the Twelfth Corps.

While this contest was being waged, in which the troops of Hooker and Mansfield had steadily forced the Confederates back and across the pike into the woods around the Dunker Church, Greene's Division was doing equally good work farther to the left and south. These troops, under their veteran leader — a hero of two wars — had advanced rapidly and driven the enemy out of the large grove situated on the east side of the pike. A lane — Smoketown Road — fenced on each side, runs from the church to this grove, a distance of fifty rods or more. Some historians of the battle designate this locality as the East Woods.

Passing through these woods Greene halted a short time in the fields beyond, while his men replenished their cartridge boxes. He then wheeled his line to the right to meet an advancing body of the enemy's troops, and, attacking them fiercely, drove them across the pike into the West Woods, around the church. His division secured a lodgment and held it for a long time; but, with the failure of the attack made by Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps, Greene

* In a recent letter received by the author from Gen. E. A. Carman, of the National Commission for the Battlefield of Antietam, he states that the loss of the 1st Texas was sustained in an encounter with the 9th, 11th and 12th Regiments, Pennsylvania Reserves.

found himself in a dangerous position. His line was too far advanced; it was unsupported on either flank. Greene then fell back across the pike. But before doing so his little regiments — some of them numbering less than two hundred men — did effective work and added their full share to the laurels won by the Twelfth Corps on this field. In the Fifth Ohio, Private John P. Murphy captured the flag of the Thirteenth Alabama; and Corporal Jacob G. Orth, of the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, captured the colors of the Seventh South Carolina. Each of these gallant soldiers received a medal of honor from the War Department in recognition of his heroic action. The official reports made by the regiments in Greene's Division indicate that the fighting at times was unusually desperate, the men engaging at one place in "a hand-to-hand combat," in which some of his soldiers used "clubbed guns, a portion of the men having no bayonets."*

The artillery of the Twelfth Corps, under Capt. Clermont L. Best, United States Army, maintained its previous reputation for efficiency, the batteries of Knap, Hampton, and Cothran rendering conspicuous and valuable service. At a critical period of the battle, when Sedgwick's Division was driven out of the woods at the church after its gallant but unsuccessful assault, the enemy attempted to follow up its advantage by an advance across the pike into the open fields. But Cothran's Battery — M, First New York Light Artillery — supported by the One Hundred and Seventh New York Infantry, opened on them with such a rapid and destructive fire of canister that the Confederates were forced to fall back into the woods, leaving the ground thickly strewn with their dead and wounded.

The Twelfth Corps after seven hours of continuous fighting or exposure to the fire of the enemy was relieved by Franklin's troops. The two divisions then moved slowly to the rear, stacked arms, and the men, having been without food since the night before, were given an opportunity to build coffee fires and break their fast. The battle was over. McClellan had gained considerable ground; but Lee still held a strong position in the woods around the church and presented an unbroken front to his antagonist.

As the Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army — two divisions only — its aggregate of casualties was less than that of some of

* Official Records. Vol. XIX, Part 1, p. 507.

MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS OF THE TWELFTH ARMY CORPS AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, MD.,

Sept. 17. 1862

Scale

½ ¼ 0 1 mile

Union Troops

Confederate Troops

MERCERVILLE

SMOKETOWN

12th Corps Sept. 17th

CRAWFORD

STARROOM

LYNDALE

GORDON

GOODRICH

Hoffman

Heinz

David Coffman

Devenberger's Mill

W. Middlekauff

J. Poffenberger

Johnson's Loc[k]

Nicodemus

D. R. Miller

Dunkard's Mill

M. Miller

D. Smith

Sam[l] Pry's Mill

KEEDYSVILLE

Wyand

Vehrig

W. Kennedy

Mumma

W. Roulette

A. Clipp

Dunker Chapel

J. Hauser

General Direction of Confederate Line of Battle

General Direction of Confederate Line of Battle

Sd. Piper

Cox

Snyder

W. Hebb

Henry Reel

E. Miller

CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL

POTOMAC

RIVER

S. Reel

S. Piper

Bloody Lane

Heuber

J. Myers

J. Eckers

PORTERSTOWN

Sharpsburg & Boonsborough Turnpike

Piper

D. Myers

Grove

SHARPSBURG

National Cemetery

ANTIETAM CREEK

H. Thomason

Capt. D. Smith

A. Crouse

Myers

H. Blackford

S. P. Grove

Confederate Line of Retreat

Sept. 17, 1862 (Evening)

Sept. 16, 1862

Burnside Bridge

F. Miller

E. Wyand

B. Grove

Blackford

E. Miller

J. Otto

M. B. Miller

J. Miller

Miller's Mill

SHEPHERDSTOWN

Snavely

J. Myers

Adams

H. Wadesheros

Daniel Piper

Rev. Adams

Grove

JULIUS BIEN & CO. LITH. N.Y.

the other corps. Still, it was large enough — 275 killed,* 1,386 wounded, and 85 missing; total, 1,746. Among the many officers killed were, the gallant old corps commander, General Mansfield; Col. William B. Goodrich, Sixtieth New York, in command of the Third Brigade, Greene's Division; Col. Samuel Croasdale, One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; and Lieut. Col. Wilder Dwight, Second Massachusetts. Eighty officers were killed or wounded.

The roster of the Twelfth Corps at this time, together with the casualties in each regiment, was as follows:

Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

(1) MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH K. F. MANSFIELD (killed).
(2) BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford.				
10th Maine,	21	50	1	72
28th New York,	2	9	1	12
5th Connecticut,†	-	-	-	-
46th Pennsylvania,	6	13	-	19
124th Pennsylvania,	5	42	17	64
125th Pennsylvania,	28	115	2	145
128th Pennsylvania,	26	86	6	118
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.				
27th Indiana,	18	191	-	209
2nd Massachusetts,	12	58	3	73
13th New Jersey,	7	75	19	101
107th New York,	7	51	5	63
3rd Wisconsin,	27	173	-	200

* This report does not include those who died of their wounds, the latter being reported at the close of the battle with the wounded.

† Absent on detached duty.

The Twelfth Corps

Second Division.

BRIG. GEN. GEORGE S. GREENE.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Lieut. Col. Hector Tyndale.				
5th Ohio,	11	35	2	48
7th Ohio,	5	33	-	38
29th Ohio,*	-	-	-	-
66th Ohio,	1	23	-	24
28th Pennsylvania,	44	217	5	266
Second Brigade.				
Col. Henry J. Stainrook.				
3rd Maryland,	1	25	3	29
102nd New York,	5	27	5	37
109th Pennsylvania,*	-	-	-	-
111th Pennsylvania,	26	76	8	110
Third Brigade.				
Col. William B. Goodrich.				
3rd Delaware,	6	11	-	17
60th New York,	4	18	-	22
78th New York,	8	19	7	34
Purnell (Md.) Legion,	3	23	-	26
Artillery Brigade,	1	15	1	17
Staff,	1	1	-	2
Total Twelfth Corps,	275	1,386	85	1,746

The comparatively small loss in some of Greene's regiments is due to their reduced numbers at this time. The actual number carried into action by some of them was reported as follows:

3rd Maryland,	148
111th Pennsylvania,	243
3rd Delaware,	126
60th New York,	226
78th New York,	221

* Absent on detached duty.

The Twelfth Corps

The entire loss of the Army of the Potomac at Antietam, by corps, was:

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Army Corps,	417	2,051	122	2,590
Second Army Corps,	883	3,859	396	5,138
Fourth Army Corps,†	- -	9	- -	9
Fifth Army Corps,	17	90	2	109
Sixth Army Corps,	71	335	33	439
Ninth Army Corps,	438	1,796	115	2,349
Twelfth Army Corps,	275	1,386	85	1,746
Cavalry Division,	7	23	-	30
Total,	2,108	9,549	753	12,410

The casualties in the Confederate army, as reported by Jackson, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill, amount to 1,679 killed, 9,116 wounded, and 2,292 missing; total, 13,187. But these figures include the losses at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap, and no separate statement was made for Antietam. McClellan states that he captured "more than 6,000 prisoners" in the Maryland campaign; but the reports of his subordinates fail to show where all these men were taken.

The statements as to the relative strength of the contesting armies are unsatisfactory. General Lee says in his report that he fought this battle with "less than 40,000 men on his side." The returns of the various divisions under his command indicate an effective strength of 51,844.‡ He complains that his army was greatly reduced by straggling; that "a great many men never entered Maryland at all;" that "many returned after getting there, while others who crossed the river held aloof;" that the "arduous service, great privations of rest and food, and long marches without shoes had greatly reduced the ranks before the action began;" and that "these causes compelled thousands of brave men to absent themselves," while "many more had done so from unworthy motives." Despite these complaints General Lee's field return

* Includes the mortally wounded.

† Couch's Division only; arrived on the field September eighteenth.

‡ Colonel Livermore.

for September twenty-second, three days after recrossing the river, shows 36,418 present for duty, not including his cavalry and reserve artillery, which are not reported. If to this number are added also his losses at Antietam — 11,000 at least — it would indicate that there were several thousand Confederate stragglers or absentees, and that they rejoined their commands with amazing promptitude. In stating his strength at Antietam at less than 40,000 General Lee must have been misled by the estimates of his subordinates.

But the Army of the Potomac suffered from straggling also. The forces given General McClellan for the purpose of driving Lee out of Maryland had been reduced by hard fighting and exhaustive campaigning, and were badly demoralized by successive defeats. He reported that his forces at Antietam numbered 87,164; but he does himself injustice in this statement. It is based on the morning reports, in which the "Present for duty" includes noncombatants and stragglers. For instance: He places the strength of the Twelfth Corps at 10,126; but there were three regiments of this corps absent on detached duty; and the official reports of the various regimental commandants at Antietam, stating the number carried into action by each, indicate that there were not over 8,000 in line with their colors on the field. This difference between the number returned as "Present for duty" on the morning reports and the number carried into action is a matter that is fully understood by every adjutant and orderly sergeant. Under that caption were included musicians, company cooks, and men on commissary, quartermaster and medical duty; soldiers detailed illegally as officers' servants, and stragglers who were expected to turn up in a day or so — "All present for duty," such as it was, provided they didn't have to go on the firing line. It is doubtful if McClellan had 60,000 men in line at Antietam, including his reserves.

General Hancock had evidently noticed the extraordinary discrepancy between morning reports and actual strength, and so, at the next battle — Fredericksburg — he ordered each colonel in his division to make a count of the men in line just before going into action. As a result, his famous division received credit for its gallant fighting there, because there were definite figures available on which to base its percentage of loss. If McClellan had exercised the same forethought at Antietam the historians would have less to say about his overwhelming numbers.

The Confederates managed these things better. In their monthly reports the men returned as "Present for duty," or "Present effective" were not only present but effective also. Hence the Confederate returns were a better indication of actual strength than the morning reports of the Union armies.

During the eighteenth, the day after the battle, McClellan did not resume the offensive, and the Confederates lay quietly behind their picket line. The hostile ranks were very close, and all that day the two armies watched each other attentively. McClellan, after consulting with his corps commanders, decided to await the arrival of reinforcements that were near at hand, and then renew the attack on the nineteenth. Couch's Division of the Fourth Corps, and Humphrey's Division of the Fifth, arrived on the eighteenth, after a rapid, fatiguing march; the expected reinforcements from Pennsylvania failed to appear. But Lee's forces recrossed the river in the night at one of the fords in their rear. The water was low and his men had no difficulty in wading the broad stream. When McClellan's skirmishers advanced on the morning of the nineteenth they met with no resistance. The enemy had gone; the invasion was ended.

General McClellan, in his official report, states that in the Maryland campaign his army captured thirteen pieces of artillery, thirty-nine colors, over 15,000 stand of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, without losing a color or gun. Some writers through an evident desire to belittle McClellan's success in driving Lee back into Virginia, have called Antietam a drawn battle. But they never speak of Gettysburg as such, although the results were the same. At the close of each battle the Confederates were in line all the next day, awaiting and inviting an attack. Then they retreated in good order and recrossed the Potomac. Lee's facilities for withdrawal were much greater at Antietam, for the river was close by and at a fordable stage. At Gettysburg his army had thirty-five miles to march before it could reach the Potomac, and when it arrived there the crossing was delayed by a flood that rendered the stream impassable for several days. Yet no one ever speaks of that battle as a draw. Both Antietam and Gettysburg were Union victories, and for the same reasons.

Finding that the enemy had gone, the Army of the Potomac moved on towards Harpers Ferry. The Twelfth Corps in its

march passed over the battlefield, on which hundreds of the Confederate dead were still lying unburied. The faces of these fallen men had turned black, while their bodies were so swollen and distended that their clothing was burst open. On no scene of fighting during the war were there such horrible sights exposed to view as on this ground. Crossing Burnside's Bridge and passing through Sharpsburg the corps marched to Maryland Heights. Across the Potomac, through the purple autumn haze, the tents of Lee's army in Virginia could be seen. The First Division encamped here, or in this immediate vicinity, several weeks, while the Second Division occupied Loudoun Heights, on the Virginia side of the river. The five other corps of the army occupied Bolivar Heights, Pleasant Valley, Sandy Hook, and other places near Harpers Ferry.

While here, on September twenty-ninth, five new regiments were assigned to the Twelfth Corps — the Twentieth Connecticut, the One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, and One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Infantry. The three first named were placed in the First Division — the others in the Second Division. They were composed of exceptionally fine material, and made a welcome addition to its depleted ranks. A few days later the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania was also assigned to Geary's (Second) Division. This regiment had just been organized by taking five companies from the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania — a fifteen-company command — and adding to this veteran battalion five companies of newly enlisted men. Since its first organization under General Banks, the corps had contained but two divisions only, and so a third division — Whipple's — was added at this time, October twenty-second; but the arrangement was of short duration. When McClellan's army moved southward shortly after, leaving the Twelfth Corps at Harpers Ferry, Whipple's Division was transferred to Sickles's Corps. But few, if any, of the men in the Twelfth Corps knew that it ever had a third division.

Another event, the most important in the history of the corps, occurred during the stay at Harpers Ferry — the assignment of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum to its command. The order of the War Department announcing this appointment was dated October 15, 1862. The news was received by the men with hearty, outspoken satisfaction, for there was scarcely a soldier in the ranks who

had not heard of his brilliant record in the war. The story of the gallant manner in which he personally led his division in its successful assault at Crampton's Gap was still told around the camp fires. He was received with a kindly enthusiasm, that was not to lessen but rather increase during the campaigns in which they served under him throughout the remainder of the war.

The Army of the Potomac moved into Virginia in the last week of October, and following Lee's forces southward occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge, where it held a position in front of the enemy from which it could operate to advantage. On November fifth McClellan was relieved from command for alleged inactivity. During the forty-nine days that had elapsed since the battle of Antietam he had remained most of the time at Harpers Ferry, awaiting supplies which he deemed necessary before ordering another advance. Whether so long a delay was justifiable is a question that has been much discussed. But it will be noticed that when, after the great victory at Gettysburg, ten months elapsed without a general engagement, the pet phrase of "masterly inactivity" was no longer heard.

When McClellan ordered the Army of the Potomac into Virginia — in October, 1862 — he left Slocum's Corps at Harpers Ferry to guard this important point until operations should render its further occupation unnecessary. While here the Second Division — Geary's — made at different times a reconnoissance in force up the Shenandoah Valley, in which it did some skirmishing and made large captures of men, arms, horses and supplies. In each division some regiments were busily employed in felling timber and in the construction of fortifications for improving the defensive advantages of their position. The Third Brigade (Ruger's) of Williams's Division left Maryland Heights on October twenty-ninth, and moved up the Potomac to the Antietam Iron Works, where it relieved some troops of the Fifth Corps that were picketing the river front.

The position of the Twelfth Corps, December 4, 1862, as officially reported by General Slocum, was as follows: Geary's Division, with eighteen pieces of artillery, was encamped on Bolivar Heights. Of Williams's Division, one brigade (Kane's) was in Loudoun Valley; Knipe's Brigade occupied Maryland Heights; and Gordon's Brigade was guarding the fords of the Potomac near Sharpsburg. One regiment — Tenth Maine — was stationed on the river at Berlin

to watch the ford at that place, and two regiments were at Frederick on guard duty.

By November the troops had built comfortable quarters, expecting to pass the winter in these camps; but on December tenth marching orders were received, and on the following day the corps assembled at Harpers Ferry. Crossing the Potomac and then the Shenandoah, the column moved up and around Loudoun Heights, and marching through Hillsborough and Leesburg arrived at Fairfax Station on the sixteenth. The weather was cold, and the men bivouacked the first night on frozen ground or in the snow. At Fairfax the dismal news of the defeat at Fredericksburg was received, whereupon the peripatetic debating clubs relieved the tedium of the march by reopening the discussion of McClellan's removal.

The march was continued to the Occoquan, which was forded at Wolf Run Shoals. Here a halt was made, some of the regiments stacking arms behind a line of earthworks that had recently been constructed by the Confederates on the hills overlooking the ford. A cold rain was falling, in which the men lay down to sleep as best they could without tents. The next day the corps returned to Fairfax Station, with the exception of a brigade in Geary's Division, which pushed on to Dumfries. The activity of the Confederate cavalry necessitated two more trips to Wolf Run Shoals, one of which was memorable for the rapid marching done.

Candy's Brigade, of Geary's Division, did not return to Fairfax Station with the rest of the corps, but remained at Dumfries, having been assigned to duty there. The three regiments then present with the brigade — Fifth, Seventh and Sixty-sixth Ohio — were attacked on December twenty-seventh by Stuart's cavalry, a force of about 1,800 men, composed of select detachments. A brisk fight ensued, in which the Confederate cavalry dismounted and fought as infantry. There was some artillery firing also, a section of McGilvery's Battery, attached to Candy's command, replying to the enemy's guns with good effect. Lee's troopers were repulsed, after which they continued on their raid to the Occoquan. Candy lost in this affair thirteen killed and wounded. Lieut. Charles A. Walker, Fifth Ohio, was among the killed. General Lee reported a loss of ten, including a captain killed and a lieutenant-colonel wounded.

New Year's day, 1863, found the corps still at Fairfax Station. The First Division was reviewed by General Slocum on Sunday,

January fourth, affording a military display that drew throngs of spectators from the neighboring camps. The "old" regiments in Ruger's Brigade attracted admiring attention as they went by, not so much on account of their good marching as their peculiar drill. They adhered to the old Scott manual of arms, and so came down the field to the reviewing officer at "Shoulder Arms" instead of the "Carry." Their guns were held with the butt of the piece in the left hand and the polished barrel to the front. As they came in sight, with companies perfectly aligned, the rows of shining rifles glittered brightly in the sunlight, giving these troops a distinctive appearance that elicited favorable comments from all who saw them. On the following day Slocum reviewed the two brigades of Geary's Division that were stationed at Fairfax.

Many of the regiments built comfortable quarters at Fairfax, some of them erecting neat log cabins of uniform size and appearance, all in perfect alignment on the company streets. The camp of the Second Massachusetts, which was especially neat, handsome, and serviceable, attracted scores of admiring visitors from the troops in its vicinity. The occupants did not enjoy them long, however.

On January 17, 1863, Burnside telegraphs Halleck: "If I order General Slocum's corps to join me, can his place be supplied by some of General Heintzelman's command?" In an hour or so he sends another message saying, "I am very anxious for an answer to my dispatch in reference to General Slocum." Whereupon Halleck replies that "Slocum's forces are at your disposal, as heretofore; but Heintzelman cannot occupy his position in considerable force without drawing troops from the fortifications, which cannot be permitted." The same old story. Washington must not be left unprotected! But the matter is arranged somehow, and Burnside telegraphs Halleck the next day that "Slocum is under orders to move at daylight to-morrow morning, with the understanding that Heintzelman holds the line of Bull Run and the Occoquan." And so the Twelfth Corps is off to the front again.

January 19, 1863, the corps starts on its march to join the main army at Falmouth, where Burnside is busy with his preparations for another advance, the famous "Mud March," as it resulted. Slocum's orders were to move his forces to the front as expeditiously as possible. At the start the roads were in good condition, making the first day a comfortable and uneventful one. But a heavy rain set in

on the night of the twentieth, and continued for two days. Roads and streams became impassable. Burnside abandoned his campaign, and ordered his army into winter quarters. The Twelfth Corps on reaching Stafford Court House received orders to halt there. Geary's Division encamped at Aquia Creek, where the men assisted in unloading the vessels that arrived there freighted with supplies for the army at the front. The regiments commenced immediately the erection of substantial, comfortable quarters, which they were permitted to occupy during the remainder of the winter, from January twenty-third to April twenty-seventh. General Burnside was relieved from command on his own request, and General Hooker succeeded him in the precarious post as commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The position of the corps at Stafford Court House and Aquia Creek required but little picket duty or arduous service. The time was utilized in battalion drills, officers' recitations, camp instruction, and in securing the return of absentees who were tarrying in hospitals or elsewhere without sufficient reason. General Hooker employed active measures to increase the strength and efficiency of his army, special attention being paid to the health of the camps. The daily ration was improved by the issue of soft bread, vegetables and fresh beef, while the close proximity of the Potomac enabled the men to further increase the variety of their fare with oysters and fresh fish. The entire equipment was so thoroughly renewed and completed that, when the troops started on the ensuing campaign, there was not even a shoestring lacking. It was the "finest army on the planet."

General efficiency was further promoted by a series of rigid inspections. Regiments that were found to be deficient in drill, discipline, and camp conditions were deprived of furloughs and leaves of absence, both officers and men, until the necessary improvement in these respects was made. Each camp was visited, without any preliminary notice, by an inspecting officer of high rank detailed for that special purpose. A regiment was ordered into line, arms inspected, tents and company streets examined, all without any opportunity for preparation. It was a severe test, but a proper one.

Of the 324 infantry commands in the Army of the Potomac, 11 regiments received honorable mention in General Orders, No. 18, March 30, 1863, as having "earned high commendation from inspecting officers," for which they were granted additional privileges, furloughs, and leaves of absence. The eleven regiments so conspicuously

honored were the First, Second,* and Twentieth Massachusetts, the Tenth* and Nineteenth Maine, Fifth and Tenth New York, Fifth New Jersey, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania,* Third Wisconsin,* and First Minnesota. Of the eleven, four belonged to the Twelfth Corps. As there were seven infantry corps in the Army of the Potomac it will be seen that Slocum's men won a large share of the honors thus distributed, and showed a high degree of efficiency that reflected credit on their able commander as well as themselves. At the same time it was freely claimed around the camp fires of the corps that there were other regiments in the Twelfth that were equally entitled to this coveted distinction; but as the board of officers at general headquarters had done so well by the corps in making its selections the feeling subsided into one of general satisfaction.

But history requires mention of another phase in the matter that was not alluded to so often. This same General Order contained another and a longer list of regiments that had been reported unfavorably by the inspectors; and, unfortunately, the Twelfth Corps was represented there also. In justice to these regiments it should be said that there were extenuating facts that did not appear in the General Order, or, as for that matter, in the inspectors' reports. Two or more of these commands had been detailed on fatigue duty of an exhaustive kind. One of them, in particular, had been ordered to Hope Landing, where it was employed in the construction of a corduroy road through a swampy forest. It was an unusually inclement season, with frequent rains and snow. The men worked long hours with no compensatory conditions aside from the whiskey ration doled out at nightfall each day when, tired, cold and wet, they returned to camp and crawled under their little shelter tents. On the sudden appearance of the inspecting officer, the men were called out of the swamp and formed in companies on a bleak side hill, where their "pup tents" had been aligned as well as could be among the stumps and rocks. When the inspector commented unfavorably on the dull appearance of the guns in one company, its gray-haired captain touched his hat respectfully and, pointing to a pile of spades and picks near by, suggested that the officer kindly note those also — that those were the only weapons his men had been permitted to handle, and that he would find them very bright indeed. When this regiment was relieved from its work on the roads it moved to a suitable location, built admirable quarters,

* Twelfth Corps.

resumed its daily drills, and at the next inspection displayed ranks of polished rifles that shone brighter even than their well-worn picks and shovels. But in the meantime General Order, No. 18, had been issued; they were under the ban.

For several months the men in Kearny's Division, Third Corps, had worn on their caps a diamond-shaped patch of flannel, which served to distinguish them from other troops in battle, on the march, in camp, or wherever they were seen. General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, recognizing its practical uses and advantages, conceived the idea of marking each division and corps in a similar manner. So, on March 21, 1863, a circular was issued from General Headquarters assigning a distinctive badge to each corps, to be worn on the caps of men and officers — red for the first division, white for the second, and blue for the third. The design allotted to Slocum's Corps was a five-pointed star. The form of their badge pleased the soldiers of the Twelfth; they would have selected it had they been given the privilege of a choice. They were now the "Star Corps" as they expressed it — never lost sight of the fact, and felt it incumbent on them to do all they could in battle or elsewhere to maintain the ideal which they had thus assumed. They wore this badge with honor through all the rest of that long war, and displayed it proudly in the final Grand Review in Washington in 1865.

The stay at Stafford and Aquia Creek furnished an opportunity also for brigade and division reviews, and a spectacular one, April tenth, in which the entire corps was reviewed by President Lincoln. As these manœuvres completed the preparations for the spring campaign, they were soon followed by orders to provide the men with eight days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, forty rounds to be carried in the cartridge boxes and twenty in the knapsacks. Marching orders were delayed, however, for a few days on account of unfavorable weather, and the troops did not break camp until Monday, April twenty-seventh.

The Twelfth Corps was now in fine condition for an active campaign — well-drilled, thoroughly equipped, and in the highest state of efficiency. The Medical Director of the Army reported its ratio of sickness at less than six per cent, the lowest of any corps except the Sixth. The return for April thirtieth showed a strength of 765 officers and 13,450 enlisted men "present for duty equipped" — infantry and artillery. It contained thirty regiments of infantry and five batteries of light artillery, twenty-eight guns in all.