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A

RECORD

OF THE

TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT

MASS VOL. INFANTRY

IN THE

WAR OF THE REBELLION

1861-1865

« WITH

ALPHABETICAL ROSTER; COML'.ANY ROLLS; PORTRAITS:
MAP.S; ETC.,

BY

JAMES A. EMMERTON, A.B., M.D.,
CORPORAL OF CO. F. AND ASSIST S0RG. OF THE TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.
SURGEON OF THE SECOND MASSACHUSETTS ARTILLERY.

BOSTON:
WILLIAM WARE & CO
1886.
PRINTED FOR THE HISTORY COMMITTEE OF THE
TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT ASSOCIATION
AT THE
S-A.r.E1M: PRESS,
SALEM, MASS.
TO

THE MEMORY OF

DR GEORGE DEKRY,

THIS AOII'AIE IS

DEDICATED

BY III.s C()MR.

KS IN THE WAR,

IX TESTIMONY OF

THEIR

GRATITUDE TO THE SURGEON

AND

ESTEEM FOR THE MAN
CORRESPONDENCE,

BOSTON, JANUARY, 1852.

Dr. JAMES A. AIKEN.

DEAR SIR:

At the last reunion of the 23rd Mass. Regimental Association a committee was appointed, "with full powers," to take charge of the matter of a history of the Regiment. This committee have organized and in part perfected a plan of operations. They desire to find some one who has the time and inclination, to collate and prepare for publication the facts, reminiscences, etc., which may be of interest to them.

After full consideration the committee have deputed the undersigned to make known to you their unanimous request that you should undertake this part of the work: they to furnish such material as can be gathered, leaving you free to make use of it as you think best, and to add whatever may, in your judgment, be necessary.

As the committee are without funds and must look to the Association in the future for remuneration for any expenses incurred, they hesitate to ask you to take this labor upon yourself, knowing that it must necessarily

(V)
VI RECORD OF THE TAVENTY-THIRD MASS. VOL. INF.

be one of "love" rather than with any prospect of re-
ward. Trusting, however, that after due deliberation we
may receive a favorable answer, we remain,

Very truly yours,

JOHN GRAY, Chairman.

GEO. W. NASON, Secretary.

13 SUMMER STREET, SALEM, MASS.,

JAN'Y 21, 1882.

JOHN GRAY, Chairman,

DEAR SIR:

Your letter announcing the unanimous
vote of your committee, requesting me to collate and
prepare for publication such material as you will provide
promptly to hand and has received the due deliberation you
desire. I will cheerfully undertake the task, onerous as
at best it must be, provided the veterans of the 23rd will
cordially assist in providing material and Avill by pledged
subscriptions insure the means of printing when the copy
is prepared.

Very truly yours,

JAMES A. EMBIERTON.
COMRADES OP THE 23RD REGIMENT ASSOCIATION.

Your committee, appointed, at the annual reunion September 28, 1881, "Avith full poAvers" to prepare a Hi­story of the Twenty-third Rcg't iNlass. ^^)l. lufy in tlie War of the ReV)ellion, take pleasure in reporting, this year, Avith the finished volume.

They consider themselves fortunate in securing the ser­vices of Dr James A. Emmerton in preparing for the press the material they had collected. The committee have had opportunity to observe the large amount of time and labor the liistorian has given to the Avork and desire to impress upon the association a sense of his patient research, and careful, impartial investigation of all matters in Avich he found conflicting statements amoiiig his authorities.

AVliile, by the original understanding lietAveen the his­torian and the committee, lie alone Avas to be the judge of the facts and the manner of their compilation, the com­mittee have no hesitation in accc[]tiig an equal respon­sibility for all statements of facts in its pages.

Should any comrade fail to find matters treated as he expected, or at all, let liim ask himself "Have I done anj'thing to help the committor'?" At least, let him re­member that less than one-fourth of those to Avhom they were sent paid any attention to the committee's circulars.

The committee desire to express their ol]ligatioii to com­rades Tristram Griffin of'C'for his very valual^le help on the maps, to W L. Welch of'A,' Avhose indefatigable iii-
dustry in correspondence has amplified and lent exactness to the text, and to the officers of the Fourth Police Station in Boston, for their courtesy in enabling us to copy the portrait of Col. Kurtz.

For themselves, the committee will be perfectly satisfied for all the time and labor they have given to the work assigned them, should the book (as they trust and believe it will) meet the approbation of the Association and prove itself to be that for which they have in common with the historian labored: a thoroughly reliable and readable "Record of the Twenty-third Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry"

JOHN GRAY, Chairman,
THOS. SWASEY, Jr.,
WM. D. COLE,
EDWARD H. HASKELL,
GEO. W. NASON, Secretary.
PREFACE

Twenty-four years ago, ten hundreds of New England youths collected in nearly as many toAviis of e;isteru 3.1assachusetts, gathered at Lynnfield. ^\$ the TAventy-third ^Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry they marched away on the eleventli of Xovemlicr, L'l^iil, to their share of the War for the Preservation of the Union.

Hardly had the ICCAV Acar opened Avlien these IIIOAV-made soldiers found themselves amid the dangers and pri-A'tions of Ilatteras and in early February ïïïAV took a liiroiiiinent part in the battle of Roanoke Island — one of the completest. as it was nearly the first of Union victories. Tlie capture of Xew rxn-ne soon folloAved, and, after that, the regiment, although by no means inactive. s;iw little of pitched battle for two years. In the A'irginia eampaii:-!! of isd! it Avas in tin* foretVout of the almost uniiiterru[]ed liiiilitiiig which foljoweil the landing at Bermuda Hundred and culminated in the stubWorn and bloody re}j)ii|e of r)e:iure:i-ard at Driir\"s Blutf; it gained the foremost ground readied and held by the 1^th Corps at ('old Harbor and bor(' its full share of the dangers and jirivafions of the early da\'s of the siege of Petersburg. After its return to Xm-th Carolina and tie discharge of the iion-reiinrhHted, the little remnant of A'eterans and rc-cruits Ava- chiefly employed in picket and outpost duty till the campaiiL;-!! of l^<\ll5 Avhen it sl;i;ire(l the fortunes of the column Avlich opened eominunicatioii Avith Cien, Sherman.

It has been my purpose to depict the daily experience
of the regiment in camp and march and to avoid the prolix explanations, including the general strategy of divisions, corps and armies, with which some regimental historians have filled their pages. Most of those whom such matter would interest will know it already; others can easily acquire it.

Aware that my arrangement of the Roster is novel, I have been pleased to receive the hearty commendation of all whom I have consulted about it and feel sure that any one who will read and weigh my reasons, as printed in the prefatory notes to the Roster, will accept the change as an improvement.

For others, who may recollect an old comrade as a member of their company or another company but cannot recall his name without help, I have printed the rolls, giving the original formation alphabetically and the recruits as I found them on the rolls at the State House.

In addition to a pretty general reference to my authorities in the text and foot-notes and the acknowledgment by the Committee, in their report, of the invaluable assistance of comrade Tristram Griffin of 'C' on the maps and text, and of help from comrade Welch of 'A,' the indefatigable correspondent, who brought out valuable facts from Gov. T. J. Jarvis, Col. J. D. Whitford, R. R. Quidley pilot at Hatteras, and others of North Carolina; I desire personally to thank comrades Brooks of 'A,' Valentine of 'F' and Parsons of 'I' for the loan of their diaries; Col. Raymond, Maj. Dollard, Captains Whipple, Kent, Hammond, Center, Sawyer and Alexander; Dr. Roberts; Lieutenants Edgett, Sherman and Bates and comrades Andrews of 'A,' Dustin of 'C Emilio of 'F,' Hutchinson of 'H,' Low of 'I,' Hills of 'I,' Wing and Patch of 'D,' and others for extracts from their diaries, for general sketches and de-
scriptions of special events or for help on the Roster. Capts. Whipple and Emilio and Dr. Roberts have shown their interest in the cause by sending me copies, at great length, of their diaries and correspondence. Outside the regiment, my thanks are due to Gen. Otis of the 10th Conn., to Gen. StcAvart of the 9th XCAV Jersey, to S. W Higs-ins, Second officer of the Highlander, to comrades E. T. Witherb'y of the 25th Mass. Vol. Inf., and especially to AV P Derby, historian of the 27th Mass. Vol. Infy., for the use of his map-plates, etc.

COJIRADES OF THE TAVENTY-TiiiiKD :—X^ow that my task is draAving to a close I Avill not pretend that I am not glad it is so nearh' over. Xo one kno\vs better than I its incompleteness and inaccuracy. I trust you may find something of interest in its pages and that if you have Avell authenticated corrections of the text or additions to the Roster, you Avill send them to

Yours, very sincerely,

JAMES A. EMMEUTON.

13 SUiMMER STREET, SALEM, MASS.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.
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CHAPTER I.

THE CALL FOR AIORE TROOPS. FORJIATION OF THE COAIRANl r.S. LIFE AT LA'XNFIELD. ON THE ROAD.

OUR flag had been tired upon at Sumter; and our militia, thanks to the foresight of Governor AndreAV, had written in the streets of Baltimore, on the captured ferry-boat at Havre de (irae. on the deck of the rescued "Old Ironsides" and on the road to Annapolis Junction, their imperishable record of the readiness and versatile ability of the SOiS of Massachusetts in the defence of their country.

Many men had volunteered, and earlier regiments of Massachusetts troops had begun that career whose history is written in the blood-stained characters of many batth'-liolds.

Till' north had learned, and many, CAen in the army, needed the lesson taught by the first Bnll Run, that mere numbers and enthusiasm Avould not of themselves secure victory.

Government and people, Avhich first is, for our purpose, of little consequence, had settled doAvn to a conviction of the need of serious and prolonged ell'ort.

Here and there, in eastern ^Massachusetts, as through all the land, frequently, not ahvays, Avith a nucleus of three months' soldiers, men were gathering into companies and veAauteriniij to serve for three years.

In compliance Avith a call for more troops from the cen-
entral Government, the state authorities had sanctioned the formation of five new regiments. It is our purpose to sketch the formation and follow the intimate history of that one of them known as the Twenty-third Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

COMPANY *A.*

Some three weeks after the return and muster-out of the Eighth M. V. M., 2nd Lieut. E. A. P. Brewster and Sergt. C. S. Emmerton, late of Co. 'J' of that regiment, opened a recruiting office at No. 182 Essex St., Salem, calling for a Zouave company for the Nineteenth. Their old comrades rallied speedily to the new standard. In three days they numbered forty-eight. At the end of the first week, 30 Aug., 1861, Senator Wilson accepted them as a company, assigned them to the Twenty-second M. V. I. as Co. 'A,' right flank company, and had given them a uniform.

On the thirty-first of August they met together for the first time at Town Hall, and marched thence to the barracks on Winter Island.

4 Sept. Under escort, as far as the cars, of the Union Drill Club, they went, with full ranks, to Lynnfield. Here, on the recently evacuated camp-ground of the Nineteenth, they established themselves as the right flank company of the intended Twenty-second.

As the regiment filled up, and other companies assigned to it, arrived. Captain Brewster found that his claim to the right flank was not to go unchallenged. He assumed apparently, that, not having been mustered in, he could do as he pleased, and, in resistance to what he considered injustice, he permitted, if he did not encourage, a spirit of insubordination which resulted in his command
•William L. "Welch.

Serg. Leverett Poor.


Henry B. Evans.

Serg. William S. Stirling.

Company 'A.'
being considered mutinous, and, as such, surrounded by
the other companies and disarmed.
In effect, he was squeezed out of the camp and orga-
nization, and established his command in a neighboring
field as Company 'A' and nucleus of the Twenty-third.

COMPANY 'B*'
At Marblehead, Captain Knott V Martin, who had
commanded Co. 'C,' Eighth M. V M. in the three months'
service, opened enlistment papers on or before the sixth
of September. As early as the twenty-fourth of that
month he took to Lynnfield a partly formed company called
had been enlisted by John F Devereux of Salem were
merged in Captain Martin's company

COMPANY 'C'
Toward the latter part of August, 1801, Captain Ad-
dison Center, who had commanded Co. 'G,' Eighth M. V M.
in the three months' service, opened rolls for a new com-
pany in Center's Block, Gloucester. He took about sixty
men to Lynnfield, marching from Salem, on or about the
fifteenth of September, and recruited to more than ninety
at Lynnfield. The company filled up at Annapolis.

COMPANY 'D'.
16 Sept., 1861. Rolls were opened in New Bedford
by Cornelius Howland, jr., for a company known as
the "Clifford Guards," with such success that on the sec-
ond of October, ninety-eight men were enrolled and in
camp at Lynnfield.
COMPANY 'E'.

William T. Alexander of Plymouth, and then of Boston, who had been a lieutenant of Co. 'B,' Third M. Y. M., was authorized by Governor Andre to recruit a company for the Twenty-third. 21 Sept. He took to camp at Lynnfield sixty men who had been enlisted in Plymouth, mainly by Hon. William T. Davis. When we started for the front, Company 'E' numbered ninety-seven.

COMPANY 'F'.

So early as 20 April, 1861, some scores of the young men of Salem, of all professions and conditions of life, formed the "Union Drill Club." They had no common bond but the desire to learn something of military duty and, perhaps, the lack of any special affiliation with any of the existing militia companies whose "Home Guards" were already military schools for other scores of their friends.

At first they established a civil organization with presidents, treasurer, etc., and had four drill-masters called sergeants. For a time, too, they were satisfied with such uniformity of dress as their private wardrobes permitted.

There was too much war in the air for this to continue, and within a month they had assumed a complete company organization and voted a uniform. This was: for the officers, a blue, straight-vizored kepi trimmed with gold, a gray, single-breasted frock, collar and cuffs of blue with gold braid, and dark blue trousers. The men wore a gray kepi and Zouave jacket, the latter of gray flannel widely faced with blue, but cap, jacket and dark-blue trousers all trimmed with red.

The kindness of the late John Bertram furnished a
Capt. G. M. Whipple.

COMPANY *F*

hundred trade-muskets "sufficiently good for drilling purposes."

The club acquired a fair proficiency in the "School of the Company' and shared in escort duty as occasion required: for instance, in the reception of Capt. R. B. Forbes's Coast Guard, 1 July, and of the returned three months' men on the 31st of that month.

30 Sept. Capt. George M. Whipple raised the question of enlisting for the war 4th Lieut. George R. Emmerton "believing that the times doubly demand an increased activity from the young men of the country." offered a resolution "that the members of this club will enlist for the war provided authority be obtained," etc., etc. Rev George D. Wildes, rector of Grace Church, president of the early civil organization and honorary member since the military organization had been adopted, and other members of the club, made speeches. Maj. Henry Merritt of the Twenty-third kindly said "Come" and assured us of a place in the Twenty-third.

Rolls were opened and twelve names, headed by that of your historian, obtained that evening. The Club furnished eighteen to Company 'F', five others to the Twenty-third and thirteen to other organizations.

With the authority of Governor Andre, G. M. Whipple opened a recruiting station at 31 Washington street, Salem. It was a time of great enthusiasm, and we had our full share of what benefit accrued from the numerous war-meetings held throughout the county. At a meeting at Mechanic Hall, 3 Oct., 1861, the presence of Captain Brewster's Company 'A' of the Twenty-third, in their brilliant Zouave uniform, and the singing of the Amphions seconded the eloquence of various speakers.

The newspapers spoke a good word. The Salem
Gazette, 8 Oct., 1861, editorially asserted that "no single event has occurred in our city in reference to the present war, which is more cheering to every patriot than the enlistment of this organization of our young men." In its phrase "We are called, indeed, to lay our most precious jewels upon the altar now," it furnished an epithet not readily forgotten in the regiment.

Material aid was not lacking. A subscription, under the auspices of the Young Men's Union, gave $600.00 to the company fund, and our comrade, the Rev J. H. Thayer, whose professional duties forbade his ardent desire to enlist, added $100.00 to that sum. 13 Oct., 1861, forty-three, rank and file, attended service at Ciombie Street Church and listened to an excellent sermon from comrade Thayer.

Did space permit it would be pleasant to record in more extended form some of the still fresh recollections of a corporal of 'F' detailed on recruiting service in our neighboring country towns; of the toothless enthusiast of Topsfield to whom hard-tack had no terrors,—he could "goom 'em"—; of the cheerful assent of a father in Hamilton who was, within the year, to lose an only son; of the tearful remonstrance of a mother, who, giving permission to one, utterly refused to let the third and last son go; of the speedy agreement, over the stone wall of an orchard in east Hamilton, with one whose early avoind, though thought sufficient to secure a discharge for disability, did not prevent his reenlistment and subsequent effective service.

For one of our war-meetings, Mrs. C. W. Uphani, sister of Dr. O. W. Holmes, and mother of our then comrade O. W. H. Upham, furnished, at the suggestion and request of Lieut. G. R. Emmerton, the following ode:
Rally boys! Come forth to fight.
For the Union, Law and Right;
For the Nation's honor, bright.
Let us draw the sword!
By the wrongs vile traitors wrought.
By the ruin they have brought.
Tyranny of deed and thought;
Forward, is the word!

See the Northern pride and flower
Gathering in this fateful hour;
Union is our strength and power,—
Let us join the van!
Lay the traitors in the dust;
Die they shall, and die they must:
They hive broken every trust,—
Forward every man!

Massachusetts calls to-day.
Beckoning all her sons away;
She no longer brooks delay—
Not a man must lag!
Gird the sword, and join the throng;
Right must triumph over wrong;
In our cause we shall be strong,—
Raise the starry flag!

Meanwhile the company had gone to the barracks on Winter Island. These, within the space now occupied by the outworks of Fort Pickering, had been built by the city, an appropriation, 19 April, 1861, of $400.00 having been made for that purpose. The "Andrew Light Guard," Capt. Wm. CogsAvell's Company 'C,'Second M. Y. L, were the first occupants 1 May, 1861. Various other companies had found temporary accommodation there including 'A' of the TAventy-third who had been escorted thence, on their way to Lynnfield, by the "Union Drill Club."
The city government expended, 14 Oct., 1861, $25.00 for repairs. In honor of our early and constant friend, this sojourn in barracks was called Camp Bertram. Here, with nothing else to do, our new recruits had ample time for, and, in many instances, showed great zeal and readiness in acquiring the manual and other elementary drill. Still I do not know that any objected to the interruption, on our last afternoon, occasioned by a large party of friends, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, with here and there a nearer and a dearer one.

15 Oct., 1861. We marched, eighty-seven strong, under escort of about forty of the old club, through a drizzling rain, to Peabody, and, on arrival by rail at Lynnfield, under escort of Company 'A' and the drum corps, to camp.

COMPANY 'G'.


29 Sept., 1861. Eighty-five strong, they attended divine service twice; in the morning at the Washington Street Church and after noon at the Baptist Church where they heard an original hymn written for the occasion by Mrs. Hanaford. They wore their new blue uniforms.

15 Oct., 1861. The "Rantoul Light Guards" left Beverly for Lynnfield. Many speeches were made. The captain was presented with a sword and his lieutenants with sashes. On the march to Salem, where they took cars, they were escorted by the Beverly Light Infantry and the "Drill Club of this place" says the Salem Gazette.
Wesley Caleb Sawyer, then just graduated at Harvard College, offered his services to Senator Henry Wilson. He had hoped for a lieutenancy under some experienced captain who might teach him ivar. He was with difficulty persuaded to assume the distasteful task of raising a company by direct personal appeal in and near his native town, Harvard, Mass. He raised about half a company which he took to Lynnfield, where Senator Wilson again persuaded him to accept a commission as Captain and the responsibility which that office implies.

Meanwhile a number of men, calling themselves "Havelock Guards." had enlisted in Boston, were drilled by F. SI. Doble, afterwards Lieutenant in the Twenty-third, and came to Lynnfield expecting to be the nucleus of a company in the Twenty-second under command of one Jacob C. Maine. It turned out that Maine could not get a commission and the men, refusing to serve under one George Cook, who at one time had a commission (afterwards revoked) as Captain in the Twenty-third, were for some days idlers about the camp, as unwilling to refuse duty entirely as they were to serve under officers whom they thought forced upon them. Finally, at the direct personal appeal of Adjutant General Schouler, they agreed to find places in the various companies of the Twenty-third. Sixteen of them joined Company 'H.' Their tent sign "Havelock Guards" may be recollected at Annapolis.

Company 'H' afterwards filled up in camp.

COMPANY 'i'.

In September, 1861, John Hobbs of Ipswich was raising a company for the war. 1 Oct., the company was
reported as "rapidly filling." 11 Oct. Colonel Kurtz "inspected, was much pleased and accepted the company for the 23rd." 15 Oct. The company, ninety strong, under escort of the "Home Guards" with the Rowley band, marched to Town Hall. There they partook of a clam-chowder, etc., and enjoyed speeches till near midnight. While at Ipswich they "fed" at the AgaAvam Hotel. 16th. They spent an hour or two in Salem on their way to Lynnfield. The newspapers chronicle that they were "a noble looking set of men — almost every one carried a bouquet."

COMPANY 'K'.

Carlos A. Hart, who had served as Second Lieutenant, Company 'F,' Fourth M. Y. Militia in the three months' service, received authority 22 Aug., 1861, from the Hon. Henry Wilson, to raise a company for three years' service in the Wilson Brigade.

He opened a recruiting office in Cocasset Hall, Foxboro, and posted the following call:

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!

RECRUITS

FOR THE BAY STATE GUARDS

TO GO INTO

HON. HENRY WILSON'S REGIMENT.

Capt. Hart's Company, now enlisting in Foxboro, will go into camp with Wilson's Regiment next week and all who intend to enlist should apply without delay at

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMPANY

AT COCASSET HALL, FOXBORO.
Col. Wilson pledges himself that every man in his command shall have his full due in Good Rations, Good Clothing, Prompt Pay and the best treatment.

Come at once if you wish to obtain a position in the best regiment that Massachusetts will send into the service.

C. A. HART, CAPTAIN,
late of Co. 'F,' 4th Regt.

Foxboro, Sept. 4, 1861.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall to aid the enlistment, and much patriotic sentiment was manifested by the best citizens of the place. John Littlefield, surgeon dentist, who had represented Foxboro in the General Court, was elected First Lieutenant. He left a successful practice at the call of his country, and, by example and active effort, was of material assistance in the formation of the company. $160.00 was raised to help the cause.

13 Sept., 1861. The company of thirty went to Lynnfield and was assigned to the Twenty-third as Company 'K.' Three officers and eighty enlisted men formed the company when it left Lynnfield. One hundred and eighteen men were in it during its three years' service. Twenty-nine men reenlisted.

THE BAND.

Certain men, such as could afford to leave their civilian occupations for the enlisted men's joay, and were, in their own estimation, capable of earning that pay as musicians, had collected at Lynnfield. When H. C. Brown, engaged as leader, put them to trial, he found some of them utterly incapable. Summarily sending these to their
homes he made successful search for drilled musicians, and, the regimental officers agreeing to make up the extra pay demanded, established the band which was so highly esteemed wherever the Twenty-third was posted until the government would no longer meet the expense, and, with other bands, it was discharged 30 Aug., 1862.

LYNNFIELD.

Our camp-ground at Lynnfield, the cradle of several regiments and batteries, is the lawn of the country-seat of D. P. Ives, Esq.

The line-officers' tents, at right angles to the turnpike, faced southwesterly, so that those of Company 'A,' on the right of the line, were not far from the location of Mr. Ives's house. The large building, near the railroad station, was used by the regimental quartermaster. The main guard and entrance to the parade were in that corner of the grounds.

The officers had the usual house-tent, but the rank and file were housed in Sibley tents. One of the earliest duties in Company 'F' was flooring the tents with the country boards provided for us. Their untrimmed edges left cracks which made a sort of savings bank for money or other small articles which slipped from the gaping pockets of our night-clothes. After a time we had bed-sacks and made a peaceful commercial raid upon a neighbor's barn for straw to fill them.

How can one hope to do more than select with passing touch from the teeming memories deeply engraved on our youthful minds by the novel experience of that first camp? Reveille. Hardly a trial to the young limbs not yet inured to the thin straw-beds and scanty blankets. Guard-mounting. Company-drill. At times little more than a slithering about when the morning sun had turned
to thin mud the surface of the drill ground stiffened by last night's frost. Bringing to quarters and distributing the huge piles of clothing, arms and equipments which were to turn a thousand civilians into the outer seeming of soldiers. Dinner was always good and abundant. Never quite do away to the prosaic monotony of the rations in the field, in some companies it was made a feast by the abundance of turkeys, puddings, pies, etc., furnished by our friends. Battalion drill. Men already somewhat posted in company drill entered with interest on the unknown ground of regimental combinations. They were nothing if not critical, and thought they had made a point when they refused to obey a "Forward" from the "Order arms" or remained solemnly erect when first the unexplained order "Down" came to them. In the latter case their young conceit gained nothing but a contemptuous "Well, stand up and be shot." Dress parade. The line was formed on two sides of a square for lack of room. Visitors. Crows of matrons and maids gazed with tender pride upon sons and brothers, and believed, if possible, more earnestly than ourselves, that they were admiring soldiers. Darkness came all too soon in those short November days, and drove us to our tents where cards, books, papers and the ever-present and ever-spreading pipe helped the time away.

The distinctions of military caste came slowly (and never far) among men who had lived equals all their lives. I recall an evening at company headquarters made jocund by the effortless flow of anecdote from a well-known Registrar, and a breakfast where nothing less than the extraordinary savoriness of a domestic chicken-pie would have reconciled a lieutenant, with reminiscences of the Mexican War, to sitting at table with a corporal.
Standing guard, with the consequent broken sleep, was our most arduous duty. Few of us had, up to this time, had opportunity for studying night effects on such a prolonged scale. My notebook recalls a tour of duty, when the stars glittering from a black sky, a well-arched Aurora Borealis and the waning moon vied with the glare of a huge bonfire in a neighboring camp, -with our more modest guard-fires and with the flickering blaze in certain Sibley tents which gave them a glow of vitality in the ghostly ranks of their snoary mates.

Arms and equipments, the bayonet-scabbards not without ineffectual protest from Colonel Kurtz, "were distributed.

31 Oct. The march to Salem. Weather and roads were all that could be wished. In our light marching order the twelve miles was an easy task. By way of Federal and Lynde streets we reached City Hall and escorted thence the city government to the Common. Here we had a scant collation, a short drill and profuse handshakings. Soon after 3 P. M. we started for camp. Essex street was densely crowded. We halted there a while for our officers to accept the hospitality of the Salem Light Infantry tendered them at the Essex House. Taking the route-step, after we left the streets, we reached camp with but one halt on the way, and, though not much tired, excused from dress parade and roll-calls.

2 Nov. There had been a brisk northeaster during the day, and the rain, beginning about the time of evening roll-call, hinted an experience that we fully met. Half the night we were up loosening the guy-ropes (lest the canvas, shortened by the rain, should pull the pegs from the ground and all should fall together) and retying the tapes at the door which the wind, flapping the loosened cloth, would immediately throw open again. Finally, the canvas
had drank up all the rain it would hold, the tapes were all torn away from the door and we, in the least wet and windy side of the tent, slept till morning disclosed a picture of desolation. The flat camp and parade were almost one puddle, and many tents were prostrate.

Colonel Kurtz's desire that the regiment might have an opportunity for special duty, rather than as a member of some coast expedition then talked of, and Gen. Wilson's interest in accumulating Massachusetts regiments near himself, resulted in a request, 28 Oct., 1861, from Gen. Winfield Scott to Governor Andrau, that the regiment might be sent to Washington, but, 6 Nov., 1861, Colonel Kurtz was compelled to ask delay on account of insufficient equipage. In fact, our knapsacks, haversacks and canteens did not reach us till the 7th, nor our dress coats and blankets till the 8th.

10 Nov. The last Sunday in camp drew a great crowd of people, and, after services conducted by Rev. G. D. Wildes of Salem, we had our last handshakes with the friends we left behind us.

11 Nov. 1861. We were roused at four, and were fed, packed and ready by daylight, but the usual delays put off our start till near eleven. Stringent orders were issued against the destruction of property. The number of cases of spontaneous combustion in the straw and other camp-litter was very remarkable.

ON THE ROAD.

Boston was its hospitable self, cheered us on State street, fed us on the Common and would, doubtless, have sheltered us from the rain which drenched us on the way to the Old Colony station.

Here were a thousand men and boys, many tenderly
nurtured, wet to the skin in mid-afternoon and, without change of clothing, gradually drying on the cars and in the Sound boat. But if any, were the adverse for it. An interesting illustration of the protecting influence of a novel environment.

The steamer State of Maine carried the right wing very comfortably. A limited supply of mince-pie and ale, which could be bought on board, met the need of but a few, and the hunger of the many was not appeased during the long hours of waiting off the Battery for the Metropolis bringing the left wing, the field and staff including the R. Q. M., and the rations. Can answer for the fierce hunger of one as we marched up Broadway, passing Trinity as the clock struck twelve, on the way to the Park barracks. We were escorted by the Sons of Massachusetts who took the officers to breakfast at the Astor House while we were fed at the barracks.

Some two thousand sons and daughters of Massachusetts were present at the Astor House. Colonel presided and speeches were made by Generals Burnside and Wilson, by Dr. BelloAvs, Chaplain Clarke and others. Adjutant Chambers was toasted as the printer-soldier of Massachusetts. General Burnside is reported by the New York Commercial Advertiser as saying: "The cause of the Avar is regarded as the strength of the enemy and he hoped every good general would avail himself of this force. Under any other name than slavery no good general would excuse from letting it alone. If it be necessary, in order to maintain the Government, that slavery be removed, in God's name let it be done."

General Wilson said: "You and I have listened to the most important speech made since that Avar."

At the barracks no very strict guard was kept, and the men scattered over the city. While there were, doubt-
less, some who abused the liberty, those who did not have been quite impossible after some 3'ears of service. At 5 p. M. Avent in light inarching order up Broadway and paid a passing salute to Mrs. Lincoln at the Metropolitan. The street was ci-OAvded, and our appearance, as we marched in platoons, singing, at intervals, our version of the John Brown song, Avhich related the Avonderful results to be expected when the rebels ' should hear the rifles' crack of the Old Bay State's Twenty-third," was the signal for the Avildest enthusiasm. Even after dark it was not difficult, for those who remained sober, to get leave. A party of non-commissioned officers lodged and breakfasted at Lovering's.

13 Oct., 1861. About noon we marched, up Broadway, around Union Square and through 14th street to the ferry-boat. This, our first lengthy march in heavy marching order, was made no less fatiguing by the great slipperiness of the Avorn pavements. It was dark when, or soon after, we left Jersey City. One of the men fell from the cars, on our Avay across the state of New Jersey, but rejoined us soon after, not much the Avorse for the accident. Philadelphia's hospitality, in the abundant refreshment at the Cooper Association rooms, was duly welcome at about 2 A. M., and the rest of the night was spent in the cars at rest in the streets of the City of Brotherly Love. Perryville, Avith its busy camps and teeming corrals, gave us our first proof of the scope of the governmental preparations. About noon Companies 'A', 'F' and 'D' with Colonel, Major, Surgeon, Chaplain and Sutler went on board the little steamer "Star" for Annapolis.

\A'ith the cheery daylight it was a very pleasant trip. With dusk, came fog, and, after dark, rain, and then, for
the large number of sleepy boys whom actual want of room kept exposed on the hurricane-deck, the misery of enforced wakefulness. Nor were our salt-water boys of Salem and New Bedford made any happier by the inefficient clumsiness which kept us, through two hours of drenching rain, just off the pier, in vain endeavor to reach a berth. Finally, the sacred soil of the sunny south, otherwise the mud of the deserted Naval Academy, received us ankle-deep, and we were glad of such shelter and rest as could be obtained among the empty show-cases of the museum.
CHAPTER H.

ANNAPOlis. LIFE AND INCIDENTS IN CAAP. THANKSGIVING. PAY.
MUSTEK-IN. CONTRABANDS. EMBARKATION. HIGHLANDER. HUS-
SAR. THE A'OYAGE. RESCUE OF NLT'H NEW JERSEY OFFICERS.
HATTERAS. THE INLET. THE SAA'ASH. SCARCITY OF AVATER. GALES.

NEXT da}-, 15 Nov., 1861, began the experience AA' hitch, though probably common enough, the 23rd AVas accu-
tomed to consider peculiarly its OA; the being ordered to
move on as soon as Awe were comfortably established.
After a day's Avork had made our museum room habitable,
orders came to march to College Green and occupy a II CAV
building Awhose floors Avere thick Awith the mud of our
predecessors and Awhose walls quaked Awith the tread of
our unexpected nuiibers. lii Nov Again, after a busy
forenoon of clearing up, the left Aving, Awhich had folloAvod
our course, enjoying the floor of the railroad station at
Perryville the first night, joined us and, together, Awe
marched to camp some tAvo miles out of the city.

The quiet of the next—Sunday—forenoon Avas broken
by the excited ru>h of the officer of the guard through the
camp with the cry " To Arms I" Your historian AA'as pu-
zled to imagine Awhom we could find to fight in such a
place, and curious Avhether, Aven found, we could reach
him Awith the bayonet — Awe had no ball cartridges — but
fell in Awith the rest to receive General Burnside and hear
some general orders, including one about foraging. Some
one had been shooting turkeys. Suspicion against one of
the companies was made certainty by the appearance, on
the very scene of investigation, of tAvo more of its men
brining more turkeys. The blue Zouave uniform dis-
appeared from that day The regiment gained in stead-
iness all it lost in picturesqueness.

(19)
We learned that our camp, pitched in the open field, was liable to be under water in rainy weather. A party was sent to a neighboring grove to prepare another camp. We moved, mostly by hand, next day. Only such trees as were actually in the way were removed. The slope of the land secured fair drainage. Barring a little awkwardness, arising from the location of the companies in camp, when we came to form line for parade, and that our water must all be brought from a distant roadside spring, the camp was very convenient and soon became comfortable. Some of us adopted the California furnace—a covered pit, near the centre of the tent, with air-duct coming in from one side to the bottom, and smoke-pipe from near the top on the opposite side. These, with very little fire, made our tents very comfortable. General Foster inspected and approved them. Perhaps they were too warm for those who, in a crowded tent, were compelled to sleep over or near the smoke-pipe. Others tried digging out the soil under the tents, some eighteen inches deep, except for a foot next the canvas. This largely increased the standing room and available space, but was, perhaps, not so desirable as the stockading we learned to make afterwards amid the plentiful woods of the Carolinas.

In accordance with the suggestion of Governor Andrew Co. 'F' celebrated Thanksgiving in a highly satisfactory manner. The company street was decorated with evergreen and holly. After listening to an open air service held by Chaplain Clark, to an accompaniment of coughs, two roast turkeys and two plum puddings were served in each tent, and, after dress-parade, we had bonfires and danced around them, singing "Auld lang syne," etc.

All the pleasant days, and these were many, were passed in drill, company, battalion and brigade.

5 Dec. Mustered into United States service by Captain Putnam, U S. A.
From the time when we marched out of Annapolis between two lines of grinning darkies the negroes were always about the camps. They came, with their trays of pies, etc., when permitted, in the daytime, and required little persuasion to induce them to come at night and give us specimens of their singing.

"The words are very amusing . . . I give you a specimen, although the effect is lost by not seeing the faces and motions of the singers. One foot is always in motion; they shut their eyes and roll about their heads in the queerest manner. They all, men and women, sing the air or first treble part, and, when the spirit moves, the music gets decidedly boisterous. The chorus is evidently the part best relished by the singers." ^

"Wet or dry I mean to try
Away in the wilderness.
To get to heaven when I die
Away, etc.

It's a highway, it's a highway.
It's a highway, Away in the wilderness.

Jordan water, chilly and cold,
Away, etc.
I've got glory in my soul.
Away, etc.

I heard a voice, I couldn't tell where.
It must have been my Lord in the air.

Down to a fountain I was led,
There I eat of heavenly bread.

It is the food for all my soul.
The more I gets the more I grow.

John and James are gone I know,
Up to heaven long ago.'

1G. M. W. in "Salem Observer."
H. E. Yalentine, of Co. 'F,' wrote down the music, as he heard it, in his diary, as follows:

Wet or dry I mean to try, A-way in the wilderness.

To get to heaven when I die, A-way in the wilderness.

Its a High way, Its a High - way. Its a

High way. A way in the wil - der - ness.

Our first payments came here. They were made partly in gold and partly in greenbacks which were eagerly taken by the boys for their novelty. From the lack of small coins or "currency," fractional parts of dollars were put "in bills" into the hands of company officers to be paid to the men as opportunity offered. Of course sutlers and peddlers reaped a harvest from so much money in the hands of boys. I saw one drummer-boy saving his watch against the stove to see how often he could hit the iron without breaking the crystal. On the other hand much money was sent home. 'F' sent $2,549.50, and 'G' $3,800.00.

An incident of 7 Dec. is worth relating for itself and as an illustration of methods and tone of feeling among the early volunteers.
A member of 'A' had, in the words of Sp. Ord. No. 18, before me, "by frequent dishonorable, dishonest and insubordinate conduct, as well as being a deserter from his regiment and recreant to the flag of his country become extremely obnoxious and a nuisance to the camp. The commanding officer orders that at two and a half o'clock on Saturday afternoon, December 7, 1861," he "shall be stripped of every vestige of the uniform of his Regiment and be drummed out of the service at the point of the bayonet as a person totally unfit to be allowed to associate with honorable soldiers."

Signed, JOHN KURTZ, COL.

J. G. CHAMBERS, ADJ.

I copy an account sent by 'Y' to the Salem Register. "The regiment was drawn up in two lines, the right wing resting on the main entrance, the two lines facing each other about three feet apart. The two Reliefs, which were not on guard, were marched up to the left, the whole arranged in the following order:

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R
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line of Soldiers.</th>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
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<td>a</td>
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Main entrance to camp.

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a. Adjutant. R. Reliefs of guard.
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The prisoner was brought to the place marked C where the charge was read. He was charged with stealing and in other ways becoming obnoxious to the regiment, besides being recreant to the flag of his country by deserting. Then he was made to strip off his uniform and put on a pair of old, dark blue pants and an old jacket.
buttoned on the back instead of on the front. The poor fellow cried like a child when first brought out of the tent. When all was ready the command was given, the corporal's guard came to the 'charge bayonets,' the fifer struck up the 'Rogue's March' accompanied by the drum, and he was marched just outside the lines through the main entrance and left to shift for himself."

For myself, I pitied him till I saw he seemed to need no pity.

"M" in another letter in the Register says: "During the process of stripping him and clothing him again, the fellow was loud and boisterous in his profane cursing of the regiment, and as he pulled off his military cap he tore the letter from it and kicked it from him with a horrid oath. The impression upon the soldiery seemed certainly to be of the most salutary character, and all the more so, as the poor wretch by his horrid blasphemies fairly endorsed his sentence, severe as it was, and prevented any reaction in his favor for sympathy on the part of his former comrades."

Life at camp "John A. Andrew" at Annapolis was very pleasant. Our tents were pitched in a position central to the other camps and near the brigade drill grounds which were also used for what seemed to us imposing division reviews. Ten thousand well-equipped infantry in an open field, whose rolling surface gave good points of view, are well worth seeing, even if, in their newness, they lacked something of the set-up of veterans. We had easy access to the city, along the railroad when the occasional rain and the constant army-Avogons poached the roads into a condition impassable to pedestrians. We were well fed and busily employed in learning our new trade. The bright winter weather, so well adapted to out-door life, was so common that the rare rains were Awelcome for
rest and bringing up arrears of mending and correspondence.

I venture to quote from a letter, signed "Y," a sketch of evening life in a tent in Co. 'F.' Those who recognize the parties will feel no less interest from the fact that so many of them have gone before.

"Our (tent) Adjutant (W S.) is sitting on his bed-sack making much of his meerschaum and enveloped in a cloud of smoke. . . L. R. is writing to some fair damsel if I can judge by the occasional lighting up of his eye ; S. B. and F M. are reclining on another sack, the one smoking and the other chewing a piece of tough cracker, tougher than even sailors get — so the knowing ones say. E. P. is poring over Harper's Weekly ; J. McC. is reading on my right, while J. T. is perusing the Boston Journal; S. S., S. H., A. M. and G. D. are writing letters ; and E. J. is smoking and laughing at some joke from S. B.

Your historian, one of the happy boys described, can endorse another letter signed "H." "I am very much pleased with this life. Have gained in flesh till my face has the old school-boy roundness." (A common experience.) "Our army-rations are good and well-cooked and with the boxes from home, Ave, of the N. C. O., fare sumptuously; indeed, our lieutenants say better than they fare. I certainly think there is not a happier set of boys on the field. There have never been any cross words nor differences."

"M" — before quoted — says Dec. 10: "Let me bear Avitness to the superb performances of the regimental band of this regiment, under Mr. Henry C. BroAvn of Boston. . . Said the Chaplain (no mean judge I trow), 'Mr. BroAvn's voluntaries at our Sabbath services are the most beautiful and appropriate that I ever heard.' As this is Mr. Brown's first attempt at gathering a band, and espec-
ially as they were all strangers to each other at the start, and some of them never saw each other till five days before they left Lynnfield, I think it simple justice to call attention to Mr. BroAvn's success as a leader and as one destined to cause even Gilmore himself to look well to his laurels. Mr. Cook of Fitchburg, the tenor drummer, is the best I ever saw beat a drum—another "Billy Gray" certainly. Would that you could have stood Avith me, last Saturday evening, near regimental headquarters and Avit- nessed the profound enjoyment of the crowd while Brown and his associates discoursed, for an hour, music of the highest order."

From the same letter: "Some three regular religious exercises per week are enjoyed by the Chaplain and those disposed to meet in one of the largest tents (the head- quarter mess-tent) besides the Sabbath services at which the regiment are all present."

Again: "Sabbath evening witnessed an impressive scene—the crowded tent—the earnest devotion—the hearty songs of praise—and especially at the close when Lieut. Col. Merritt requested the prayers of the company in behalf of one of the sick soldiers in the hospital. But we learned at the close of this precious season of devotion that the poor fellow had died just as the meeting had opened. His name was Ansel Stall of 'H' from Lunenburg, Mass."

How much the fighting strength of a regiment is de- pleted by the need of clerks and artificers in the various departments is familiar enough to all Massachusetts men, but a special drain upon the 23rd, almost all whose companies came from the very coast, occurred here when one hundred and forty men marched off at once to man the transports.

Ball cartridges and target practice began in December.
"At 100 yards a target, 6 feet by 22 inches, caught half the shots, but at 200 yards, only 18 shots" (probably from one company). Some doubt arose as to the accuracy of our Enfield rifles when we found that experienced riflemen missed a target which green school-boys could hit, although, literally, firing a gun for the first time in their lives.

Rumors of a speedy move had been rife for weeks. Each was contradicted, in turn, by the report, from town, that there were no vessels to carry us. Even after the transports had come, work went on in camp as though we meant it for winter-quarters. Regular army-ovens were set up and a well, five feet square, was curbèd with chestnut rails and furnished with bucket and winch on 4 Jan., 1862, only to be taken down on the 5th when positive orders came to start the next day. These were cold days with thermometer, hanging at the door of a warmed tent, at 18°-j- Fahr. and some inches of very light snow lying unmelted. It was from this we pulled our Sibley tents and through this we marched to Annapolis, a short walk made laborious by the ruts beneath the snow and our knapsacks overlaid with all manner of extras which the prospect of short marches induced us to retain. Then came long hours in hollow square around huge bonfires on the green of the Naval Academy; and, finally, we went, at dark, to our quarters on the schooner Highlander and the steamer Hussar.

While the regiment was waiting, a sad mishap occurred to Co. "C. Some men of that company, detailed on gunboat Lancer, were ashore on leave for the purpose of getting photographic portraits. While in an oyster saloon, the contents (buckshot) of a gun, accidentally discharged while in the hands of private William Bushey, struck private Thomas Butler in the right eye. "He never moved from his chair."
The local authorities did not deem an inquest necessary. Butler was buried and Bushey returned to duty the same day.

HATTERAS.

The "Highlander," "originally the 'Claremont' built, probably, in New Jersey about 1858-9 and intended for the pine-wood trade," was a centre-board schooner of 561 tons. This tonnage must have included the space covered by the spar-deck which, high enough for three tiers of bunks, had been added to fit her for transport service. A tier of bunks was built in along each side and supplied with mattresses stuffed with dried sea-aved. The remaining space was filled with cots—narrow canvas-sacking beds on turned posts which reached from the deck to the beams overhead. They were arranged by twos, nearly touching in the ranks and with but a narrow passage-way between the double ranks.

These passages were about thirty inches wide, none too much for men to pass one another in the lightest marching order. Now, suppose two hundred and odd men with arms, equipments, knapsacks, haversacks, everything that they could and more than they ought to carry, filing into these narrow aisles in the vain attempt to find their assigned bunks; and suppose as many more, equally encumbered, trying to reach similar accommodations in the lower hold and you may form some idea of the confusion which filled, for a time, the interior of the Highlander on that January evening. Finally, Avord was passed that men should take the nearest bunks. This speedily relieved the worst of the crowding and we set's S. W. Higgins.
tied away with 'A,' 'F' and part of 'D' on the main deck; the rest in the hold. Sardines are packed closer, but those natives of the rolling deep are not subject to sea-sickness.

Two hatches, one sky-light, without glass on its sides, and three or four glazed ports in each side, gave, for the main deck, fair light and air.

The ship's officers and our field and staff—i.e., Colonel, Surgeon, Adjutant and Quartermaster—occupied the cabin proper and its state-rooms. The line-officers of our five companies had rooms in the same house forward of the cabin; one sleeping-room and a mess-room which also had berths along the sides. These rooms opened on the main deck. The galley and closets shared about equally the "eyes of her" on the main deck, and the forecastle was forAvard beloAV.

Mr. E. Smith, correspondent for the New York Times, was a fellow passenger.

The Highlander remained for some time in the North Carolina Avaters, and, later, took troops to Texas. Major Dollard, 2nd Lieut. U. S. C. Cav. (formerly Sergeant of 'E') says: "At Brazos Santiago, in Jan., 1866, a terrific storm had driven upon the beach, within a space of ten miles, not less than twenty sailing and steam vessels. Among these I noticed the schooner Highlander. That she survived this calamity is extremely improbable."

The Hussar was one of those hulking barns-afloat, intended for freighting hay on the North River. Her black color (shared by everything afloat, under control of the navy, in the days before the adoption of the lead-colored war-paint said to have been introduced by the blockade-runners) and grace of outline gained for her and her mates the sobriquet "blacksmith's shop."

The arrangement of the Hussar did not differ essentially from that of the Highlander. She had canvas-bottomed
cots "tween decks" and bunks with mattresses in the hold. In her they were four storeys high. She was armed with two 30 lb. Parrots and two 6 lb. Wiards. Having a condenser on board, the left Aving never suffered for water, although at one time put on a\textit{per diem} of one pint. Coffee, made with a steam-pipe in a barrel, was always provided; but, such coffee!!

In 1863 the Hussar might have been seen at Beaufort, N. C., sunk to her upper deck and apparently abandoned, but eighteen months later she turned up among the transports at Brazos Santiago apparently as good as ever.

We lay in the harbor of Annapolis till Thursday, having been towed to a new anchorage the evening before. Early risers may recall the glorious sunrise of the 8th, which painted sky and sea and spars with living crimson, and may remember the burning of a deck-load of hay soon after, when blazing bales, thrown over to save the vessel, bore down upon us, and picket-boats were sent out to fend off the impromptu fire-ships.

There had been rain the morning we started. Mist and fog accompanied us, but by noon it became clear and the full magnificence of the pageant was revealed. Not

\begin{verbatim}
"Like leviathans afloat
Lay their bulwarks on the brine."
\end{verbatim}

Our escorting gunboats were of that curious medley called forth by the sudden summons of war and made up largely of ferry-boats and tugs. In the weight and power of their metal alone were they imposing. Our steam transports varied from the huge Northerner, carrying with ease a full regiment, to the dumpiest of the army gunboats, and their NAVS from the full rigged ship (too

\begin{itemize}
  \item Dollard.
\end{itemize}
large, as the event proved, to enter at Hatteras) to the canal boat battery (utterly helpless without either horse or hawser). These, gay with flags and teeming with a joyously expectant army, made the pageant.

As the more powerful boats passed their slower mates, cheer answered unto cheer and band to band. Sentimental Brown played "Home, SAvet Home" and gallant Gilmore sent back "The girl I left behind me." Bugle-solos found unexpected echoes. So, with laugh and song, we pushed on, not merely our possible fate but our course and destination, as well, utterly unkno-wn.

Fog held us still next day Nothing else could be seen. An occasional order, bugle-call or drum-roll assured us we were near friends. A clearer sky in the afternoon allowed us to start, and, before night, the leafless forest over our bow gradually turned to the masts of the real leviathans of our navy, anchored off Fort Monroe, and these suddenly bourgeoned out into a full foliage of Jack-tars manning the yards and cheering as each transport glided to its mooring.

Few found our stop in Hampton Roads tedious. Frowning fortress, famous frigate, far-reaching fleet were too novel to all. The flag-of-truce boat that day brought some ladies from Dixieland and consigned them to a French frigate. Heavy guns in some rebel battery near Sewall's point had a warlike sound, but were said to mean jubilation over a new flagstaff. Some were lucky enough to get ashore to have a nearer inspection of the interior of the fortress as well as of the huge guns on the beach and to obtain fresh commissary supplies from the sutler.

Morning found us with bright sky and fairly smooth sea, meekly following the Hussar in a similar, though more scattered, column, to that in the bay. Some of the boys found the motion too frisky, but the right wing of
the 23rd Avas too web-footed to suffer long and AWC thought ourselves pretty fairly settled clown to enjoy a sea-life. ToAvards dark a fresh gale from the southAvest arose and so hindered us that it Avas decided to cast off the liaAvser.

All hands, but enough to work ship, Avere ordered below, and, then, as Awe stood off' and on, ensued scenes which, though not without their laughable side, may perhaps best be left to the memories of the participants.

One of these was provided by Commissary Chappie's spaniel as "sick as a dog" in her master's bunk. "Curly," the pet of Company 'F', if not of the regiment, Avas conspicuous Avith her red blanket on the march through Boston and NCAV York. Her pups, born on the eve of the battle at Roanoke Island, Avere in great demand as souvenirs of that affair.

The sudden gale Avas soon over. Before midnight Awe were standing off and on under easy sail. Of course at daylight no Hussar was to be seen. We foUoAved along with light and baffling winds toAvards Hatteras Inlet noAV generally knoAvn to be our destination.

The Cape of Storms Avas to give us one more taste of its quality- In the hurry to shorten sail before a threatening squall the mainsail refused to come doAvn and the wind, catching it, forced us over till unhappy soldiers Avere rolled out of their bunks. Our watchful Captain saAV the difficulty and applied the only remedy. Ruunino-up the main rigging he SAvung across to the gaft' and brought the sail doAvn by his Aveight. FCAV of us knCAV of the danger we had escaped. In such Aveather Awe could not pass the Inlet, but made for Hatteras Cove and there rode, Avith both anchors, Avithin sight of the haven of rest beyond, but exposed to the force of a northeaster during the 14th and its remaining sea on the 15th. Sixteen of the fleet had shared the hospitalities of the Cove and to-
Capt. C. Howland.

Capt. S. C. Hart.


1st Lt. C. H. Hayward.

1st Lt. John Littlefield.
gether we tried in the light breeze to work our Avay to and into the Inlet. Finding the wind likely to fail us utterly we made signal for a tug by dropping our ensign from the martingale braces. In response, the steamer Pawtuxent took us in tow.

We were nearing the outer bar and had begun to discuss the noonday pork and hard-tack when word came from the Pawtuxent, "Boat upset." In less time than it takes to Avrite it, three of our boats, manned by ready volunteers, and one of them under command of Lieut. S. C. Hart of 'D,' Avere speeding to the rescue. The officers of the 9th New Jersey Volunteers had gone in to report their arrival to General Burnside, and, on their return, had been capsized in the breakers of the bar. Out of twelve, one, the second mate of the transport (the ship Ann E. Thompson), Avas never found; nine needed only Avarmth and dry clothing to be speedily all right again; and two. Colonel Allen and Surgeon Weller, defied the persistent efforts of Di" Derby and his assistants to revive them. They had been in the water three-quarters of an hour.

Meanwhile we had passed the already crumbling Avreck of the "City of New York" and Avere quietly anchored at last in a "pocket" of the "SAvash."

The long stretch of shifting sand, reaching almost from the Capes of Virginia to the Cape of Fear and separating the ocean from the broad sounds of North Carolina, is subject to constant change.

What seems on the older charts a sturdy buhvark against the assaults of the ocean is but a thin thread on the modern maps. The frequent islands, both outside and inside, of the older time, are now only shoals occupied, if at all, only by water-fowl whose myriads we used to see against the horizon rising like the smoke of distant fires.

Of course the accumulating waters of the many rivers
must find or make outlets. In the early days the chief
openings were north of Roanoke. Through one of these
the Adventurers under Raleigh and others passed to found
the ill-fated settlement on Roanoke Island. All these
have long been closed. Ocracoke Inlet, at the south,
seems to have been most permanent and practicable.
Perhaps it was, for many years, strictly the only one.

The Hatteras Inlet of our experience is a modern affair.
Some six miles south of it there was another, very similar
to it and called Hatteras Inlet, in 1738. An English
ship took ground on its bar and could not be removed.
Sand collected about her till the channel closed and dis­
appeared so completely that even tradition had ceased to
speak of it and aged men and women had never heard of
it. By diligent inquiry, two old men have been found who
had heard such stories from their ancestors.

Perhaps no part of that slight sandy barrier between
sound and ocean seemed more secure than the site of the
present outlet in the summer of 1846. All parts were lia­
able to overflow in severe storms, but here were groves
of live oak, not lofty, but with sturdy trunks and wide­
spreading branches; here were houses, orchards, vine­
yards, in short, all the results of the simple civilization of
the hardy islanders.

In September came a three days' gale. The rain and
persistent easterly wind heaped up the waters in the
sounds. Suddenly the wind changed to northwest. Ocra­
coke Inlet to the south, and the old-time inlets north of
Roanoke, if any remained, were all too small to discharge
the accumulated waters. On the morning of the seventh of
September, Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds were pouring
into the ocean by, at least, three new channels, Oregon,
Hatteras and a narrow, nameless one a little south of the
latter. This soon filled again.
Hatteras people are used to rough weather and had gone to bed thinking it not much of a storm. By the dawn's early light they saw a torrent of salt-water, where yesterday they plucked figs and Scuppernong grapes, and watched while their oaks were undermined and toppled into the sea. The work was not all done at once. In fact, one "hummock," inhabited at the time of the storm and now long since washed away, did not disappear till after the pilots had begun to use the new inlet.

Who knows how long it will last? Nearly forty years have elapsed since the waters cut through. For thirty years it has been the only channel at all equal to the demands of modern commerce. The next storm may seal it and open others.

While the current is sufficient to keep the channel in the inlet proper of more than 20 feet in depth there are bars both outside and inside. That outside known as "the bar" is comparatively narrow and still affords some 15 feet of water. The broad bar inside having, in 1862, but 7 feet in its channel is "the sash" which gave us so much trouble. An early channel across it, still carrying 8 feet to within a short distance of the open sound, is closed at the inner end and forms the "pocket" in which the Highlander and other vessels were moored till lightened sufficiently to pass through the channel over "the sash."

Getting inside the inlet did not assure safety to all. The army gunboat Zouave, with a number of 23rd men detailed on her, overrun her anchor, knocked a hole in her bottom and sank where her upper deck was just awash. No lives were lost, but some of the men could only bring

*The accompanying map of Hatteras, copied from the Coast-Survey, map of 1861, will, it is hoped, prove of interest. It gives, beside the exact topography, the approximate positions of the Highlander and Hussar.
A coal transport took ground close by us, broke her back, and, pinned down by her cargo, became a speedy Avreck. The Hussar and the side-Avheeler NCAV York swung their sterns together. While the Hussar escaped serious damage the after cabin of the NCAV York was badly smashed.

During our three Aveeks' stay at Hatteras, one day in three Avas of rainy storm and some storms Avee of great severity. Other days were disagreeable enough from cold northerly Avind, yet there Avee hours and days when the sunny south asserted itself, and all will recall the mild moonlight Avhen the chat and pipe on deck Avee so enjoyable until the silvery strains of BroAvn's "Spanish retreat" warned us aAvay to the soldier's early bed.

None too soon Ave got out our Sibley tents Avhich had been stored away stiff with the ice and snow of Annapolis. Through one soaking rain they hung, a huge, pyramidal mass of dripping, dirty canvas, from a line stretched betAveen the masts.

No account of life at Hatteras would be complete Avithout mention of the scarcity of water. We had been delayed by storm and shoals and might reasonably have expected to reach a fresh supply before the time of extreme need. Even this had not been left to chance, for General Burnside says in a letter to General McClellan, 26 Jan., 1862, "I took the precaution to arrange for a supply of Avater before we left, ordering one schooner to leave each day till further orders, but not one has yet arrived. Our supply of water is nearly out."

Something must be allowed to the improvidence of school-boys called upon, for the first time in their lives, to measure Avater as something less free than air. One diary records Avee, in the slang of the time, is called a "he old wash in fresh Avater," from the canteen of a cor-
poral who was not in the ring, which — another diarist declares—drew extra supplies from the guarded Avater-butt on deck. Nor did said corporal sit up half the night, as another diarist boasts he did, to furtively convey a dip-perful from the water-butt, and to pour the precious fluid into his canteen, without spilling a drop, even in the Stygian darkness of the lower hold. Lest the corporal be accused of selfish waste, it maybe well to add that his ablutions were performed in the Oriental method — pouring a trickling stream on outstretched palms — and that a wash of the character aforesaid may, in this way, be obtained with the use of an amount of water that would be ridiculous in the hand-basins of Occidental civilization.

That water was really scarce came home to us one day when we were served with coffee made with the rain-water caught in the boat hanging from the stern-davits and redolent of other flavors than those belonging to the Mocha berry. A zealous officer-of-the-day refused a fresh issue for the tea on the plea that we should use what had been served out for boiling the rice for dinner. Is not the action of an officer on the Hussar, who, finding that a barrel of whiskey, had, by mistake for water, been turned into the coffee-boilers, threw the whole overboard, em-balmed in the historic poem of "Gideon's Band?"

When the supply fell so short that the water-butt on deck was left empty and our day's supply of fluid was limited to a pint of tea and as much coffee, a salt beef dinner made the men so clamorous that an extra gill of water was served to appease them. During the brisk rain of that evening, men might have been seen catching water in their rubber-blankets or patiently holding their tin-cups under the drip of the rigging, unmindful of the fact that they were getting wet through in the process. Before the arrival of our supply schooners we had Avater Avarm from
the condensers and this warmth, unavoidable otherwise than by extra delay, was another grievance to the growling squad.

In the middle of the water fiimine came a supply of sutler's goods and apples,—one barrel netting $19.0 retail,—figs, butter, cheese, etc., though at fabulous prices were a welcome addition to our restricted fare.

20 Jan'y. Men swimming.

22 Jan'y. After putting half our pig-iron ballast on canal-boat battery, we tried to cross the swash with the help of the steamer Pilot Boy on one side and the gunboat Picket on the other. In vain; we could not move forward even when most of our live-freight was transferred to the Pilot Boy, but we luckily could back out and did anchor near the fort.

Here came that really heavy gale which gave rise to startling reports and sensational pictures of the time. Comparatively few vessels had crossed the swash. The fleet was crowded in the narrow "pockets." Lofty side-wheelers veered about before the shifting gales, deep laden coal schooners, caught by conflicting currents, became unmanageable. In all directions vessels were dragging their anchors, smashing one another in temporary collision or drifting to destruction on the bars. Flags of distress flying in all directions, were all the more distressing, because little help could be tendered in that raging sea. The 24th Massachusetts, whose escape from the confinement of shipboard and whose pleasant camp on shore had aroused our envy on a previous day, was driven by the rising tide to the higher land near the forts.

Again, provisions as well as water were becoming scarce. The deprivation was no easier to bear by the knowledge that abundant supplies were in the fleet. I copy, from a letter of the time, a statement of the
S. A. Burnham, 'E'

E. Richardson, 'K'

Serg. F. H. Lee. 'F'

2nd Lt. D. P. Muzzey-

1st Lt. W J. Creasey.
daily ration on the 23rd and 24th January. "Two potatoes for dinner, one pint of tea, as much coffee, one gill of water and twelve crackers for a day's rations." This schedule, scanty as it is, is fairly corroborated from other sources, although your historian, generally blessed with a good appetite, had forgotten the fact and his diary is little else than a record of the games at cards which helped away the tedious hours.

However, a heavy rain during the forenoon of the 24th broke the wind and levelled the sea, enabling us first to secure supplies and next, wind and rain having heaped the waters, with little effort, tugged by the Picket and another gun-boat, to cross the formidable swash.


3 Feb. The officers enjoyed a similar reception from Col. Stevenson and officers of the 24th M. Y. I. on their steamer Admiral. Gilmore's band, it will readily be believed, played a prominent part in the festivities.

Cards were, naturally, a common resource for killing the monotonous rainy days. The narrowness of the passages between bunks was an advantage here, for the cover of a cracker-box resting on the knees of opposite players made a commodious table. By no means all were satisfied with a quiet rubber with "nothing up." Here comes a notable distinction between Highlander and Hussar, Our worthy chaplain, after a visit to the schooner, told his shipmates that, if they must gamble, he did wish they would bet beans as they did on the Highlander.
A little incident of life on the Hussar illustrates the readiness of some members of our sea-coast companies. They were getting a boat and a private of 'A,' detached and serving in the crew of the Hussar, lost his balance and was thrown into the rough sea. Utpadel of 'C' no sooner saw the accident than he jumped for the davit tackle and sliding down had him in the boat again in a jiffy. Again, when McCartney, a recruit in Company 'C,' "love-cracked" and tired of life, jumped overboard, the swift tide and rough sea made it seem probable that he would infallibly lose it. Not so thought his comrades Bushey, Coas, Rogers and Tupper. Speedily manning and as quickly lowering the Captain's gig from the davits, they, at no little risk to themselves, saved, for a time, McCartney's little-valued life. 20 Jan'y, 1862. "As I write our boat is going by, with Orderly Greenleaf in the stern sheets, Corporal George A. Parker and privates Coas, Tupper and Parker manning the oars; General Burnside occupies a seat astern. I pity the poor fellow. There is such a sea running that a boat can hardly live. You see our boys make their mark wherever they go. Their services are freely tendered. The General is greeted with cheer on cheer as he passes the numerous craft."

Some of our unmusical NCAV Englanders found a difficulty in memorizing the bugle-calls. By order from Brigade Headquarters, popular airs, or bits of them, were substituted for the regular calls of the skirmish drill. One of our pastimes was watching the officers of a neighboring regiment drill, under these caV calls, on the broad hurricane deck of their steamer. Perhaps it is Avorth Avhile to record these changes.

' From a diary in 'C
The other orders were left as in the U. S. tactics.

The last day of January was noted for the arrival of our first large mail. A bag, some three feet long and two in diameter, stuffed full of letters and papers, was joyfully received in compensation for the numerous letters so painfully indited in the dubious light of "tween decks" on improvised desks of tin platters.

In the absence of regular artillery it was decided to use the light guns with which some of the gunboats and transports were provided. The Highlander had two guns, a twelve-pounder, with regular light carriage, intended for boat-service and for hauling by hand for short distances on shore, and a bottle-shaped six-pounder mounted on a pivot on board ship. For the latter a huge old-time wooden carriage was sent us from the canal-boat-battery Rocket. Capt. E. G. Dayton, commanding the Highlander, who had some experience in such matters, was enthusiastic in the cause and proved his right to command the guncrew by some excellent target practice from the deck of the schooner, in which he was assisted by the veteran gunner Tucker.

Chamberlain of 'B,' J- Gray, G E. Osgood, S. S. Hooper, and S. S. Southward of 'F,' and M. Crooker and J H. JcAlett of 'I' were appointed a crew for the six-pounder. Privates W L. Welch and J. L. Foss of 'A' and J. L. HoAvard and Thos. F Porter of 'I' were ordered to report to Captain Dayton whose crew, for the twelve-pounder, was made up from his crew including Cutter, Wilson, Winslow and Miller, detailed as sailors from the 1st N. Y Marine Artillery. Except Captain Dayton, I do not know that any man on either gun had the slightest practical knowledge of his duties or drill as artillerist.
5 Feb., 1862. At last the tedious monotony of Hatteras was broken and with unusual promptness the column started for Roanoke Island. With the gunboats in the van and on the flanks, with the transports — the steamers towing one to four sailing vessels — in the centre, and some of the supply vessels in the rear, we swept slowly along, keeping as nearly as possible the military sequence of brigades, etc., and making a display of strength such as the waters of North Carolina — if indeed those of North America — had never seen.

At sunrise we anchored with Roanoke Island still, as it were, only a dim fog-bank ahead. Next day rain and fog delayed us so that it was nearly noon before we reached our anchorage, near the entrance to Croatan Sound.

The army steam-transports were ordered to carry their guns into action against the enemy's shore-batteries. It was, of course, impolitic to needlessly expose their superfluous infantry and these were distributed among the sailing vessels. The Hussar brought the remainder of our field and staff and Co. 'H' to the Highlander, retaining 'E' to work her guns. There seemed to be no spare room, but space was found by doubling up the occupants of the broader outside berths; some slept under a tent on the deck.

7 Feb., 1862. We were threatened with more Hatteras weather in the early morning, but a brisk northeasterly breeze swept away the clouds. We were near
enough to see much of the detail of the enwajrement, and, while the firing lasted, the decks and lower shrouds were black with eager students of the novel sight. Few will forget the little sloop "Granite," the only gunboat under sail, running up and down before the Pork Point battery, with her convenient off-shore wind, and paying her compliments from her single gun at every tack.

Meanwhile our comrades of 'E,' under Captain Alexander, reached the scene of action and fired their first gun at 11.40. "S. C. G." writes: "The Hussars being on the right and nearest one of the forts, we tried to throw a shell into it, and, I believe, succeeded. But we grounded before we reached the best position, the water being shoal. The batteries fired four shells at us over our heads. Finally, we got nearer and could shell the fort. Shells from rebel gunboats ahead and from rebel battery, almost in our rear, were bursting over our heads. Eight shells passed over in quick succession. One, bursting just overhead, wounded Captain Alexander in the face and tore the clothes of Sergeant Terry and of two privates. We kept fire up till 6 P. M. and only drew off when it became too dark to sight our guns. Our foremast is slightly scarred by a shell."

Meanwhile on the Highlander and other transports all were ready for a landing; knapsacks were packed and stored, haversacks and canteens filled, guns loaded, but not capped, side-ladders in place and boats in the water. About 3 p. M. the Pilot Boy, carrying the 25th Mass., came alongside, and our first boat, carrying Capt. Knott Y. Maxtin and the colors, — we were ordered to land by divisions on the centre division,— was made fast to her port quarter. Other boats, making fast each to the stern of her predecessor, came quickly, till the Pilot Boy and Patuxent had all they could carry and every shoreAvard like
great water-kites with double tails. The enemy meant to resist the landing, but a few shells from the Delaware and her consort speedily disheartened them and the landing was made practically without opposition.

The question has been raised who planted the stars and stripes at Roanoke first? We will let S. W. Higgins, second mate of the Highlander, tell his story. "When the Pilot Boy struck the marsh my boat — made fast directly to her port-quarter — was about forty feet from the shore, and, all being anxious to land, the boys gave way with a will. As I swung the boat, broadside on to the marsh, they all sprang out, I with the rest, with a little Union flag belonging to the boat-howitzer and mounted on a six-foot staff, in my hand. I looked up and down the shore but no stars and stripes were to be seen anywhere. So I handed the flag to Captain Martin, saying as I did so, 'Captain, this is the first Union flag landed on Roanoke Island. Take care of it,' and he replied 'I will.'" Captain Martin corroborates the above story and adds that Captain Attwood of the 25th, later in the day, nailed a flag to a small building near by.

General orders had been issued to the artillerists to land with the first detachment of infantry, but, when that was debarking, they were told the guns were not wanted. Somewhat, then, to their surprise they were ordered ashore in the Pilot Boy at nine in the evening. Words fail to describe the difficulties incurred in getting those guns from boat to solid land. A corporal in the detachment has a vivid recollection of being planted half-thigh

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'S Second mate S. W. Higgins left the Highlander at Roanoke Island and enlisted in the 13th N. Y. Later a year's service in this regiment, partly in New-Berne, he was transferred to the U. S. S. C. and did duty with it till July, 1865. He lives at Yaphank, Suffolk Co., N. Y.
deep and being rescued by his grip on the drag-rope which was then manned by the full force of Co. 'D.'

That night was a rough introduction to the realities of war. We had only one rubber blanket each and those who fairly reached sleep, cuddled among the corn-hills in the steady rain, were "mighty apt" to be rudely awakened by the careless feet of sleepless proAvlers. Most were averily Avatching about the fires for the tardy daAvn. Scarcely had the increasing daylight given definite form to the spectral trees looming against the eastern clouds than three shots in the neighboring woods caught every one's attention and the scattered groups broke up to reform in regimental lines.

As it turned out, the six-pounder alone came out of last midnight's mud, but, at last, proved so clum.sy that the lighter twelve-pounder, having been brought up from the rear, was substituted and the crews were consolidated (except that Lieut. Russell and privates Welch, Foss, JcAvett and Crooker returned to their companies) under command of Captain Dayton.

Of our brigade, the 25th had started and we fell in behind them, the gun following the right company of the 23rd.

It was hard, at first, to realize that our charming rural by-road — a mere track through the woods — was to lead by so short a course to a bloody battle-field. The almost universally evergreen foliage was bright with the recent rain and frequent birds were chirping amid the emerald leaves. We passed the reserve picket, of the 21st Mass., standing grim and gray by the roadside; an aid came to hurry up men something too anxious about wet feet in crossing a hip-deep pool across the road; then we heard a rattle of musketry and a flight of scared birds
fleeing from it; then wounded men staggered feebly or were carried to the rear, and, then, on turning a corner of the wood, our Avork Avas before us.^

Our road entered near the lower end of the longer side of a cleared space some three hundred yards long and sixty wide. At the opposite diagonal corner of this space was the rebel "Battery Defiance" on what the islanders called Suple's Hill, although NCAV Englanders would hardly give so lofty a title to a place raised but a few inches above the surrounding morass. To the rebel left and left rear extended a natural clearing, a sort of savanna. Where the earth had been scooped out to raise the Avorks, was a broad, shallow moat perhaps hip-deep. The rebel guns, a 24-pounder Dahlgren and an 18- and 12-pounder, all on field carriages, swept the cleared space and commanded the road which first crossed the clearing and then ran along the eastern side directly towards the muzzles of the guns. To leave the road on either side was to step into mud of unknown depth. The swampy forest to our left was sufficiently discouraging even before one reached the clearing which the rebels had prepared against a possible attack on their right flank. The "pocoson" on our right was so deep and tangled with thorny vines as to be deemed impassable by the rebel engineers and left by them in its original wildness.

We found the 25th Mass. supporting a battery of six brass howitzers from the gunboats which, at this point-blank range and Avithout protection, had already engaged the enemy, and we, too, were ordered to support. Captain

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* The diagram-map, copied from a pen-sketch in one of my letters by my brother William H. Emmerton and published by Serg. Maj. D. H. Johnson, was thought very satisfactory by a noisy crowd of disputants in the barracks of Co. 'Y.' It does not include all the troops engaged, nor their locations at any one time, but attempts some hint of the progress of the battle.

J. A. E.
Dayton's gun was held in reserve in the edge of the clearing.

Thus early in the engagement most of the casualties occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieut.</td>
<td>Jno. Goodwin, Jr.</td>
<td>'B'</td>
<td>d. of wds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Sergt.</td>
<td>Gamaliel H. Morse</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>John Shaw</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Matthew C. West</td>
<td>'A'</td>
<td>wounded</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horatio D. Allen</td>
<td>'A'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>George W Grant</td>
<td>'A'</td>
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<td>John Battles</td>
<td>'A'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>W H. H. Jennings</td>
<td>'A'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Francis L. Caird</td>
<td>'F'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jno. B. Lake</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Howard</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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It will be noticed that all the wounded belong to the three right companies, 'A,' 'F' and 'D.' 'B' was color company. Howard of 'I' was in the gun-crcAV.

At the funeral of Lieutenant Goodwin and Sergeant Morse at Marblehead, 24 April, 1862, business was suspended and the entire population took part. Flags were at half-mast everywhere. The public buildings as well as many private residences and stores and the Unitarian Church were draped in black.

Shortly, General Foster ordered Colonel Kurtz to face to the right and file off into the woods in an attempt to flank the enemy's left. Over against the location of the reserve artillery, which was within a few feet of the place where General Foster stood through the fight, was a copse of taller trees around which the 23rd filed and were as completely hidden as though mountains intervened.

How shall I describe the attempt of a regiment, fully armed and equipped, to march through a swamp considered impenetrable by the shingle-splitting "cracker" "native here and to the manner born?" Where, as one of
the natives told a member of the 23rd after the battle, "When one of our-un's cows gets in there we-uns kills her because we-uns cant git her out." After orderly marching became impossible, the men sprang from tussock to tussock in the vain hope of keeping dry. Too often the shaking, treacherous clumps yielded, and the rifle-cum-bered hand failed in its eager grasp at friendly bush. Wet through but undaunted, men began to grope along the sluggish water-courses whose sandy beds afforded some firmness of footing. Here the tenacious cat-brier made passage impossible till officers drew their swords and hacked a way through. Colonel Kurtz ordered company-officers to do the best they could. Here and there a supple youngster crept through, and, returning, reported a possible way. Some of Company 'A' got through so far to the right that the rebel artillerists could be seen working their guns behind their parapet. Another party, from the left companies, showed in such force as to exchange volleys with the enemy's reserve. Another party, from 'B,' 'D,' 'F,' 'H' and, perhaps, other companies, got through but did not engage the enemy. So here and there the light blue overcoats showed among the circling trees and avenged from the rebel commander "Boys, the d—Is have outflanked us and you all have to retreat."

Meanwhile, in front of the rebel battery, the 25th Mass. held their ground, until, their ammunition being exhausted, they had been relieved by the 10th Conn. The 27th, in column behind the copse aforesaid, was engaging the enemy by companies, each marching by the left flank to the open, delivering fire and yielding place to another company. All Foster's brigade, except the 24th Mass. (detained by their transport getting aground) was in action.

Reno was pushing against the enemy's right the 21st
Mass., 51st N. Y and 9th N. J. They were stubbornly and successfully struggling against the natural obstacles, plus the fire of the enemy, and had reached a point where they threatened to take the battery in reverse.

At this crisis the 9th N. Y. Cav York, of General Parke's brigade, for some time awaiting its turn in the road to the rear, was ordered forward. Hardly had they, marching by the flank in rear of the 10th Conn., uncovered their leading companies, when their column was suddenly thrown into the wildest confusion. There was a grand fusillade of their muskets aimed in all directions but the right one. In the right centre of this melee Lieut. Col. Monteil of the 53rd N. Y. was enveloped. He had been for some time, a pace to the right and front of our artillery, fighting on his own account. He had a carbine, or some short arm of precision, and, kneeling to load, would rise and fire after a very deliberate aim, and then, rubbing his hands in satisfaction if he thought himself successful, would repeat. When the panic of the 9th N. Y. subsided Colonel Monteil was found dead.

Gen. J. L. Otis, then a captain of the 10th Conn., writes me as follows: "The 9th broke up in utter confusion, rushed back down the road in a crowd firing their muskets in every direction, killing and wounding each other. The Generals sprang in among them and I did the same, catching hold of their muskets and throwing up the muzzles, at the same time trying to stem the tide of confusion; no less than three muskets were fired while I had my hands on them to throw them up, but the confusion was not stayed until they had got down the road and out of the line of fire. Fifteen men of the HaAvkins Zouaves were killed and wounded by each other, and one of my men had his gun shattered and his hand nearly shot away, so that he was disabled for life."
Captain Denny, "Wearing the Blue," p. 75, says the 9th "fell back, at least a portion of the regiment, upon the 25th Mass., which was on its feet in an instant, the men using the bayonet and the officers carrying swords, while, with one breath, the cry went up 'No Bull Run here!"

Just at this time the combined line of the 21st Mass. and three companies of the 51st N. Y. charged over the narrow space toward the rebel battery, and scattered members of the 23rd, which had been too much broken by the difficulties of the swamps for united regimental action, came in on the other side and, together, they occupied the battery from which the rebels were retreating at the full run. Colonel Ferrero of the 51st N. Y. led the remainder of his regiment into the battery and after them came the 9th N. Y.

General Foster in his Report says, "and the 23rd Mass. — sent to turn the enemy's left — had also made its appearance on that flank—another cause of the necessity of the enemy's retreat."

Colonel Ferrero, 51st N. Y., in his report: "The enemy finding they were outflanked commenced to retreat, when the order was given by General Reno to charge."

"J. G.," in a letter to the Salem Gazette of 18 March, 1862, reports a conversation with a rebel sergeant: "An orderly sergeant, who was in the battery, said the rebels would stand up against us when they had a fair chance and when asked why they did not, replied, 'Why you turned our left flank and of course we knew it was all up with us.' The 23rd appearing on the left flank of the battery caused a retreat before the charge was made."

Colonel Jordan, prisoner at Roanoke, was on parole at New Berne just before our attack upon that place and comforted Colonel Branch, to whom its defence was iu-
trusted, with "I give you twenty-four hours to hold your forts. They will take them if the obstacles were as great. If they can do no better they will swim the river and come in your rear."

The gun-crew had, all this time, nothing to do but look on; and, although near enough to hear the dull thud of missiles when they struck those working the other guns, had escaped injury, except from one shell, which, bursting nearly over the gun, seriously wounded HoAvard of 'I,' who was discharged for consequent disability the following July, and just marked two others.

The column pushed after the retreating rebels with the 24th Mass., which had not suffered the discomforts of the bivouac nor the trial of battle, in advance. His Avould have been a hard task who had tried to convince any sharer of that march that it Avas, as the map proves, less than four miles from the battle-field to Camp Foster.

The 23rd joined in the pursuit. It was in that part of the column which marched over to Shallow-bag Bay, cut off the retreat of some and compelled the return of other rebels who were already embarked for Nag's Head. Captain Sawyer of Co. 'H' says: "We captured the Avounded Capt. O. Jennings Wise and turned him over to Dr. Derby, in whose care he survived till about seven o'clock the following evening."

After what seemed a weary Avay, the Highlander's gun was sent with a column made up of the 4th R. I. and 10th Conn., under direct command of General Burnside, towards Pork Point Battery—Our flag, flying over the deserted battery, was a joyful sight. There was abundant loot in the officers' quarters to give even the rear of the column a chance. Men, as usual, made fools of themselves. There were pockets filled with smooth-bore bullets and grape-shot for souvenirs. One man was seen Avith a
wooden rolling-pin hanging about his neck and another lugging a complete Shakespeare big as a family Bible. A third, more practical, had secured a bale of Killicknick.

Shortly after our arrival General Foster came over, on horseback, to announce the surrender of all the enemy's forces. Have always thought the scene memorable and have wished that a Detaille had been near to fix it with his magic pencil.

Scene. The parade between the smoking embers of the barracks and the shell-torn officers quarters. Time. Early dusk brightened by the glare, from across the sound, of the burning battery at Red-stone point, fired by the enemy on his retreat. Enter. General Foster. A complacent pride in his achievement sitting as easily on his manly features as he on his captured horse. To Mm Gen. Burnside, the commanding general, reaching up to pat the back of his successful subordinate and looking as if he would like to kiss him in his joy.

The gun-crew was glad of the shelter of a small building still heaped high with corn-fodder. Some huge shell had traversed the roof the day before, but that insured ventilation and roof enough was left for some protection from the drizzling rain. We locked the door, and, well pleased that we had secured a warm and dry bed, settled away to make up our much-missed sleep. We were doomed to disappointment. Mysterious prowlers drew bedding from beneath us and maledictions from Capt. Dayton. His empty threats did not much deter the thieves. By midnight your historian's sleep was broken by the protruding handle of a plough on which the bedding had been piled. Daylight revealed what the sleepy twilight had passed unnoticed. Some other missile had stripped the sheathins: from the back of the barn and left the corn-fodder an inviting prize to our prowling, liedless comrades.
Next day a party was sent out to secure a mule or some such help to transport our ammunition boxes and help pull the gun over the sandy roads towards Camp Foster, as the newly taken barracks were called. Some little distance inland, we found the house of one Wm. Hayes, and the family not yet half recovered from their share of yesterday's bombardment. Unexploded shells in the front yard were too fresh reminders of those which had burst about them. A pony and two-wheeled cart, borrowed from these people, helped us on our way towards the barracks. It seems ridiculous now, but our little field-piece was cumbersome as a Columbiad then.

Horse and men tiring out before camp was reached, the writer was sent forward to ask aid from the regiment. Getting astray in the thick woods he heard a rustling in the underbrush followed by the request, "Mister, don't shoot me." The petitioner turned out to be a miserable, frightened and half starved rebel, who had been hiding since the surrender and whose hunger had at last prevailed over his fears. He knew the way to camp, not far off, and was soon turned loose among the prisoners. Capt. Dayton had by this time arrived.

Not long after, Camp Foster was startled by a volley and the patterning of Minie balls. A seemingly impossible attack our first thought, but the affair turned out nothing more serious than the carelessness of some neighboring regiment in emptying their loaded muskets. Most of the looting about camp over by the time arrived. The grotesque Georgian "tooth-picks"—huge knives rudely made from farriers' rasps and intended for the carving of Yankees—had all been gathered in.

Col. Kurtz, in transmitting a flag to Gov. Andrew, says: "I accidentally got trace of a place where one of the rebel regiments had secreted their flag and immedi-
ateh' took the jDroper steps to secure it, and, by permis­sion of Gen. John G. Foster, send it to you as a trophy.' It is described as a Georgia regimental flag made of heavy pongee silk with three longitudinal stripes, red, white and red, and a blue field in upper corner bearing on one side in gilt "Liberty or Death" surrounded by eleven stars and, on the other, S. G., enclosed by a wreath of oak­leaves. It was looped to the staff with red cord.

In spite of the large amount of stores said to have been captured, the regiment suffered from scant supplies, aud after a day or two, for Avhich, as usual, the three days' rations in our haversacks lasted, subsisted mostly on what was found in and about the barracks. Men became adepts in frying fritters of flour and water and, report says, one of these impromptu cooks only discovered on attempting to eat the cooked viand that he had mistaken and mixed ground plaster for flour.

In these early days of our island life foraging was, to some extent, authorized. Capt. Dayton, duly armed Avith a pass or order, took out a party, but found so much more poverty than potatoes that his compassion prevailed and he returned empty-handed. Later a family Avith ten chil­dren Avas found sick, naked and hungry. Company 'G,' of the 23rd, furnished rations and contributed two large bags of clothing.

9 Feb. '62. "Had charge of a squad which took a rebel Captain, Lieutenant and two others to search for the killed and Avounded of a party which landed during our fight at the battery and attempted to resist our march toAvards the upper part of the island. We found the Orderly-Sergeant dead, with six or eight wounds. The night before, our men had buried four of the captain's company and, on the 10th, another was found, wounded in the leg, who had lain
out in the woods near forty hours." Probably men of the 2nd N. Carolina, whose Lt. Col., Wharton J. Green, reports a loss of three killed and five injured in an action with the 21st Mass. His report of loss to the 21st "learned from themselves" must have been misunderstood.

On the evening of the 9th a report that the prisoners were planning a revolt, gained credence. The 23rd was ordered to sleep on its arms. The gun-car was turned out. The gun was put in position before Col. Kurtz's quarters and the mountain-howitzer belonging to the 24th M. Y I. was put near it in charge of your historian. We made a brave show to all who did not know that the guns were not loaded and that all the ammunition was in the Colonel's quarters. The night passed without further incident than that the howitzer's car awoke to the situation and claimed their piece. Perhaps our evident preparation prevented the rise. More probably our three thousand disarmed prisoners had no idea of rising against three times their number of well-armed men. Success could not have availed much on an island so completely under control of our navy.

Lack of "transportation," by which my military readers will understand horses and wagons, hampered us not a little. When the 23rd's knapsacks were brought on shore they were drawn to camp in a cart to which, for want of animals, a dozen of our prisoners were hitched. The huge landing-stage, which, some of us will recollect, was abuilding near us just before we left the Highlander, proved but of temporary use. Going to pieces in a gale, it was replaced by a permanent wharf.

14 Feb. Battalion drill under Col. Kurtz, who was

8 Diary of Jno. D. Parsons, Corp. of 'I.'
riding the fine stallion given him by Col. Shaw and said to have been valued at $2,000.00.

The motley crowd of prisoners in charge of the first brigade was near our own number, and, beside occupying barracks that we needed, was thought to call for a guard of 160 posts, which made guard duty, even by regiments, very onerous. So we were right glad to see them filing out of their quarters with their huge rolls of carpet-blanket bedding on their backs. The 23rd escorted 500 of them to the Spaulding. On the 17th, and next day, 1,000 were guarded by the 25th. Another duty that fell to the 23rd was dischais'ging the captured muskets. A. J. Tibbets of 'F' had long reason to remember the ugly wound he got in the forehead from the breech-pin of a piece which burst in his hands.

22 Feb., '02. The 23rd Avas ordered away in full marching order. Had gone about a mile, in a drenching rain, when we were overtaken by an aid with a counter-mand and returned to barracks.

26 Feb. First appearance of regimental pioneer corps.

A letter of this date runs as follows: "We have settled down into so quiet a life in barracks that the days slip by and leave one little to note. Reveille wakes me, from sound sleep, between Corporals C. and W in a broad bedstead-like bunk spread deep with pine-needles, to roll call and coffee Avithout rolls. Company drill uses up the forenoon, and leaves us in no pleasant frame of mind on the question of tree-stumps. The rebels cleared the ground neatly enough for ordinary parade or slovenly drill, but thirteen inches from breast to back leaves too little chance to escape tripping over roots. Battalion or brigade drill come, after dinner, in a field, near by, which spreads, flat and square, over forty acres and has, on its southern
border, a fine live-oak which looks like a huge Bald Avin apple-tree in full leaf. Toward night comes dress parade and for an hour the air resounds to the music of the three best bands in the division, those of the 23rd, 24th and 25th Mass.

Now there is a difference in dress parades. At Lynnfield we easily satisfied ourselves and our uncritical civilian spectators; at Annapolis Ave did our best, but seldom under the stimulus of outside judgment; here, the man who winks or shifts his weight to ease an aching corn disgraces a regiment. We have more room in barracks. Corp. C. has made us a table and benches so that Corp. W and I can beat him and Serg. L. at our evening Avhist—when military discussion is not too loud around the Sibley stove, mounted on a half barrel of earth, in the middle of the room."

23 Feb., Sunday. Union services were held by Chaplains Clark, 23rd, Mellen, 24th, and James, 25th. At 3 P. M. Roanoke Cemetery was consecrated with appropriate ceremony. Gilmore's 24th band furnished the music.

5 Mch., '62. Capt. W B. Alexander of 'E,' who remained with his company in command of the steamer Hussar, received orders from Gen. Foster to proceed with his steamer to the mouth of the Alligator River and seize and send down a schooner concealed in a creek some four or five miles up the river. Q. JM. Goldthwait and Serg. Maj. Johnson brought the order and, with two natives for guides, accompanied the expedition as volunteers. They reached the mouth of the river by 5 p. M. but waited till quite dark before dispatching the launch, with forty men fully armed and a four pounder mounted for Avard, under command of Lt. Atwood and the steamer's boat under Mr. "Ward, the first officer, with the volunteering officers and the guides. On the
Capt. A. Center.

Capt. E. A. Story.

Col. A. Elwell.

Capt. W C. Sawyer.

Capt. W B. Alexander.
steamer all hands were on the alert, a strong party ready to lend assistance if needed, and the guns loaded and run out. Soon after sunrise the boat-party returned to Aving the schooner Cornelia Dunkirk of about 50 tons burthen Avith all equipments in good order. She had been found stowed away in a creek and so covered and hidden Avith bushes, etc., as to defy easy discovery. By nine o'clock she Awas sent off to Roanoke Avith the volunteer officers, the ouides, and men enough to man her.

Hardly had she started Avhen a gunboat came in sight, from the direction of Plymouth, Avith guns run out and men at quarters ready for action. After satisfying themsebes of the friendliness of the Hussar, an officer from the gunboat boarded ber and explained that they had supposed her to be a rebel gimboat Avich had been in the habit of coming out of the Scuppernong river, and, after reconnoiteriug a bit, dodging back. Although beyond his instructions, Capt. Alexander took the suggestion of the gunboat officer and ran some tAventy miles up the riA'er in search of the rebel. They saAv nothing of the rebel-steamer but came in sight of good store of turkeys, chickens, eggs, etc., on Avhat they naturally considered a rebel plantation. On their return they met the "Picket" sent to look for them, and to hasten their return to Roanoke Avhere they found the right wing of the 23rd already embarked and the left Aving waiting for them. Gen. Foster administered a mild scolding to the Captain for going beyond his orders but wished him better luck next time.

The schooner was that known in the regiment as the "Gideon." She did valuable service in the Quarter Master's department. She Awas commanded by Landel T. Smith of 'C In April, '62, Shaw of 'A,' Thomas
of 'F,' Jeffs of 'G' and Burnham of 'I' "now acting as seamen on board Q. M. schooner Triumph" were ordered to Captain Smith for duty 13 May, '62. Captain (sic) Smith and all others on board the "Gideon" were ordered to report to their company commanders. She seems to have ended her days as a sort of wharf-boat or landing-stage at Hatteras.

Gen. Wise had the following estimate of the importance and value, in a military point of view, of Roanoke Island.

"It was the key to all the rear defences of Norfolk. It unlocked two sounds (Albermarle and Currituck); eight rivers (North, West, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Little, Chowan, Roanoke and Alligator); four canals (the Albermarle and Chesapeake, Dismal Swamp, Northwest and Suffolk); and two railroads (the Petersburg and Norfolk and Seaboard and Roanoke). It should have been defended at the expense of 20,000 men and of many millions of dollars."
CHAPTER IY.

LANDING AT SLOCUM'S GREEK. THE MARCH THROUGH THE AULD. THE BATTLE. CASUALTIES. LT. COL. MERRITT.

The right wing went, 6 JMar., '62, on board the Highlander and waited, at anchor, through four days of northerly wind. 10th. The Gideon took off our cumbersome deck-load. Some of the fleet got under-way.

11th. The brisk north wind continued and bothered the steamers when they attempted to turn their tows of two or three schooners, to our southern course. Finally, this was accomplished and we started, toaving from the port paddle-box of the steamer New York, while hawsers from other transports were made fast to her stern and other paddle-box. This was all very well while we had plenty of sea-room. In passing through the "Marshes" — the narrow passage from Croatan to Pamlico Sound — the New York caught on the bottom and lay helpless under our jib-boom. Capt. Dayton ran and cut our hawser just in time to enable us to sheer clear, except for a parting scratch from our boat-davit. The other tow ran into the steamer. We made sail and ran off. Running free over smooth water showed the Highlander's best points. With our consort, the Gideon, we overtook and passed all the fleet and reached Hatteras but little after the gunboats.

12th. Few, who were there, can forget the balmy Spring morning on which we moved slowly towards Berne, enjoying meanwhile a huge mail from home. In the afternoon we got up a larger crew for the 12 pounder.
13th. Through some misunderstandings the 23rd was, half an hour, late in answering the signal to land, but we were not unprepared, and, on receiving our orders, very soon joined the long strings of boats as at Roanoke.

Perhaps I can not do better than quote from a letter of the tune. "Getting the whole gun-crcAV together, at about 11.30, we commenced that eventful twenty-four hours, at end of which our forces had taken all their boasted defences and driven the rebels I knoAV not hoAV far. Y^ith twenty-four men on the ropes, Avith promise of good travelling and a short road, we started out bravely. Soon we over­took the howitzers from the gunboats. A friendly trial of speed ensued. The blue-jackets bantered us Avith offers to report our progress. Capt. Dayton Avas determined not to risk being left in the reserve, as at Roanoke, and, when a strip of beach came in our route, turned us on to the hard bottom in ancle-deep water. In that mile of amphibious travel we distanced our friends, who persisted in pulling through the dry sand above high-Avater mark, and we saw no more of them till they joined us on the battle field.

A deserted cavalry-camp, Avith ample stores and breakfast still smoking on the table, Avas soon passed. Soon after this our troubles began. Persistent rain and the trampling army turned the road into a mortar-bed. We got some help from companies of the regiment halting on the roadside for other companies to overtake them. I Avent ahead to find the most available track among the trees and stumps. The real road Avas by this time marked by the deepest mud. When our own exertions Awould have been of little avail, we welcomed the aid of a yoke of oxen, sent back for the purpose by officers in advance. They pulled the gun over a rise of some ten feet in thirty, Avith tAelve to fourteen inches of stiff, tenacious clay. So the
day wore away and darkness found the task incomplete. Gun and regiment were together and whole companies, relieving one another by short shifts, kept them so. Past troops, already enjoying their envied rest and the comfort of blazing fires, we plodded till our assigned place was reached and, until, in the woods, a little to the left of the road,—though we were not aware of it, dangerously near, if not directly under, the fire of the enemy's guns,—we too rested."

Very few of us were, I fancy, aware, ere the speedy sleep of exhaustion came to us amid all the discomforts of that rainy bivouac, how much we had done. Gen. Burnside says in his report: "The effecting of the landing and the approach to within a mile and a half of the enemy's works on the 13th, I consider as great a victory as the engagement of the 14th."

But little time for eating was left, for those who awaited for daylight to get breakfast, before a rattling volley towards the front started us toward it. As we moved along the narrow road, the sound of a field piece, with its resulting missile ricocheting along an open field to our right, was an earnest of the impending battle. Shortly, Gen. Foster, who had been slying through the morning mists, met us, and, personally, telling Capt. Dayton that a single gun commanded the road, asked him to silence it. It was noAv but a very little way to our edge of the cleared space before the enemy's Avorks. We halted among the trees on the edge of the Avood and opened fire.

Gen. Foster's single gun developed into a battery. Not less than three guns, at first at least, paid us special attention. The heavy and sustained musketry of the brigade at either side of us, and, after a little, the fire of the other hoAvitzers, as they came up, made some diversion.
Edward S. Waters, C. E., of Salem, Mass., who served on Gen. Burnside's staff for most of the war, and, with a Lieut. Raymond, bearer of dispatches to Gen. Burnside, shared all our experiences that day, had the curiosity to measure the distance afterwards, and found it 1000 feet. Have sometimes wondered whether any but enthusiastic greenhorns would have undertaken to serve a gun just there.

We were loading from the leather passing-cases, slung around the necks of some of the crew, and were disgusted to find that the wooden ammunition boxes, brought with so much toil through yesterday's mud, were all filled with shells, and that we had no reserve of powder. The missiles, which seemed to fill the air, had made their mark on only two of the gun crew, and, at that, only on their clothing. Something struck or grazed a button on Capt. Dayton's breast and compelled him, in spite of a determined effort to remain, to turn the piece over to his second in command, and to go to the rear for treatment and powder. There was but one cartridge left, and, when that was used, nothing to be done but put our bodies and ammunition-boxes behind the biggest trees, haul the gun into a place of comparative safety and await events. Something of an aggravation to us, sheltered from the direct fire, was the cross fire from our gunboats. Huge shells came up from the river, heralded by a roar like that of an express train, and, exploding, scattered their fragments at our feet.

The 23rd regiment, following us up the road, filed into the woods and, after passing the 27th Mass., went "into

"Mr. Waters's map, which, he tells me, was made hurriedly, and, for the battle field proper, depends on some 'rougli horsebacki surveys' has been corrected from a map in the War of the Rebellion, Ser. i, Vol. IX, p. 218, from another by S. W. Allis, Co. K, 27th IAI V. I, and from other sources."
line " on the left of that regiment. The woods were too thick for the exact execution of such an order and some left flank companies were for a time separated.

Capt. Raymond of 'G,' in a letter to the Salem Register, says: "We left bivouac about 6.30 and marched by right flank about a mile or so. Supposing some of the regiments were still ahead of us, you may judge of our surprise when we received the first fire of the enemy's battery. Grape, canister and shell all playing about us in great quantities. By the movement at the head of the column, I supposed the order had been given 'Into line on first company' and, accordingly, undertook to half-wheel and forward into line, but found that the companies on the right were marching by the left (file left) into the woods. After marching some distance across a hollow, we halted, formed line and marched with fixed bayonets, with the batteries still some distance ahead."

In Co. 'C' the principal loss was from a shell which exploded in the ranks. The line was hardly, if quite, formed when a round shot, or shell, hit Lt. Col. Merritt and, horribly lacerating the anterior walls of his abdomen, killed him.

The regimental line, found to be exposed to a flanking fire from Fort Thompson, on the left of the enemy's line, was slightly withdrawn. In their place they kept up a brisk fire till their ammunition was nearly exhausted. They were relieved by the 11th Conn. Again slightly withdrawn, they lay with fixed bayonets till the charge, and then entered the works with the rest of the brigade.

On the way to the city, Go's 'A' and 'F' skirmished in advance looking in vain for the enemy who was already far on the way towards Kinston on the cars specially provided for his speedy retreat. Lieut. Bates, with a squad of Co. 'F', captured one Dr. West, claiming to be from
New Rochelle, N. Y., and Surg. C. S. A. His horse was ridden through the air by Col. Chambers. On approach: the burning railroad bridge, the 23rd A was ordered into camp on the right of the track. The men were soon started up again, embarked on the steamer Delaware, carried around the city, landed at the railroad wharf and marched to the Fair Ground where they occupied the deserted camp of the 35th N. C.

To finish the record of the artillerists. Shortly after the charge, Capt. Dayton returned and Avent into the enemy's Avorks in the Avake of the infantry. We tried to use the wounded and abandoned horses to pull the gun, but for lack of harness, could not make them of much avail. Getting over to the railroad track, we put the gun on a platform car, and a company of the 51st N. Y. easily pulled us up to the burning bridge over the Trent.

Not permitted to cross, we occupied a shanty at the southern end. Here we remained several days, eking out our rations with fresh beef,—pistolled within a stone's throw of our quarters,—and qualifying its laxative effect with some exquisite Madeira found in deserted cellars across the river. When, finally, the Hussar's launch was sent for the gun, her steersman managed to find one of the "Yankee catchers" as the rebels called the sharpened piles set aslant in the river for the very purpose. A handy tar on the landing stage calked the holes with rebel cotton and we made the trip without mishap.

Col. Kurtz, in his report of the battle, says, "particularly Capt. E. G. Dayton of the schooner Highlander, who volunteered to command the 12-pounder howitzer, the persevering manner in which he and his men drew the gun through the mud, in many places knee deep, and the very gallant manner in which they served it... met my
warmest approbation. They made every shot tell and had, nearly or quite, fired their last charge before they received any support."

**GUN-CREW AT NEW BERNE.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. G. Dayton of schr. Highlander</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Co. F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James A. Emmerton</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Co. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward C. Blossom</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>William C. Cummings</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John L. Foss</td>
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<tr>
<td>William A. Gove</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oilman S. Higley</td>
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<td>Caleb Shaw</td>
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<td>Leroy S. Chamberlain</td>
<td></td>
<td>B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>William B. Bessom</td>
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<td>Lemuel F. Estey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles &quot;W Taylor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melvin Sawyer</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>Isaac S. Peckham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benjamin Sprague</td>
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<td>Leander Ashburn</td>
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<td>John Gray</td>
<td></td>
<td>F.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel S. Hooper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geo. E. Osgood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel S. Southward</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geo. E. Burns</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas F. Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutter, Miller, Wilson, Winslow of the schooner's crew.</td>
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Capt. Erastus G. Dayton's injury proved more serious than seemed probable at first. It compelled him, by midsummer of 1862, to give up his command and go home for treatment. In December of that year he was put in command of the steamer "Monitor," hospital transport between the Carolinas and Washington. 9 March, 1863. By the help of Gen. Burnside he was appointed Acting Ensign in the Navy and ordered, in June, to the "Wissahickon" off Charleston. He had charge of a boat in the ill-fated attack on Sumter, 8 Sept. '63, when our whole force was captured.
With his fellow officers he was confined in jail at Columbia, S. C. They were well treated and permitted to obtain, by flag of truce, such comforts as their friends at home could supply. The mere confinement, even under these comfortable circumstances, was more than the Captain's ardent spirit could endure. In company with an army officer, he escaped, one stormy night, and started for our lines in Tennessee. Space fails me to recount all the hardships endured in this attempt. Suffice it to say, he had reached within twenty-one miles of our lines and safety, when he was recaptured and reconsigned to rebel prisons. Ten of these, in turn, received him, till, at last, a mere skeleton, he reached Libby. Here his old comrades at Columbia heard of him, and secured his return to them. He was exchanged in October, '64, and allotted three months leave of absence. He was then ordered to the "Nereus" and, as a volunteer, was prominent in the attack on Fort Fisher. He served till the end of the war, and after muster out, found employment on shore. He never recovered from the effects of his wound, but, when he applied for a pension, was refused, on the ground that when wounded he was in the Quarter-Master's Department. He lived at The Forge, Cairo, Greene Co., N. Y. During a visit to a sister at Brooklyn, N. Y., he had an attack of pneumonia, and died 12 April, 1879, leaving a widow, one son and a daughter. Mrs. Dayton has secured by special bill, a pension of $15.00 a month as Acting Ensign of an Acting Ensign.

CASUALTIES AT NEW BERNE.

KILLED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merritt, Henry</td>
<td>Lieut. Col.</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, Charles H.</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morey, William</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td>E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter, Walter A.</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td>H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchill, Joseph L.</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td>K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan, James</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sillers, Donald</td>
<td>Corporal, Co. A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CASUALTIES AT NEW BERNE.

DIED OF AVOUNDS.

Vasconcellos, Matthew, Private, Co. C.
Cavanagh, Charles, " D.
Wallis, William, 2nd, " G.
Williams, James E., " H.
Pillsbury, Wilson M., " I.

WOUNDED.

Fisher, Geo. A., 2nd Lt., Co. A.
"Winslow, William H., Sergeant,
Andrews, William A., " D.
Kelly, James W., " E.
Paine, Joseph A., Jr., " F.
Chenniel, Moses J., " G.
Cuthbertson, Hugh, " H.
Fenton, Patrick, " I.
Mears, Henry C, " J.
Millett, Arthur C, " K.
Blatchford, Charles, Sergeant, C.
Butler, Frank, " D.
Atwood, Francis W., " E.
Bnaflington, Hiram S., " F.
Chapdellan, Oliver, " G.
Day, Charles, " H.
Flint, Samuel, " I.
Almy, Allen, " J.
Bowman, Joshua B., " K.
Hillinan, Alexander H., " L.
Jennings, Edward F., " M.
Johnson, Samuel, " N.
Lake, Noah J., " O.
Morse, Artemas, " P.
Sears, Charles H., " Q.
Alexander, Wm. B., " R.
Terry, John D., Captain, E.
Burbank, Asaph S., Sergeant, F.
Thayer, Benjamin, " G.
Bobbins, Louis L., " H.
Brooks, Samuel H., " I.
Brown, Ezra, " J.
Cummings, Edward, " K.
Pinkham, Wm. A., " L.
Dodge, James, " M.
Barry, Patrick, " N.
Priv. C. H. Adams, carrying a message from Gen. Foster to Capt. Daniel Messenger, was taken prisoner and, with him. Captain Messenger's horse and outfit.

HENRY MERRITT son of David and Anne (Ashby) was born in Marblehead, Mass., 4 June, 1819. 10 14 March, 1836. He enlisted in the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, and, from that date, his connection with the militia service of his state was unbroken, till he was commissioned to represent her as Major of the 23rd M. Y. Infy. From 1st Serg. of the Mechanics he was promoted to 1st Lieut, and Adjutant of the 6th M. Y. M., acted many years in this capacity, and, following his Colonel, Joseph Andrews, when promoted to command of a brigade, he became Brigade Major and Inspector. He served in this capacity while Gen. Andrews commanded Fort Warren.

" He served an apprenticeship to the watchmaker's trade, with Jesse Smith, of Salem, and followed this trade for several years after becoming of age. He afterwards became a partner in the Express business with his father and brothers. Endearing himself to the regiment by his gentle thoughtfulness for its welfare at Lynnfield and Annapolis, he knit these bonds stronger by the self-sacrifice, which denied himself till the wants of the men were supplied, and, by the hardiness which made light of night-trips in rowboats across the stormy waters of Hatteras. Men noted his coolness under fire at Roanoke, and his

10 An obituary of his much respected father and a sketch of the family may be found in Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. IV, p. 229.
LT. COL. HENRY MERRITT.
cheery persistence in their struggle through its swamp, and, when Avord of the loss of the Lt. Col. passed along the line at New Berne, men mourned for they "loved him as a father,"

As intimated above, Lt. Col. Merritt received his fatal wound very early in the action. The formation of the regiment, on the right company, had hardly proceeded beyond two companies, when he saw something which needed attention, and started from the flank to attend to it. As he passed along in the rear of so many of his fellow townsman his affable remarks and courteous answers leave several with the impression that they heard his last words. One of those who bore him from the field sent to the newspapers a statement that the Avounded officer had returned an intelligent "Yes," to the query whether he was ready to meet his Saviour. Others think this impossible. The nature and extent of the Avound make it, at best, improbable.

His body, under charge of Sergt. Maj. Daniel H. Johnson, Jr., reached Boston at 5 P. M. on the 19th. Adj. Gen. W S. Schouler, A.A.G William Brown of Salem, a committee of the Salem City Government and many friends assembled to meet it. In charge of an Escort of Honor,—Maj. NeAvtou and other commissioned officers of the 2nd Battalion, SLA SL, detailed at Headquarters,—it was taken, across the city, to the Eastern Railroad Station where a special train had been provided by Supt. Prescott. The funeral car was appropriately draped and carried the inscription, in gold letters:

"Lt. Col. Henry Merritt. We mourn his loss."

On Friday, the 21st of March, 1862, Salem, the home of his adoption and long residence, paused and put aside all her usual vocations, to honor her patriot dead. At an
early hour hundreds Avent to his late residence for a last look at their departed friend. He lay clad in the loose military overcoat which he had Avom to the field. His face, singularly natural and fair, bore the aspect of sleep rather than of death. When the hour came for removal to a church for the public service, a friend stepped forward to cover the face. The Colonel's aged mother, even then nearl}' fourscore, gently interposed and performed this last service Avith the remark, "My son, I have covered you many times before in your cradle, now I do it for the last time and Avith the flag of your country."

The following lines, suggested by the incident, may be found in the Boston Evening Transcript of the 27th March, 1862.

THE MOTHER OF LT. COL. MERRITT.

BY CHISLON".

Round the precious clay they gather
That away must soon be hid
From the eye of fond affection,
Underneath the cofHn-lid.
One long look of love is given,
—'Tis the last they can bestow,—
They the cherished face must cover.
And, in sorrow, turn to go.

But the gentle mother, —bowing
'Neath the weight of grief and pain,—
Gazing on the placid features.
Bids them from the task refrain.
" Many times thy form I've covered,
In thine innocence, my son,
And, to-day, this last sad duty.
By thy mother shall be done."

"Rev. Augustine Caldwell of Ipswich."
Then she calmly took the standard.
He so nobly did uphold.
Gently spread it o'er the sleeper,—
1Ayrapped him in its starry fold.
Precious faith, that made that mother
Sweetly bow to God's dear will.
Precious faith, that in that hour
Bade the aching heart "be still."

Faith, that pointed through the darkness,
To the realm of light above.
Where the tender Father gathers
All the children of His love.
Happiness awaits that mother,
A new joy to her is given;
One the less on earth to love her
One the more to greet in heaven.

Few of the assembled company could have imagined that the meeting su-o-gested in the last verse could be delayed for more than twenty years, and that the already aged mother Aould have lingered here till she had reached within a little span, her five score years.

The local ncAvspapers, from which much of the preceding account has been draAvn, also record the imposing public ceremony Avith Avhich Salem honored her illustrious dead. Not only Avere all available troops on escort duty but the people, in great numbers, thronged the South Church, where services were conducted by the Rev. G. D. Wildes, and afterAwards, in spite of a cold storm, followed, in long procession, the remains of their fellow-townsman to his untimely grave.

Col. Merritt's almost life-long comrades of the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry resolved "that — commencing his career as a soldier in our ranks, a quarter of a century ago, he has ever been regarded by us with affection, confidence and respect, in the various military positions of
honor and usefulness to which his energy and patriotism have advanced him."

The City Council of Salem, at a special meeting called by Mayor Webb, resolved "that—We bear cheerful testimony to the great worth of Col. Merritt, as a man of honor and integrity, whose private life was without blemish; as an exemplary and patriotic citizen, who at the call of his country freely offered his life in defence of her liberties and, as a soldier and officer, has fallen, in the front of battle, in upholding the honor of our National flag."

- When Captain Sawyer of 'H' was well enough, after the amputation of his left thigh, to start for home. Gen. Burnside, not only went with him to the boat, but, took personal care that he was comfortably lodged and properly attended. To the Captain's verbal offer to resign his commission. General Burnside turned a deaf ear; asserting that he would hear nothing about resignation, at least, until a proper pension had taken its place. From New York homeward, the tender interest of the people in their wounded soldiers, never, indeed, lacking, but, in that early spring of 1862, not yet dulled by the use of the following ensanguined years, struck our crippled Captain very forcibly.

As soon as he could hobble out with crutches, his services were called upon to encourage enlistments from the platform. On the 19th of September he was appointed, by Special Order, No. 916, from Head Quarters at Boston, Commandant of Camp Stevens at Groton Junction, Mass. Acting as a detailed officer of the 23rd Mass., he organized the 53rd Mass. Vol. Militia and by his usefulness here somewhat reconciled his former comrades to the loss of his valuable services in camp and field.

After he resigned, he travelled and studied in Europe
some four years. He was for some time a professor at Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin. For two years he has been Director of the District Teachers' Institute and Professor at the Normal School, at Oshkosh, Wisconsin. He received the degree Ph.D. from Gottingen in 1870.

In acknowledging, under date of 20 March, '62, the receipt of the flag captured by the 23rd at Berne, Gov. John A. Andreav says, "The people of this state—Colonel—Avatch the achievements of their gallant regiments in N. Carolina, with feelings of such pride and admiration, as, if you could realize them, Avould be a partial compensation for your labors and your losses. Your commanding General, in whose impartiality, as well as gallantry, I have a perfect confidence, testifies to me most earnestly concerning the braAciy, good discipline and good morals of every Massachusetts regiment in his Division. He looks to them as the backbone of his whole command. We look to them as eloquent witnesses testifying that the past fifty years of peaceful industry and mercantile pursuits did not emasculate the high tone and spirit of our people, and that our common schools have been the nurseries of brave soldiers as well as honest citizens."

I have heard with the deepest regret of the death of Lieut. Colonel Merritt, an officer whose gentle and manly deportment (Avhich I had an opportunity to observe in the camp) satisfied me that he possessed, in a large measure, those qualities Avhich make a soldier admirable in the field."
15 March, 1862. Capt. John Hobbs of Co. 'I' 23rd "began to bestir himself quite early last Saturday morning. By the time reveille was beaten he had seized 500 bbls. of rosin, 100 bbls. of spirits of turpentine and 75 bales of cotton."

"On Monday, Lieut. Hart, of 'D,' 23rd was detached for scouting and succeeded in capturing a heavy battery of two heavy guns just across the river from this camp."^^

16 March, '62. While the 23rd, by order of Gen. Burnside, accompanied by the 25th Mass., attended Divine Service, conducted by Chaplain James of the 25th, a party of 160 made up of Co. 'A,', and detachments of 'D' and' F (30 from 'F') were sent on a reconnoissance under Capt. Brewster of Co. 'A' as far as Batchelder's Creek, where they found the bridge burnt. On the waA', they found a freight car, derailed and deserted, and its contents, of household goods, private papers, etc., scattered far and wide. The party was told of two guns hidden in the woods by the retreating enemy. With the assistance of some negroes, who brought mules, these were secured and brought in. They were, according to the "Progress," a large iron gun and a 24-lb. howitzer and had been spiked. "We went to one plantation which the master had left with the niggers. One old woman Avs half
crazed with joy when she saw us. She held up both hands and kept saying 'Rejoicing.' That was all we could get her to say. We had hot corn-cake, honey and eggs."

The party returned by sunset with its spoils. This is, if nothing else, pretty good marching.

20th. A party went out under Capt. Brewster starting at 3 A. M., to capture rebel pickets. Captures were confined to mules, poultry, etc. A silk-flag was found at Harrison's by Lt. C. S. Emmerton, which, although handsome when new, was made of such materials that it fell to pieces in a few years. It was hoped that rebel cavalry, which had "gobbled" three of the 51st Pa., the day before, would try to repeat the experiment on the 23rd Mass. Perhaps the bait was too large. The column, reached camp at 8 p. M. "wet through and with mud to their knees."

21st. Review by Gen. Burnside. The 23rd afterwards marched through the principal streets, visited the hospitals, etc. 23rd. 'A,' 'F,' 'D,' and 'B,' under Capt. Martin started on a three days tour of duty on the outposts, and reached the camp of the 27th Mass., some ten miles out on the Trent road. 24th. Went out to Deep Gully. Many "contrabands" came in through the lines. In the afternoon they were ordered back to Jackson's (where they remained till relieved by 10th Conn, after dark on the 26th), by Capt. Potter of Gen. Burnside's staff who came up with "ten mounted men"—these were men of Belger's battery, our only cavalry in those days.—"This was our first picket, and the writer was the first officer detailed for that duty—"

The rest of the regiment, except Co. 'H,' left at camp as guard, went out on the Neuse road. Four companies

"Lt. C. H. Bates of 'F.'"
were posted at cross roads some five miles out, while Co. 'C' was sent out to outpost duty at Batchelder's Creek. The found the quarters deserted and unvisited except by our own party a week before.

All good things, which may be summed up as the milk and honey of North Carolina, were abundant, and the ample quarters and facilities for cooking were appreciated by men who had not been so comfortable since they left Annapolis. They heard nothing from the enemy and felt safe enough with one post out in the daytime and four at night. When, on the third day, orders were received to fall back on their reserve, the pang of parting with their cherished supplies was "most tolerable, and not to be endured." Their only vehicle was a cart-body without wheels. Getting this upon the railroad track, they loaded it with provisions, and, while some pulled or pushed, others soaped the ways and struggled to keep the awkward sled in place. It was hard work, and when they reached the overturned box-car, with its load of household stuff, deserted by the runaway of the 14th, they lost no time in putting one set of its wheels on the tracks, and, mounting the cart-body on them, went on their way rejoicing. They found the reserve alarmed, needlessly as it proved, by their improvised cavalry videttes, and, next day, relieved by the 10th Conn., the 23rd battalion returned to its camp on the Fair Ground.

22 March, '62. The wounded from the battle at New Berne were divided into three classes. Slight wounds which could manage themselves; the more severe that could still bear removal to the North, and those which must still stand their chance in a Southern hospital. The first class was sent on board the steamer "Louisiana." The second, was taken to the "NCAR BrunsAvick" under general charge of Capt. E. G. Dayton with J. B. Upham,
WOUNDED SENT NORTH. 79

M. D., of Boston, Contract (volunteer?) Surgeon, Corporal J. A. Emmerton of the 23rd Avieth Corporal B. W. Mayo of 'I,' 25th Mass. and privates Paris Smith of 'A,' Elijah RockAwood of 'B,' J. R. Barber of 'D,' Sam. Hartwell of 'F,' G. J. Fayerweather of 'G,' Eben Mitch­ell of 'H' and Nathl. Drury of 'K;' all of 25th, attend­ants and nurses. At the SAvash, thirteen of the first class were taken from the "Louisiana" on board the New Bruns­wick." Of the voyage, it may suffice to say that the boat afforded ample space, and, the troubled waters of Hatteras once left astern, pushed, although, report said, Avith but one wheel, so rapidly over the smooth ocean that she reached the pier at NCAV York in mid-afternoon of the sec­ond day. Here, many willing hands lightened our task, and there were fcAV, I fancy, of the Avounded that did not sleep in their own homes on the third night, after leaving inhospitable Hatteras.

29 March, '62. Our camp on the "Fair Ground" was rearranged. The tents were pitched on the former parade. Men began to long for beans. Ovens Avere built. In 'A' they used the grate-bars, from under the boilers of a burned turpentine distillery near by, to hold up the bricks and earth of the roof, and, thus easily, secured an effective oven.

2 April, '62. The typhoid fever, Avich raged so se­verely something later, had already such a hold on the regiment that the effective force for an expedition was but 300 men, who were arranged in six companies, and for these but three captains could be found, Martin, Center and Whipple. This force, accompanied by Lts. Ander­son and Pendleton of the staff, went, on the "Pilot Boy," some sixty miles, doAvn the Neuse, and up Bay River, to Jackson. They hoped to secure some militia, said to be encamped there. They reached Jackson at 5 p. M.
Finding no force there and having the most positive orders to return the same day, they did not land but turned back and reached New Berne at 11 p. M.

4 April. One of the diarists, with more force than elegance, Avrites, "Sick carted off to hospital; three wagon-loads a day."

9th. Pay-day was saddened by another attempt at suicide by private John McCartney of Co. 'C' He, having twice attempted his life by drowning, was under surveillance. Taking advantage of the preoccupation natural to the day, he evaded his watchers, went to the river-bank, and cut his throat with a razor. He was observed by the sailors on a neighboring gunboat and taken to hospital where he died on the 16th.

Co. 'F' again sent home $2697.00

Some account of another regimental enterprise, commenced the day after the battle, should no longer be delayed. Sergt. Edward L. Davenport of 'I' had a finger in that "pi" from the beginning and, fortunately, published an account of it in the Ipswich Chronicle.

"Saturday morning (the day after the battle), in company with other soldiers, the writer left camp on a foraging expedition. Several deserted houses were visited, in some of which a supply of native wines was found. But in search of a printing-office and soon on the right track. The door was wide open and we entered but the printers gone. One or two soldiers in the room searching for relics. The floor was covered with papers. One press taken to pieces, ready to move. The balance had been taken off the small press, a Gordon. There two pages of matter, set and locked up, which we soon had on the press. On the second impression the press tumbled down. Not to be foiled by this, we covered a planer with a piece of cloth

Foster's Quarters. Foster Hospital.

"Progress" Office. Signal Corps Hd.-Qrs.,—1882.

Views In New Berne, N. G. No. 2.
and with that and a mallet we pounded off something like a hundred copies of the paper. At this time, a boy, who had worked on the press, coming in, helped me set up the I'n-s again and we pulled off the first edition. This edition was that already set up except a triumphant comment on the following paragraph.

'The signals on the Neuse river, below our batteries, gave notice of the approach of the enemy yesterday afternoon about five o'clock. A boat was immediately sent down the river, and, on its return, we were placed in positive information of the presence of steamers and one large transport (schooner) in the river, only twelve miles below New Bern, and in a few miles of the blockade. Everything was active, and preparations were busy here last night, and a battle is expected to-day and the day will probably decide the fate of New Berne.'

The comment was,

"Friday did it! We have taken New Berne. The enemy undertook to burn the town but were unsuccessful. Yankee Printer."

That sufficient help might be had, that all might be properly absent from their companies and might secure their rations, a proper detail was secured on Sunday and, next day, the office opened with the following staff. George SliWs Joy, Corp. of Co. T, Editor; E. L. Davenport, Serg. of Co. 'L' Foreman, and privates Benj. F. Arrington, John Gray and A. E. Manning of Co. 'F,' Wm. S. Burbank. Jr., of Co. 'E,' Bradford H. Hoyt of Co. 'H' and Simeon T. Swett of Co. 'I,' Avere detailed from the 23rd. Others Avere detailed from other regiments at the time, and, of course, the staff changed as the exigencies of the Service demanded. Corp. John D. Parsons, of Co. T, was detailed to the Avork in Sept., '62.

Corp. Joy Avho, had, before the war, published a paper at Marlboro, Mass., A was promoted to 1st Lieut, in the 1st N. C. Vols., and in 1864 started "The North Carolina
Times," at New Berne, died, about 1881, at Eatontown, New Jersey.

Serg. Edward Little Davenport got back into the line in time to be wounded at Drury's Bluff. After his discharge he was editor and proprietor of "The Ipswich Chronicle" and afterwards on the staff of "The Boston Daily Advertiser." He was severely hurt by a fall while leaving a railroad car at Somerville, where he lived, and died 25 Feb., '84.

Benjamin F. Arrington, who, after the war, printed "The Beverly Citizen," died 9 April, 1871.

John Gray, the efficient chairman of your History Committee, is of the firm of W. Ware & Co., Publishers, Boston.

Corp. Parsons, who returned to his trade at Newburyport after the war and was one of the oldest printers in that city, was made City Messenger in '68 and Janitor at the Custom House in '72. His full and carefully copied diary has been of great service to your historian. He died 21 Dec., '84.

To return to Serg. Davenport's description.

"We used a room back of the office for kitchen and dining room and slept upstairs. Part of the building was at first occupied as a hospital. After a time we had more room. Our furniture, including beds, stove and crockery, was found in neighboring houses. Our rations were drawn in bulk, and the surplus was bartered at the shop for milk, butter, eggs, etc. Sometimes we hired a nегress to cook. Sometimes we took that duty in turns or had a cook detailed.

Tavo did press work, taking turns at pulling and rolling. The others were compositors or worked at job-work. We put all work possible into the cooler hours, resting through the mid-day. Our "outsides" were printed the
evening previous. We arose at 4 A. M. and generally issued at about 4 p. M. Our edition was about 1200. No little difficulty was found in securing matter. Sometimes three weeks passed without a mail from the North. Once we printed with displayed headings an account of A GREAT BATTLE taken from the Old Testament. This found a large sale. At another time of scarcity we printed the Declaration of Independence. Our "plant" helped out with the type, etc., from another office in town.

As has been hinted, April, ’62 was marked by a great epidemic of typhoid fever. All, or most, of the regiments in the command suffered, and the general predisposing cause was doubtless our long confinement in the crowded transports. Dr. Stone writes me that his present impression is that the epidemic was generally attributed to the occupation of the deserted camp on the Fair Ground. This was probably the special cause which sent our sick-list up into the hundreds.

Surgeon Derby, after his particularly admirable labors for the regiment, under fire on the battle-field, was ordered to take charge of the Academy Green Gen. Hosp. in the city. Asst. Surgeon Stone had, since the battle, been alone in attending the sick in camp, and, with Dr. Derby, those in a regimental hospital which had been established in a dwelling-house in a quarter of the city not far from the fair-ground.

By the 9th this labor had become too great even for the indefatigable Stone, and, no other commissioned surgeon being attainable in the general epidemic, your historian, who had enjoyed all the opportunities of medical instruction which Massachusetts afforded, was detailed to assume some of the work. His diary of 10 April says, "There are about 150 well men in the regiment. Stone
and I were three hours examining, at sick-call, the men not yet sick enough for hospital."

The authorities determined to try the effect of a complete change of air. By Gen. Ord., No. 6, 9 April, '62, Col. Amory commanding brigade—this was Col. T. J. C. Amory of the 17th Mass., to whom, on the redistribution of the troops into divisions under Foster, Eeno and Parke, had been assigned a brigade made up of his regiment, the 23rd and 25th Mass., and 6th N H.—ordered the 23rd to proceed to-morrow, if fair, if not the next fair day, to the railroad bridge over Batchelder's Creek for the purpose of repairing said bridge. They were to be accompanied by a company of artillery with two field-pieces. Regimental baggage must be transported on platform cars.

Under this order, the right wing of the 23rd, or less than 200, mostly sick, representing that body, crept slowly and with frequent halts,—one for lunch on Dr. Lind's place,—through groves of stately pines already graced with the fragrant jasmine, and along fields where the cause of all our woes might be seen hanging, in tattered bolls, to last year's cotton plants. It was a very different progress from that of the same companies easily covered the ground after the battle and some log-houses, to the rear, furnished kitchen, mess-room, etc. Co. 'A' encamped in
the yard as Head-quarters guard, and Captain Ashcroft's o-uns Avere mounted near the burnt bridge so as to command the track towards rebeldom.

The regiment encamped near the track, 100 rods towards New Berne. The next day there Avas picket-firing, about noon, Avith no special result. About dark the left wing joined us, aud, next day all moved camp across the track. The enemy Avas not disposed to let us alone. Few days passed Avithout some affair.

14 April at 3.20 A. M. Lt. W L. Kent of Co. 'H' took out his company to relieve the picket, AA'hich had been, as usual, thrown out to protect the bridge-builders. Soon after they Avere established the men at his post, on one of the narrow Awood-roads, aroused the Lieutenant from a contemplative nap Avith the word that the enemy AA'ere upon them. He found some tAventy dismounted busliAvhackers, in butternuts and slouched hats, coming toAvards them and surprised Johnny Reb. Avith a demand to surrender. In ansAver they "took trees" and sent a harmless volley. The return fire from the guns of Corp. Austin and priv. E. H. Stahl killed one and disabled another, who Avas helped aA'ay by his comrades in headlong flight to their horses. The dead rebel, A'ho proved to be a private Zimmerman of a N. Carolina regiment, Avas brought to camp and buried with appropriate ceremony. Capt. Hobbs officiated in place of the absent chaplain.

About this time Awe Avere ordered to connect our picket line Avith those of the regiments on either flank. After-Avards this order Avas countermanded and the regiment Avas ordered to confine itself to the defence and rebuilding of the bridge. This had, all the while, been going on under the supervision of Brig. Q. M. Harris and the direct charge of Capt. Raymond of 'G' A'ho was, at one time, temporarily disabled by the fall of a timber across his back and hips.
16th. Alarm from pickets. The long roll was sounded and the men turned out to discover that the invaders were a party of contrabands coming out of the darkness. This day the first batch of cases of typhoid fever, too serious for treatment at the outpost, was sent into the city. These cases originated in the old camp. By this time the tide had turned and very few new cases occurred.

19th. Large fires in the neighboring woods. Trees, burned off at the roots, fell with the noise of thunder—or—field guns. Men slept on their arms against possible attack under cover of the smoke.

In spite of the almost incessant nagging of our misguided neighbors, up the track, life at Batchelder's Creek was not unpleasant. Once or twice we had sharp frosts. Very frequently the balmy spring mornings were made musical with the innumerable melody of uncaged mocking birds.

We were, from a soldier's point of view, an easy ride from the city. Duty or pleasure brought us frequent visitors. Staff officers sent out to inspect and report. Naval friends exhibiting the proverbial recklessness of sailors on horseback. Brig. Surgeon Galloupe with orders and advice. Surg. Derby for inspection and consultation over the more difficult cases. Asst. Surg. Stone trying, perhaps, to stay the early symptoms of the typhoid which shortly attacked him. Privates, detailed in the departments, whose official position gave them the occasional use of their uncle's horses. All these, with their fresh news of the world behind us, prevented anything like monotony in our outpost life.

Let us not forget the soirees musicales held in the west room at Head-quarters. A piano, borrowed from our neighbor May and touched by the deft fingers of Melville Wood, second leader of the regimental band, his violin in
the hands of the acknowledged master Andy Wyatt, and the banjo, thrummed by one of our artillerists, accompanied such vocal talent as could be found in the regiment, assisted by the plaintive minor of Jenny, the yellow-gal who came through the lines. Regular eyebrows might all have gone up in amazement at the mixture of performers and audience.

24 April, '62. "An expedition under Capt. IMartin left camp before daylight, for the purpose of capturing the enemy's pickets. On arriving near their station, our force was discovered by a negro, who gave the alarm, and, springing to their horses, the rebels made their escape, receiving a volley from our boys. We secured one of their horses, nearly all of their arms, blankets, etc., and returned to camp. None were injured on our side."^*

About this time, continuous rain having interrupted the pleasant weather, orders to move, speedily countermanded, came in succession and left us, for some days, uncertain whether we were in camp or in wagons.

29 April. Co. 'E' on picket duty under Lt. Hammond, or one post of it, was surprised and fired at. Priv E. B. Braley was killed. Major Elwell reported as follows.

R. Rd. Bridge, Batchelder's Creek,
30 April, '62.

"The picket established by Spec. Order, No. 7, was attacked yesterday. They were posted, in accordance with the above-mentioned order, one-half mile in advance of the bridge, deployed on either side of the railroad to the distance of one-fourth of a mile. About 12 M. a body of rebel cavalry emerged from the woods and attacked the
extreme right flank, passing between the right group and the rest of the picket, thus cutting them off.

As far as can be ascertained the enemy numbered about seventy. The picket opened fire upon those of the enemy who were in advance, while the enemy returned fire with a volley of some twenty or thirty shots, killing one man, three shots penetrating his body. The remainder of the picket instantly rallied to the spot, and the enemy retreated taking with them, probably, the other three belonging to the group, as they are missing. Upon hearing the report in camp, sufficient force was immediately sent to the assistance of the picket. The reinforcement made an advance some two miles through the woods, but nothing could be heard of our missing or the enemy.

The affair has given rise to exaggerated stories, but it was not deemed of sufficient importance to give any alarm or call for any assistance.

The picket force has been increased to treble its former numbers, and everything has been quiet since the attack. The names of the killed and wounded are Echvard B. Braley, Co. 'E', killed, Corp. Hiram J. Lauman and privates EdAvard Smith and John Taylor of same company, missing."

Respectfully submitted,

(signed) A. ELAA'ELL,
Maj. Comm'd'g.

to Lieut. E. T. Parkinson,
A.A.A.G., 1st Brig., 1st Div.

In early May, — it took two or three days, — we moved across to the "Red House," a picket station nearer the Trent Road. It seldom rains, — and never need — harder

"The reinforcement was Co. 'A.', under command of Lt. George R. Emmerton off."
than on the 4th of May, '62, at Red House. A diarist says, "We dug a Avell in our tent to-day two feet deep, and had eighteen inches of water in it.

6 ^lay, '62. A scouting party to-day met Avith the usual success of scattered forces moving on converging lines. The 2ord sent IAAO divisions, one made up of 'D,' under command of Lt. C. H. Bates of 'F;' * F' and 'I' all under Capt. G. M. Whipple of 'F' and Co's 'G' and 'E' under Capt. Raymond of 'G.' The 17th and 27th Mass. sent out their parties. The point of rendezvous was at the "Avhite house " on the Railroad. A white band on the left arm was adopted as distinguishing badge. The detachment from the 23rd marched, Avith skirmishers out under command of Lt. G. R. Emmerton of 'F,' as far as "Burnt Church" Avhere halt was made for lunch and then to the rendezvous Avhere the 27th had arrived. Capt. Whipple's division was left here, in reserve, and the three other organizations proceeded. Rebel scouts Avere seen but nothing effected. Laden with fresh pork, the 23rd detachment returned at dark.

Battalion line Avas formed and orders were read, notifying the regiment of the Commissions of Major Elwell to be Lieutenant Colonel and of Adjutant J G. Chambers to be Major, as Avell as of the appointment of Lt. C. S. Emmerton of 'A' to be regimental Adjutant.

7 & 8. The regiment, by Avings, marched to New Berne to relieve the 25th Mass. as Provost-guard.
Early in the 18th century one Louis Mitchell, a Swiss gentleman, was sent over by the Canton of Berne to explore America and select a suitable location for a settlement. On his return to Europe, in 1707, Mitchell found a large number of his countrymen, in London, anxious to emigrate. The troubles of Europe had thrown on the hospitality of the Queen of England a large number of Palatines from Baden. The Queen, anxious to relieve herself of the burden of their support, entered, through her Commissioners, into negotiations with Mitchell and Christopher, Baron de Graffenried, a native of Berne, who had joined Mitchell in his plan of planting a colony in the Carolinas.

Under these auspices, the first installment of SAVISS and Palatines reached North Carolina in December, 1710, landed at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers and began a town, which, as a compliment to De Graffenried, was called NCAV Berne.

In less than a year the neighboring savages, by sudden massacre, dealt a severe blow to the infant settlement. With the important aid of their neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina, the colonists struck back and handled their enemy so severely as, seemingly, to have settled that question for all time.
The town thrrove. It became the regular site of several courts of justice and, occasionally, for the meetings of the provincial legislature. In 1749 came the printing-press shortly followed by a weekly paper, and the appellation, "Athens of North Carolina." In the same year, however, it was found necessary to build a fence, from river to river, six feet high and close enough "to keep out hogs and wild animals."

In 1764 was established, in "a little log building," the first public school in the state and the lineal ancestor of the "Academy" of our time."

1765. William Tryon (my authority does not state whether the hog-tight fence had disappeared) came with royal commission as Governor of the State. The quarrel between people and Governor is long to narrate. A chief count against him was the arrogance which could lead him to desire and the tyranny which could extort from the ill-furnished pockets of the people the costly palace which he built at New Berne." The quarrel ran so far that it could only be settled by the trial of arms. The up country people, under the name of Regulators, got together, 2,000 strong. The Governor marched out against them with a smaller but better equipped and more disciplined force. Some attempt was made at negotiation. The Governor abated not one jot of his pretensions. The people dared him to fight and were completely routed. In a few days the malcontents were subdued and Tryon left for the wider field of New York, to whose governorship he had been commissioned.

>« On the 3rd of March, 1862, one W. H. Uoherty, A. M., said to have been once a Professor at Antioch College, advertised the Spring term of the Academy. Half the money was to be paid in advance and to be refunded if the enemy took the town.

"Some may recollect as the "Palace Stables," a brick building just beyond George street, used during the war for commissary storehouse. This was a remnant of the palace.
New Berne took a brave share in the early days of the Revolution, but in 1781 was taken and sacked by a force of Regulars and Tories.

We, who were born to the crookedness of the older towns of Massachusetts Bay (where the plan of streets, originally based upon the winding lines of "the right of way" along the shores, was afterwards left so completely to the narrow policy of individual land-owners), were struck with the quaint plan of Annapolis and the simpler, but evidently designed plotting of Plymouth, Washington, Kinston and New Berne, N. C.

The accompanying diagram of New Berne, designed to show those parts of the city with which we were familiar, reveals an ingenious adaptation of plan to the irregular triangle between the Neuse and Trent, and shows why the streets, retaining straight lines, have so few right angles. The numbers on the map refer to the following list:

1. Burnside's Hd. Qrs.
2. Foster's Hd. Qrs.
3. Amory's Hd. Cis.
4. Kurtz's Hd. Qrs.
5. Surgeon Derby's Hd. Qrs.
7. Hospital.
8. Academy Hospital.
9. Masonic Hospital.
10. Stanley Hospital.
11. Post Surgeon's.
12. Episcopal Church.
13. Presbyterian Church.
15. Baptist Church.
16. Methodist Church.
17. St. Cyprian's Church Col.
18. Methodist Church.
19. Post Office.
20. Jail.
21. R. R. Station.
22. Slaughter House.
23. Paymaster.
25. Oeop Commissary.
27. Gaston House.
28. Orphan Asylum.
29. Soldiers' Cemetery.
30. Citizens' "
32. Medical Purveyor.
33. House pulled down.
New Berne, after a century and a half of commercial prosperity, deserted by far the larger part of its inhabitants and especially of the occupants of the better houses, was, perhaps, as pleasant a place for summer duty as the Sunny South could provide. The streets, open at one or both ends to the cooling breezes from the rivers, were not too wide to be well shaded by the numerous trees, said to have been planted by the special exertions of a former Major. The houses, few if any of them of what we should call, at home, a great antiquity, were, in many cases, the comfortable results of the prosperous years early in this century, and furnished abundant quarters for Provost-guard as well as for Head-quarters and offices of a numerous army encamped around about.

The fire, intended by the numerous rebels to make uninhabitable for us what they could no longer retain, was confined chiefly to South Front street west of the Railroad, to the southern half of the square, of which Gen. Burnside's quarters was the only other occupant (where they burned a prominent hotel) and to some factories along the Neuse between Union and King streets.

Gen. Burnside's, and generally afterwards, the commanding officer's quarters, was a handsome, two-storeyed frame on a shady hill. General Foster's, rather office than residence, was the only four-roomed three-storeyed brick dwelling-house in the place. Gen. Amory's was a modern brick on Pollock and Hancock. Regimental Head-quarters was one of a type of three-storeyed brick houses with one room on street, such as, in various parts of the town, furnished regimental or brigade Headquarters.

The companies were housed, mostly, in two groups. One near the regimental hospital (which was a two-storied brick, with veranda on both stories, and included several
neighboring houses during the epidemic of typhoid) was made up of 'A' in a lofty two-storeyed brick, 'E' in a two-storeyed frame, next door, and 'G' in a three-storeyed brick near the river. 'H' was moved into a two-storeyed frame opposite 'E,' and 'B,' for a time, encamped in an open lot corner of Middle and Johnson. At the southern end of the city, near regimental Head-quarters, were 'D' in three-storeyed brick, 'B' in a brick-house sitting back on its grounds, 'H' in a brick-house, afterwards taken for guard-house and Provost-court, while the Band and Co's 'F' and 'K' were in wooden two-storeyed frames on Pollock street. On the broad Broad street, half way between these groups, 'C' occupied a lofty two-storeyed frame, pretending to be freestone, and 'I' two or more cottages on either side the street nearer the Neuse River.

The Avounded, from the battle of New Berne, were put into the Academy, a four-roomed brick school-house, of two storeys, in the midst of a shady lawn of two or three acres, and, into a building partly occupied, as stated, by the printing office.

The Academy was never enlarged, unless by tents for convalescents on the lawn. The Masonic Hospital, at first a ward of the Academy, began in the commodious ball-room on the second floor—a famous place, from its elevation, to assist convalescence in Remittent Fever then included the theatre below, with the parquet floored over to nearly a level with the parquet-circle, and sometimes in emergencies, the lodge-rooms. The Stanley Hospital early occupied, partly with valuable buildings and partly by contiguous dwellings, most of the square it started upon between Middle, Broad, Craven and NCAV streets. In time. The Masonic (by this time increased by several valuable wards built under the direction of E. P. Morono-Surg. 2nd Maryland, then in charge) absorbed, under
Regimental Hospital. Presbyterian Church. Telegraph Office.

Burnside's Quarters. Masonic Hospital.

Academy Hospital. Post Office Quarter-Master's

Views in New Berne, N. C. No. 1.
the name Foster General Hospital, the Academy and again, in time, the Stanley absorbed it, and, during the fighting and the small-pox epidemic of 1865, spread far and wide about the city. In the early days most of the regiments, although encamped outside, kept up regimental hospitals in the city.

Another volume would be needed to hold all that might easily be written about the "contrabands," who, after the capture of New Berne, were, like the poor, always with us. The white citizens had fled, with their retreating army, in such numbers as to leave the negroes practically in possession of all their leavings — pending, at least, the arrival of our forces. They had raided the deserted camp assigned to the 23rd. Some may recollect, as the regiment marched to the Fair Ground, the contest between "little Jack" and a tall mulatto for a coveted bed spread. It was "pull Jack, pull Darkey," till Col. Kurtz interfered in her behalf.

Every expedition to the interior, securing a passage safe from rebel pursuit over all the space between our troops and New Berne, was the sign for great numbers to come in. Possessed with the single idea of personal freedom, they took no thought of how they were to be supported. Some of them seemed to have no idea that the change meant anything but a new and, they hoped, a kinder master. A young mother brought a cart-load of her black pickaninnies to the lines, and, when asked to whom the horse and vehicle belonged, had no answer but "To you all, Massa." Every returning expedition was accompanied by stalwart darkies who were glad to pay for protection and rations by "toting" the arms and equipments of tired or lazy soldiers. Some remained with the troops, but more drifted into the body of laborers employed and fed by the Q. M. Dept.

They were, of course, of all shades of color. Mental
development was, as a rule, in direct ratio of the proportion of white blood. I fancy the brutishness of the black field-hand of the Gulf States was rare in our part of North Carolina. On the other hand, some house-bred yellow girls had manners and, more particularly, language which for correctness and even elegance would do credit to any education.

Some will recall Aunt "Nicey Luck" for some time cook for Dr. Derby. She had a maternal regard for one of the boys of Co. 'A.' Possessed with an idea that some ill had happened to him on the Goldsboro Expedition, she roamed the streets, during the days of the rather straggling return of the column, asking every group for her "Billy," and unmindful of the jokes and solicitations of the soldiers, persisted till she had found "Bilh'" and given him the apple-dumplings prepared as his solace for the trials of recent war. Company 'C' men will not have forgotten Aunt Dinah Holmes, who, left behind by the owner of their quarters, was living there during all their term of provost duty. They may like to know that she was living so lately as 1882; that she recollected many of them, by name and that, at her great age and with a settled conviction that Heaven was awaiting her, she had but one need "a thin pair of narrow shoes — No. 8 and narrow toes — so that she could wear them."

To the 23rd belongs the credit of an early if not the earliest, attempt to educate the freedmen. Capt. Whipple of Co. 'F,' disabled from active duty in the winter of '62-3, opened a school in the rear of the house on Johnson street, so long occupied by the regimental commissary and quarter master sergeants and clerks. Here, without assistance, and, in the absence of proper books, orally, with an improvised black-board — a dark-painted window shutter — Capt. Whipple strove to satisfy the intense
eagerness of some twenty or thirty blacks, of all ages from ten to fifty years, to learn to read. Their capacity to learn was as various as their ages, but all were eager. They were awaiting for school to open one and two hours before the appointed time. Can recall a striking illustration of this eagerness to learn. Grown men, employed in "dug outs" to catch and raft logs, brought, on their away to the saw-mill, by frequent vagons to the river bank, had each his spelling book which was speedily whipped out and zealously studied at every break, however short, in their onerous task. Capt. Hipple's share in this undertaking was brought to a close by an order, received in the middle of an afternoon session, to report for special duty. The work was taken up by Captain N. Willis Bumstead of the 45th M. V. M. and others, who had help from Boston in the away of books, etc.

One Sunday, this midsummer, the preacher at the Christian Church (the little building on the cross-roads to the rear of the Academy Green) talked to this effect on the Deluge: "Noah the snail was the last man that entered the Ark. Then the Lord came and locked the door, carrying away the keys so Noe couldn't let in any of the world's people, had been away to clambakes and such, if he had wanted. Then a cloud came, at first no bigger than a man's hand, and it spread and it spread, it did, till it luminated the whole liniment." Occasionally these sable Christians 'get Glory,' especially of afternoons. Then they hug, sing and yell beyond the power of all Christy-dom to imitate."

Here then was the 23rd established as Provost-guard of New Berne. This implies all that is included in the ordinary service of the police of civil life. The maintenance of every-day order. The prompt suppression of occasional disorder. Having no excuse from the roughness
of camp-life or the exigencies of the march, the Provost-guard is expected to make the most of his personal appearance. The soldier never neglects his arms. The Provost-guard has not only rifle and bayonet in their best condition but equipments blacked and polished, his clothes uniform and neat, his boots shining, and, for final touch, his hands in white gloves.

At guard-mounting on Broad street there was a rigid inspection. The negligent were sent back to their quarters for punishment. The guard was divided into three parties and marched off, each under its lieutenant, to the guard-houses of the three districts into which the city was divided. The tour of duty was two hours on post and four ofS by day, four on and eight off at night. The men were required to remain at their district guard-houses all the time they were off post. The chief hardship, aside from the extreme heat of midsummer, arose from the fact that the privates were, generally, on duty every other day and got very little sleep in the guard-houses.

The following anecdote, furnished by a member of Co. 'C,' shows us that (fun ?) was to be had out of even a rainy day on guard. "I was on guard, one rainy day in NCAV Berne, at the steamer wharf. I had found an old umbrella. Breaking off the crook of the handle I put the stick in my gunbarrel and was nicely sheltered under my movable roof. All at once I heard some one coming around the corner. Of all men in the Army, who should it be but Gen. Burnside. That stick would not come out of my gun so that I had to 'present' umbrella and all. To his query, "Does that look soldier-like?" I could only answer 'No.' I recalled the incident one day to Senator Burnside on Pennsylvania Avenue. He remembered it Avell."

16 May, '62. Asst. Surg. S. E. Stone, having rallied sufficiently from his typhoid fever to bear removal, Avent
ome on sick-leave. He resigned his commission and the regiment was deprived of his valuable services. Meanwhile the need of his services in the regiment was too great to admit of Corporal Emmerton being sent home to stand the usual examination, upon entering the Medical Staff, at Boston and a special board was ordered for the purpose at New Berne. He passed and was commissioned to date from 31 July Asst. Surg. Jacob Roberts, commissioned by Gov Andrew, 7 Aug., '62, reported for duty on the 18th. Dr Emmerton was ordered, 2') Aug., '62, to report for duty to Surg. McLellan of the Marine Artillery at Roanoke Island. He remained there about a month and was then made Post Surgeon at Plymouth, X. C. He remained there several months, and, on his return to New Berne, after the regiment had gone to South Carolina, was retained at General Hospital in New Berne (except accompanying the regiment on two expeditions and living with it a few days in camp at Carolina City), till he reported for duty at Newport's.

Dr Roberts was with the regiment till the latter part of June.'63, when he resigned. Asst. Surg. E. P Cummings was commissioned 20 June, '63, and was connected with the regiment till muster-out of original members in 1864.

June, '62. A party of us visiting the battle ground of March, was surprised to find far Dame Nature had already gone in effacing the marks of battle. The branches of trees which had been used to mask the outer face of the rebel works had dried or been blown away, and, already, the unprotected earth was crumbling into the ditch. The new foliage made it difficult to find just where our lines had been. The ground was so studded with tree-tops and branches, mown off by the artillery, that we marvelled that any of us had escaped in-
jury by their fall. Only by help of a neighboring negro could we find the burying-ground. A few scattered graves or regimental mounds held or covered the dead of NCAV Berne. Lt. Hart of 'D' marked the grave of Potter of his company.

12 June, '62. The railroad bridge over the Trent, whose burning caused us a short delay on the day of the battle, was speedily replaced. To-day the first locomotive came up from Beaufort. A letter, dated 20 July, says: 'We have but two engines and no passenger cars. Box cars take their place. The Monitor, an iron-clad battery, accompanies each train. Its black sides, relieved with red ports whence peep rifled guns, make a formidable show. Under its canvas roof the Marine-Artillery gun-crew seems to be leading an easy, pleasant life.'

The bridge, making a short cut between the city and many of the camps, was of great use for horse and foot. Wagons were, at first, restricted to the county-bridge above.

27 June. Capt. Whipple of 'F' received an order from Gen. Burnside to report, with forty men, on board Steamer Alice Price, for immediate duty. The number was made up equally from 'F' and 'D'; Lt. S. C. Hart went. They escorted Capt. Pell, bearer of dispatches, to the camp of Col. Howard near Swift Creek, some ten miles up the Neuse. They returned before night without special incident.

30 June, '62. Extract from letter. 'Contrary, I allow, to my usual custom, I am up long before breakfast. The slant shadoes of the many trees on the Academy Green, the cozy, solid Hospital, the airy tents for convalescents, have little about them to remind one of Avar. Except that the suburbs are, even now, alive with reveille, rousing the sleeping camps to their daily duties, there is little to dissuade one from the idea that he might be a summer boarder in some rural village. Nine out
MAJ. GEN. A. E. BURNSIDE.
of ten of the passers or of those who keep up a ceaseless clanging at the corner pump are negroes. See the small specimen, munching a hunch of bread and 'toting' the rapidly diminishing slice, between bites, on the top of his head. Here comes something more definitely Avar-like. By the red chevrons on his arm he is corporal of artillery, by the pipe in his mouth he is Avell man. His thirst slaked at the pump, he gives place to a 'Zou-zou' (9th N. Y.) I know something of him. He is brother of an 'exsection of shoulder' in the hospital."

3 July. Lt. G. R. Emmerton, with twelve men, guarded rebel prisoners by rail to Beaufort. A few days after this his health compelled him to ask for sick-leave to go North. Failing to recover, he was unwilling to stand in the way of the promotion of others, and, refusing the promotion to 1st Lieut., resigned.

In early July, Gen. Burnside left us, taking a large portion of our army to reinforce McClellan on the Peninsula. Though few of us ever served asfain under his command, I feel confident that my readers, comrades of the 23rd at least, will be glad to see his portrait and to read a sketch of his adventurous life. He was born 23 May, 1824, near Liberty, Union County, Indiana. Though well-placed among their neighbors (the father was associate-judge of the circuit court and clerk of the county courts), his parents were unable to meet the expense of a liberal education and bound the young Ambrose Everts out to learn a trade. Tradition says that the member of Congress for his district, finding the future general busy at his work but intently studying "Cooper's Tactics" "which was propped up by a 'goose' and kept open by a pair of shears," exclaimed "You should be a cadet at West Point." The remark turned a long-felt wish into an intense desire. No effort was spared until,
through the influence of his friends, he secured the appointment, from President Tyler, in March, '43, when he was, by chance, entered at West Point, as Ambrose Everett and, afterwards, retained that name. Young Burnside's animal spirits sometimes put his class-standing in peril, but, in due time, he was graduated, in good, though not remarkable, standing, and commissioned in the Third Artillery. He reached Mexico too late to take part in the war, but greatly distinguished himself in service on the Plains and in connection with the Commission for settling the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

27 April, 1852. He married Mary Richmond Bishop, of Providence, R. I. Meanwhile, he had invented and perfected a breech-loading carbine, which had successfully stood a competitive test before the Ordnance Board at Washington, and, 1 Nov., '52, resigned to manage a factory for its manufacture at Bristol, R. I. Prevented, by the manoeuvring of politicians at Washington, from securing from government, a heavy order for the carbines, on which it had relied to start the new manufacture, the "Bristol Rifle Works" was compelled to go into bankruptcy and Mr. Burnside was thrown on his own resources.

His West-Point training fitted him to accept a place in that corporation, which his old comrade, Capt. Geo. B. McClellan, then Vice President of the Illinois Central Railroad, offered him.

His own merits and the eminently satisfactory management of affairs in the Land-Office secured him, in 1860, the appointment of Treasurer of the Corporation, with an office in New York. He saw the impending war, and, firmly believing in the military spirit of the North, held himself in such readiness that, when asked, on the memorable 15th of April, 1861, he soon he could take com-
mand of a regiment of troops, ready to go to the Avar but lacking a Commander, at Providence, R. L, he could, and did, answer, literally "at once." Space forbids my following, in detail, the Avar-history, which must be familiar to many of my readers.

As colonel of the 1st R. I. Inf., he took to Washington the first organization "supplied for a three-weeks' campaign." As Acting Brigadier General, he bore a distinguished part in that ill-advised campaign which ended with the first Bull Run. As Brigadier General, he organized and commanded the Burnside Expedition, of which these chapters form an imperfect sketch. As Major General, he took prompt help to the Army of the Potomac, saved Gen. Pope from extreme disaster and gave efficient, if tardy, aid, to McClellan, at Antietam. As Commander of the Army of the Potomac, a position twice absolutely declined and finally assumed with much unwillingness, his ill-timed persistence at Fredericksburg left a blot on his military reputation only relieved by the magnanimity which assumed the whole blame of the disaster. In command of the Department of the Ohio, he rescued one of the fairest sections of our country from the grasp of insidious treason, and, at Knoxville, baffled Longstreet and a corps of veterans, picked from the army of Virginia.

With the Ninth Corps, he rendered most efficient service, in the bloody campaign of 1864, until the 30th of July, the date of the unfortunate mine-explosion before Petersburg. The hot Avarth of the people, over their disappointment, was poured upon our hero. Cooler judgment ascribed a portion, at least, of the blame to the petulant jealousy of a superior and the inefficiency of some inferior officers.

4 April, '66, Gen. Burnside was elected Governor of
Rhode Island, and again in '67 and '68. In January, 1875, he was elected Senator from Rhode Island and re-elected in '80. He died at "Edghill," his farm, at Bristol, R. I., 13 Sept., 1881.

4 July. Col. Kurtz, who had been appointed Provost-marshal on June 16th, celebrated Independence Day by a flag-raising at his office. The Declaration of Independence was read by Chaplain Clark and music was furnished by the band. The regiment marched through the streets making marching salutes. In the evening Col. Kurtz entertained his friends at the regimental headquarters.

At the end of this month the Provost Court was regularly organized, Col. Kurtz being made president and Capt. Whipple, the Deputy Provost-marshal, Clerk. At the same time, Major Chambers was made president of a military commission, of which Lt. Ray was Judge Advocate. They sat in the jail.

13 July. By order at dress-parade fifty men were selected to work the fire-engine when wanted.

During late July the guard in the third district—a portion of the city not included in the map and largely made up of the poorer class of whites who remained with us although retaining their "secesh" proclivities—had been fired upon. The inhabitants of the district were avowed of condign punishment, but, spite of the avarning, somebody shot Michael A. Galvin of 'C Avliile he was on duty on post 5. (Galvin's wound, in the fleshy part of the thigh, was not serious. He died, at home, the next July, of consumption.) This naturally roused the guard. They searched all the houses in the neighborhood and arrested six men, but not, it was said, the actual malefactor.

26 July, '62. By command of Gen. Foster the regiment marched to Muddy Lane with band, pioneer corps and all practicable pomp and circumstance. On the
ground were Gen. Foster, some of his staff and other prominent officers. Col. Kurtz, as Provost-marshal, entered the house hence the shot came and ordered the inmates to vacate, in order that it might be pulled down. A woman, tearfully protesting her innocence, came out with several children and took refuge with a neighbor. The soldiers removed her furniture, discovering some concealed arms. Then, with a will, they pulled and tore, till house, out buildings and peach-orchard were levelled and a neighboring field of tall corn, too good an ambush to be left standing, was pulled up.

29 July. The sick in hospitals belonging to regiments which Burnside had taken away to reinforce McClellan on the Peninsula were sent to their regiments in Virginia.

11 Aug. The regiment was saddened by the loss of a promising officer in the death of the newly commissioned Lt. Westover Greenleaf of 'C.' He had been suffering from remittent fever. A sudden attack of an apoplectic nature proved speedily fatal. At a meeting of the regimental officers resolutions were passed appropriate to the occasion.

Let us not forget the performances of the regimental Glee Club. Beside Dr. Derby, Capt. Whipple, and Sergeants Driver and Lee, who were mentioned as composing the Club at Hatteras, Lt. Col. Ehvell, and privates Prime, Valentine and Woodbury of 'F,' among others, took part. Capt. Whipple had music specially arranged for male voices by Mr. Manuel Emilio, of Salem, and a set of German part-songs. The nine-months regiments from Massachusetts brought additional musical talent. A quartette of Sergt. Driver, 1st tenor, Capt. Whipple, 2nd tenor, Wm. H. Beckett, of 'A,' 45th, 1st bass, and Myron W. Whitney, of 'I,' 45th, 2nd bass, with Sergt. Upham, as organist, sung the full service at the Episcopal
Church regularly. That they were in demand for social occasions, serenades, etc., "goes without saying."


22 Nov., '62. Orders having been issued for the 17th M. V. I. to relieve the 23rd from their duty as Provost Guard in New Berne, the line was formed and the regiment marched to its new camp ground before the reliefs on guard had all reported. The camp, called Pendleton, in memory of Capt. James M. Pendleton, of Gen. Foster's staff, whose brilliant war-record had just been closed by a sad accident at Washington, N. C, was pitched on the sandy plain beyond the Trent river and something more than half way from the railroad bridge to the county bridge. The regiment was provided with a set of Sibley tents, and, the space being ample and level, the camp made a fine appearance. For a month past, since Lt. Col. Ehvell had been disabled,—his arm broken by the kick of a horse,—the command had devolved upon Major Chambers—Col. Kurtz being still detached as Provost Marshal. The Major, determined to retain, as long as possible, the soldierly appearance attained by the regiment during its long tour of guard duty, issued the following order.

Head Quarters, 23 M. V. I.,
Camp Pendleton,
5 Dec., 1862.

Hereafter, until other wise ordered, the private whose appearance, on guard-mounting, shall be the most cleanly and soldier-like, shall be entitled to exemption from all guard duty, drills or parade for the day with permission to be absent from camp till 5 P. M.

Signed, Major J. G. Chambers.
COL. JOHN KURTZ.
25 Nov., '62. Colonel John Kurtz, who had been Provost-marshal in NCAV Berne since June 16, hurt by a severe reprimand from his superior officer for neglect of an order which, through negligence of the messenger, he had never received, resigned, and was honorably discharged.

JOHN KURTZ, son of John Erhard Kurtz, a well-known German baker of Boston, who had married in this country, was born in Boston 2 Oct., 1813, and brought up to his father's trade. He belonged to the old Volunteer Fire Department and was present at the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, 11 August, 1834. Have not learned how early he joined the militia, but in 1837 he was orderly-sergeant of the Washington Light Infantry, Capt. Samuel Adams, and helped suppress the Broad Street Riot 11 June, 1837. At the muster that year on the Common, when the Montgomery Guard, the first exclusively Irish company ever organized in the State, appeared, six companies, including the Washington Light Infantry, under Sergeant Kurtz, marched off the field under their orderly-sergeants, leaving their commissioned officers in line. The six companies were disbanded by order of Gov. Everett. Out of the Washington Light Infantry was formed a new company, taking the name Washington Light Guard, under Capt. William Washburn and 1st Lt. John Kurtz.

During the exciting presidential campaign of '40, Capt. Washburn, a partisan Democrat, tried to make the company Democratic. Lt. Kurtz, an old line whig, resisted. Feeling ran so high that there seemed no cure but separation and the 1st Lieutenant, with all the Whigs in the company, seceded and formed the Washington Phalanx. Here Capt. Kurtz's eminent qualifications as disciplinarian
and drill-master came in play and he soon raised the company to an enviable position in the militia, its example elevating the tone of the whole force. It was his habit, on parade days, to march up State Street, "where merchants most do congregate" and drill the company, with the bugle, before the admiring crowd "on 'change."

Capt. Kurtz retained command for several years. He married 13 Nov., 1844, Caroline T., daughter of Melzar Dunbar, of Boston.

16 July, '61. Capt. Kurtz was commissioned Capt. of Co. 'C 13 Mass. Vol. Infy. On the battle fields of Roanoke and New Berne, Colonel Kurtz was distinguished by a cool and unhesitating obedience to orders. As Provost-marshal he secured the good will of all well-doers by his speedy and impartial judgments.

24 Feb., '63. Col. Kurtz was appointed chief of police for Boston. He held this position, with general satisfaction, till his resignation 19 April, 1870. Since that time he was Inspector at the Boston Custom House. He was several years President of the 23rd Veteran Association. He died 10 Nov., 1881, unexpectedly, of heart-disease, leaving a widow, a widowed daughter and a granddaughter. His funeral was attended by large numbers of his comrades in all his various commands.

8 Dec., '62. One of the saddest days in the history of the regiment. The sudden accidental death of Capt. Thomas Russell of "I," plunged into gloom not only those to whom his social qualities had endeared him but the wider circle who had confidently counted on the soldierly ability he had already manifested.

Dr. Roberts kept on hand a mixture intended for relief of ordinary coughs, and, the day before, had prepared a liniment (to take to the garrison at Evans's Mills), which,
Lt. John Goodwin, Jr.
Serg. L. F. Emilio, 'F'
Capt. Thomas Russell
Serg. D. Carlton, 'F'
W. H. H. Prime, 'F'
although containing a dangerous or fatal proportion of aconite, if taken internally, Avas, unfortunately, left on the shelf with the cough mixture. Some of the latter mixture having been ordered by Dr. Roberts, an officious attendant, not the hospital-steward, filled a vial from the wrong bottle and Capt. Russell drank freely from it. To the lieutenant's very natural complaint of the harshness of the medicine Dr. Roberts insisted that it was a simple mixture and Capt. Center of 'C tasted it. When Captain C'nter too complained, the Assistant Surgeon in his turn, tasted the mixture, detected the mistake and immediately commenced the administration of stimulants, etc. It was too late. Indeed, so large a dose of aconite would have been extremely dangerous under the most instant treatment, lie survived about one and a half hours and expired just as Dr. Derby arrived from his duties in town.

Next day Dr. Roljerts partly embalmed the body in preparation for sending it North.
30 Oct., '62. "Companies 'B,' 'C,' 'D,' 'G' and 'I,' left New Bern, early in the morning, for an expedition up the Neuse river, under command of Major Chambers. Taking the steamer Union, with several companies of the 17th Mass., they proceeded up the Neuse River about eight miles, where they were joined by cavalry, artillery, and a large baggage-train, the whole under command of Colonel Amory. They landed and marched to Swift's Creek, a small settlement about eight miles distant, which was reached at sundown. Here they were fired upon by the rebel cavalry picket, who had destroyed the bridge over the creek. They fled upon our approach. The following forenoon was employed by our forces in building the bridge, and at noon the column was again in motion towards Washington, N C, which our forces reached on the evening of Nov. 1st, without molestation.

Nov. 2nd. The line of march was again continued (our forces being augmented by the addition of several thousand infantry) in the direction of Williamston, the Twenty-third Battalion acting as part of the baggage-guard. Towards sundown the advance came across the enemy, posted behind entrenchments, at a place called Rawle's Mills, who disputed their passage; but our forces soon compelled them to retreat, and the following morning the advance again continued on to Williamston,
which place the column reached at noon, having marched a distance of twenty-three miles from Washington. Leaving the sick and foot-sore on board the gun-boats in the river, the troops marched out of the town about three miles, and bivouacked for the night. 4 Nov., Took up the line of march for Hamilton, within two miles of which they were obliged to halt for several hours to build a bridge, near which was a deserted breastwork, leading from the woods across the main-road to a fort on the river-bank. Hamilton was reached about sundown, and, like Williamston, was found entirely deserted. The town being set on fire by the troops, the sick were placed on gun-boats, and the expedition marched out of Hamilton several miles and bivouacked for the night. 5 Nov. They started early in the morning, taking the road to Tarboro'—marched until night, when they came to a halt, and bivouacked within nine miles of Tarboro'. 6 Nov. The following morning they commenced their return march, not having met with the enemy in any force, the Twenty Third having the advance, and taking a different road to Hamilton from that by which they came. A heavy rain having set in, the roads were in a very bad condition, and the marching very much harder than it had been previously. The expedition reached Hamilton late in the afternoon, and took up their quarters for the night in the deserted dwellings. 7 Nov. A violent snow-storm raged in the morning, but it did not delay the march, which was continued for Williamston, by a road leading near the river, and which they had not travelled before. No force of the enemy appeared to interrupt the march, and the expedition reached Williamston in the afternoon, where it remained until the morning of 9 Nov., when the line of march was taken up for Plymouth, N. C, a distance of twenty-three miles. They reached the
latter place the next morning, 10th Nov., and the Twenty Third Avent on board the steamer Massasoit and gunboat Vidette, for Newbern, which they reached on the 11th, at noon, having been absent thirteen days, and having marched about 150 miles. Many of the regiment were without boots or shoes, and several from each company bare-footed. The expedition captured about fifty prisoners, four hundred horses and mules, and about one hundred teams. The whole was under command of Major Gen. Foster."

**ROANOKE.**

Life at Roanoke Island, in the early fall of 1862, spite of a certain monotony, was not unpleasant. The station was a long step nearer civilization and in the way of a speedier receipt of its newspapers, through the canal.

Your historian was quartered in the small hospital, which he had been sent to take charge of, near Col. HoAyard's head-quarters at Pork Point. Surg. McLellan had a larger hospital—perhaps that serving for our brigade in the Spring—near Camp Foster. The remittent fever, which had been a serious epidemic in the hands of my predecessor,—a contract-surgeon something too egotistic in the exhibition of stimulants—soon became manageable and left me with a considerable leisure.

The easy lope of a captured horse shortened the miles that were so wearisome in da3's of early February. "We had many a pleasant ride along the leafy Awood-paths which contained no enemy more fearsome than the huge, Awhite jackass, whose teeth had left their imprint on the withers of most loose quadrupeds about the island and

"" Massachusetts in the Civil War, Wii."
from whose salacious assaults not even mounted saddle-horses nor harnessed "buggies" were quite exempt.

Nag's Head, the old-time Southern watering-place on the outside beach, was a capital sanitarium for my convalescents. Our visits needed to be short and in some force, but, the change from the humid semi-tropical atmosphere of the island to the bracing sea breezes, rolling in unobstructed from opposite Africa, was marvellous. The retreating rebels, of February, had burned the principal hotel, and the cottages were stripped and deserted. Even one summer's neglect seemed to threaten the speedy destruction of the whole village. Some of the cottages, their unstable foundation blown away by the searching gales, were toppling to their fall and others were partly buried under dunes of the whirling sand.

After about a month of life on the island the need of an additional surgeon was no longer pressing and Medical Director Snelling came from NCav Berne in the steamer Delaware to take him where his services were more needed.

PLYMOUTH.

20 Sept., '62. There had been for some months a small garrison at Plymouth supported by gun-boats in the river. Assistant Surgeon Alann, of the navy, had been caring for the sick soldiers but had at last broken down with over-work. Your historian was sent to that place, and, as Post Surgeon, "enjoined to reciprocate with the navy, as far as may be, in care of the sick." Under this order a hospital of some twenty beds was organized and occupied about equally by the sick of army and navy.

Plymouth is a small town, mostly of two streets, one, along the river bank, where shops and stores rather outnumbered the dwellings, and another, on the terrace
above, of comfortable houses, with none of such special prominence as were the Grice house at Washington and the Washington house at Kinston. Back of the centre of the town, along the Long-acre road, there were some open fields. Otherwise the woods came down all around the town. Across our branch of the Roanoke, some three hundred yards wide, were wooded islands and intricate bayous.

There was something more of native society in Plymouth than came to my knowledge in NCAX Berne. A legal Colonel—who strove, through weary months, to sit, with dignity, the diverging steeds of local and national duty, and who fell, while Plymouth burned, into the hands of "common soldiers;" a placid Major—who had already suffered, for opinion's sake, at the hands of his fellow-citizens; a genial Squire—who would come in from his plantation for gossip and advice; a Merchant,—hated of old time for his success and pitied by friend and foe when fate was so hard upon him during the attack; Sartor,—mightier in spirit than his stature warranted—the genial narrator of village gossip and of adventure in Northern cities. For the ladies, most of them could not be said to add much to society, inasmuch as they were, after their kind, the bitterest rebels.

The gun-boats, always represented, were sometimes in considerable numbers and their officers were much ashore. Among others were steadfast Calhoun; hospitable Behm; gallant Flusser, who afterwards lost the life, so nobly devoted to the whole country, in defence of the town; and Cushing, whose daring, in the destruction of the Albemarle, was to make Plymouth famous through all time in the annals of courageous endeavor.

Our occupation of Plymouth—its expediency was always doubtful to many, and in the sequence of events, was
never demonstrated — became a thorn in the side of the rebel leaders. Again, the supplies of Tyrrel and Hyde, — counties to the eastward—Avere always tempting to the rebel commissaries who endeavored to withdraw them through the narrow gate between Plymouth and Washington. The head-quarter camp of such an expedition Avas reported as resting, in fancied security, a few miles south of Plymouth. They could well count on immunity from our land-force, which was too small to assume the offensive, but forgot or miscalculated the reach of the naval cannon.

Distance and direction having been fixed with all attainable accuracy, the boats were strung along stem to stern, and, people ashore having been aware of the danger from falling sabots or possible premature explosion, fire Avas opened. For an hour the peaceful Roanoke heard a martial clamor till then unknown. The shells were not thrown with sufficient accuracy to inflict actual damage, but, report said, the rebel camp Avas evacuated with unhesitating promptness.

Rumors of intended attack, with all manner of impossible forces, were our daily food. Bushwhacking parties were constantly hovering about our pickets or showing themselves up river. While, however, Capt. Hammill's company' of the 9th N. Y Vol. Inf., seasoned in battle and ready, Avas the garrison, and Flusser, who had proved his readiness at Elizabeth City, was to the fore, rumor remained idle talk.

As time passed, Hammill was ordered to rejoin his regiment in Virginia and his place Avas taken by a company of the 3rd Mass. — very raw nine months men with the full flavor of town-meeting2: soldiers — The fleet was reduced to one boat, the Southfield, powerful in armament, but with officers unfamiliar with the situation.
The rebels were, as usual, fully alive to the situation. The story Asa told, I know not how truly, that one of their number spent an evening in the cellar at headquarters, where he could hear all the talk.

10 Dec, '62. At all events, at 5 A.M., a rattling volley, at the outpost, on the Jamestown road, convinced all of us—we were rather in the habit of sleeping with one ear partly open—that something serious was beginning. Our infantry made but a slight resistance. The outpost was driven in. A party sent out on the Acre road was cut off and hid in the woods. The remainder took refuge either on the gun-boat or in the Custom House, a large three-storey brick on the water's edge.

The enemy, practically unresisted, scattered to burn the town, and, very soon, the flames from forty burning houses aided the full moon to turn night into day. It was asserted, at the time, that the burning was with the connivance of the runaway owners. As a fact, the homes of prominent absentee "secesh" were early inflames. Still, one could count on his fingers the buildings unburned and these were mostly on the water-street, with two or three on the remoter roads. In the perfect calm, no building caught from another, unless in very close proximity.

The enemy ran a battery down to the end of one of the up-river wharves and opened on the Southfield. The first round went a little high, expending itself on the smoke-stack and boat-davits. The second got the range. One shell went through the wheel-house, piercing boiler-iron like pasteboard, hit one sailor in the leg and, tearing out again, left its mark here and there and exploded beyond. A solid-shot struck the Avard-room, went, through four partitions, into the steam-drum and smashed the flange of the supply-pipe. Two shots struck one of the nine-inch guns and put that *Itors de combat.*
there was a smart fire, from the rebel infantry, directed against the boat—though I do not hear of more than one casualty. One musket-ball, however, got into the escape-pipe, and, filling into the valve, helped the rush of steam from the above-mentioned hole in the drum. The hot steam filled all the passages of the boat. The gunners could get no powder. The surgeon could not reach the wounded. The vent of the big Parrott, on the boat, was accidentally stopped. But one gun was left that could be brought to bear. Not unnaturally, they slipped their moorings and dropped clown stream to repair damages.

Having disposed of this antagonist, the rebel artillerists turned their attention to the Custom House, from whose upper windows a lively fire was pouring. Prevented, by this fire, from the direct route, they went around a square and posted their gun on an upper street where burning buildings protected them from all but one of the Custom House windows. Into this they sent their shells and speedily scattered the infantry crowded in the long room behind it. But one man was hit, however, and his wound was not immediately fatal, although he survived but a few days.

About this time the Southfield, from down the river, resumed her share in the action and began firing into and through the burning town. Some of her big shells went over or near the rebel artillerists. They left, carrying with them, some fifty negroes—mostly women and children—some seventeen prisoners of war and three civilians. By this time came daylight and with it the cry "The Perry is coming." With reason, we believed in the "Commodore Perry" and her commander, Flusser. Up she came, her men at quarters, her guns all trained on one side and the disabled Southfield in tow. Our danger was
I should have said that there were in the garrison something more than one hundred men recruited in North Carolina. They were not of much use. They knew they were fighting with halters around their necks.

Let me not forget Mary Lee, our admirable landlady and caterer. Her successful efforts towards the comfort of officers ashore, and her color, made her a special object of the enemy's spite. She and her house escaped. Can not see the propriety of the word "murdered" as applied to the death of Mrs. Phelps, by the historian of the 27th M. V I. She was wounded in the confused crowd of fugitives struggling to enter the Custom House. For hours she denied having been wounded, and although she had received a pistol-shot, at or near the epigastrium, survived till near night.

Plymouth was practically destroyed and the comfort of the garrison impaired, but our hold on the location remained good till the iron-clad Albemarle drove away our gun-boats in April, 1864. The loss of the enemy from the resistance of the gallant Wessels made his conquest as dear bought as it was short-lived. In October, 1864, Cushing, by blowing up the Albemarle, settled the question of the occupation of Plymouth for the war.

GOLDSBORO EXPEDITION.

11 Dec, '62. Thirty men, unfit for active campaigning, were selected and sent, under command of Serg. Plutchinson of 'H,' to relieve the garrison at Evans Mills.

Inf. and the 43rd, 45th and 51st M. V. M., under Col. T. J. C. Amory of the 17th, Actg. Brig. Gen., joined a column, made up of most of the available force in the department under Maj. Gen. J. G. Foster, on what is commonly called "The Goldsboro Expedition."

Roused at 3 A. M. and breakfasted, the regimental column marched to the rendezvous in the streets of New Berne, through a fog so dense that troops marching, by fours, along the middle of the streets, not only could not be recognized by their most intimate friends, but were really only a something blacker than the surrounding darkness. After the usual delays, the column proceeded unobstructed till they passed the fork of the Trent road where they found their way filled with felled timber. The rebels did not stop to protect their abattis, and its only result was the loss of time, while the pioneers chopped from the logs and rolled to one side sections long enough to permit the passage of the guns.

12th. Roused at 3 again the next morning, the boys grasped their rifles, which were coated thick with hoar frost, and pushed on. Skirmishing soon began. The rebels had discovered that we did not mean to use the roads along the Neuse, where they had prepared works to resist us, and tried with little effect to hinder our advance. Montgomery of 'I' was wounded in the foot. By this time the three days' rations had disappeared before the appetites or the improvidence of soldiers so unused to campaigning, and various diaries note "Nothing for dinner to-day," and record the dying squeals of the rebel pig, the lusciousness of confiscated honey and the satisfying character of the native sweet potato.

13th. The march continued without striking incident till noon and Southwest Creek were reached at about the same time. The enemy developed a line of battle and
our troops were formed for an attack. Pending this manœuvre, the regiment was drawn off the road to permit the passage of a battery of the 3rd N. Y Arty. Asst. Surg. Roberts had the ill-luck to be thrown, while dismounting, into the road and directly in the line of the advancing battery. The gun, which threatened to kill him, was stopped, but not until the forward wheel fairly overhung his head. The doctor was not apparently much the worse for the adventure, but he writes me that his left hip has ever since pained him and is sometimes a great inconvenience from an exostosis,—an unnatural growth of bone—from the seat of injury. Corp. Worth of 'I' was accidentally wounded in the hand.

The 23rd, Co. 'D' skirmishing, had the extreme left of the line which advanced a short distance in that order. The dash of our friends of the 9th N. J. left little for the rest of the line to do. They found a passage, across the creek, over the dam of an old mill, charged the enemy, captured his guns, and drove him in full retreat. The 23rd, following in support, in their turn, filed through the swamps, crossed the dam, gathered up a number of demoralized rebels, who had thrown away their arms and taken refuge in the woods, and, finally, settled down to all the discomfort of a fireless bivouac in a mid-winter swamp.

KINSTON.

14 Dec. Kinston, on the left bank of the Neuse, was defended by batteries betwixt it and the river, by four light guns, likeAvise entrenched on their side of the river and placed so as to command the bridge, and by a considerable force of infantry thrown across the river and occupying a meeting-house and rifle-pits commanding the open
country and the approaches to the bridge from the right bank.

Foster's line was drawn across the road leading to the bridge.

Gen. Wessels's brigade, to which the 23rd was temporarily attached, had the advance. Major Chambers had vainly begged for a position in the first line but was refused on account of the emptiness of the regimental cartridge boxes and the impossibility of filling them in time. He was sent in on the left of the road and found ample occupation in resisting the movement to the rear of a veteran Peninsular regiment in his front.

On the right of the road three regiments lay in three lines accomplishing nothing, which had been reported to the commanding officer. Foster sent for the 10th Conn., and, when it reported from its place near the left of the column, directed it to file to the right, in the rear of the three regiments, and then, facing towards the enemy, to attack him, with the aforesaid three regiments, if practicable, without them, marching over them, if must be.

In this statement and order Gen. Foster hardly did justice to the regiments in the swamp. They had found no little difficulty from the nature of the ground (the rebels, it is said, had thought the swamp impassable), and had, at considerable loss, forced the enemy's skirmish-line back to the open and to the shelter of the meeting-house.

One of the regiments, the 45th M. V. M., held a position at the edge of the woods and thus opened a nearly unimpeded path for reinforcements.

The gallant 10th pushed on to the open, and, regardless of the enemy's fire, commenced file-firing in return.

Seeing that the enemy's fire began to slacken and that he was retiring towards the bridge, the 10th, leaving
ninety killed and wounded to mark their position on the knoll at the edge of the swamp, charged with the bayonet and turned the retreat into a rout. Finding that many were likely to escape and perhaps be troublesome in the works on the other bank, the 10th halted and opened fire on the bridge itself. This turned the rout into a surrender. All the rebels, who were still on the right bank of the river, dropped their arms and sought shelter. A battery of the 3rd N. Y., coming up in fine style, helped the 10th in its gallant attack on an enemy whose position, on the left bank, was still strong, with a burning bridge and an unfordable river in its front. But, they showed little relish for fighting. A white flag soon showed in the four gun battery.

Kinston was ours.

The fighting, except some exchange of artillery, was over. Not so the danger. The flames of the burning bridge, as they reached the muskets thrown away by retreating rebels, exploded them. One such shot killed Col. Gray of the 96th N. Y. The men of the 10th Conn, and of Jenny's Battery, forming line to the river bank, soon extinguished the flames with the battery buckets.

They thereby rather overshot the mark. It had been Gen. Foster's plan to drive the enemy to burn their bridge and then, by pretending to rebuild, hold the enemy while a part of our force pushed unresisted towards Goldsboro. We had saved the bridge and must use it. Most of the troops, after securing the prisoners, marched across and bivouacked in and about Kinston that night. The 23rd went across towards dark after receiving the surrender of sixty-three of the 23rd South Carolina.

FORAGING.

Sergt. Carlton of 'F,' slightly Avounded and Rollo Bur­rill, Corp. of 'B,' Avho died 14 Jan., '63, of Avound in thigh, Avere the only losses to the regiment in this action.

15 Dec., '62. We had Kinston, Avhich we did not care for. The enemy, after a slight shoAv of resistance, the afternoon before, had retired to his fortified positions west of the town to await our advance. NCAVS had come of Burnside's bloody repulse at Fredericksburg and the consequent release of large forces to oppose our little column. Lee, it ajipears, had telegraphed to Goldsboro' that he could send 30,000 men, if necessary. It remained to be seen whether the objects of the expedition—the destruction of the railroad, and, especially, of the bridge at Goldsboro'—could be accomplished by strategy in spite of the gathering hordes.

A party of cavalry and light artillery had re-crossed the bridge and pushed up the right bank of the Neuse during the night. Early to-day, Avhile a column made a strong feint of moving directly Avest, the rest of our forces began to folloAv the cavalry along the right bank. It took half the day to evacuate the toAvn. A complete destruction of the enemy's stores, which he himself had fired on his retreat, occupied some time.

The 23rd had the advance to-day with the usual com­pensations of that position—an easy march at their own pace and the opportunity to forage a virgin country. Many of the men will recall the zest Avhich the long march and ill-laden haversack gave to the loot that night. Some may remember the difficulties which the Assistant-Surgeon in charge found could occur betAveen mutton on the hoof and the broiled chop on the plate. Some sheep had been penned in an angle of a rail-fence. Their captors offered the Doctor one of them if he would carry it to camp—a feat for which he felt quite capable. That experiment resulted in the Doctor getting a roll on the
sacred soil and the sheep bounding away in short-lived freedom. Convinced, but hungry and undaunted, he was still sure that he could carry a carcass, and, in this, with sufficient help, he succeeded. He writes that he is very sure that the Adjutant and others who were much amused at his struggle with the sheep, none the less relished their share of the mutton.

WHITEHALL.

Whitehall, an action in which the 23rd especially distinguished itself,—perhaps reached the high-water-mark in all that constitutes the efficient regiment—was not, nor was it intended that it should be, a battle. It was only a feint, a pretence of anxiety on our part to cross the river while we were really destroying the railroad to Wilmington. It lacks then the usual meed of victory,—captured colors, guns, prisoners. They were safe behind a narrow but unfordable river.

The force of cavalry and artillery before mentioned, under Major Garrard of the 3rd N. Y. Cav., had gone to Whitehall, the night before, for the purpose of burning the bridge. In this they were forestalled by a retreating regiment which burned the bridge behind it. They found a formidable gun-boat building on the left bank, and, after an ineffectual attempt to destroy it by fire,—the gallant New York cavalry man, who had stripped and swam the river for that purpose, being revealed to the rebel sharpshooters by the very brand from the burning bridge on which, after his swim, he must rely for fire,—had riddled the unfinished hull with shot from their guns and ridden away.

Of course the 23rd had yielded the advance to some other regiment. When it arrived on the battle-field it was ordered to support the 17th Mass. and 9th N. J.
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1st Serg. Chas. Kilburn, 'H'

Serg. A. Hutchinson, 'H'

2nd Lt. Robert Dollard.

G. W Nason, Jr., 'H'

J. W Page, 'E'

1st Serg F. A. Marsh, 'H'
which had been deployed as skirmishers on or near the river bank.

"Gloomy woods clothed both banks of the river, except on the south side, where a large clearing had been made, among the trees forming a sort of amphitheatre. The ground sloped steeply to the river."

Over the verge of that amphitheatre the regiment came marching by the flank, Avent, on right by file, into line, rectified its alignment, marched forward to and through the fringe of woods on the river-bank, so near that officers in the line discharged their revolvers across the river at the enemy stood there, at give and take, till many had fired their forty rounds, till ten had been killed and fifty-two wounded, stood, spite of the dangers of short-timed shells and boughs lopped from the trees by our own batteries in the rear, till recalled, and then marched, in accurate line, up the bloody slope, singing "Rally round the flag, etc."

Major Dollard, then 1st Sergt. of 'E' describes the scene as follows:

"We were halted by the roadside within a few hundred yards of the fatal field which, within two hours, was to become the last resting place of so many of our brave fellows, when the command, 'Attention, Battalion,' came from the lips of Major Chambers, with the firmness and decision of a bugle blast. Our guns were brought to the shoulder and orders given to 'prime—reshoulder—face to the right, forward—march—' were executed. Arriving at a point, in rear of where it was desired to rest our right in line of battle, followed the command, 'On right by file into line.' This order executed, the regiment was

22 Cayuga in the Field.
ordered to lie down that the enemy's fire might pass over us.

In a few minutes we were on our feet again and the command came in the clear, ringing tones of Major Chambers, 'Battalion, Forward,' and, after a long pause, 'where in H—l and d—n are those color and general guides'? In those moments of uncertainty, doubt, peril, pride and patriotism, that question, in that language, in that manner of utterance, was pregnant with the spirit of heroism and could alone be inspired by the audacity of genius. The right general-guide and the colors advanced six paces. Co. 'E' was on the left, and, no left general-guide having been appointed, Sergt. Burbank, six feet, or upwards, in height, hurriedly placed himself in position. Then, deliberately and forcibly, came the rest of the order, 'March.'

I was a file-closer, commanding the second platoon of Co. 'E,' and had an opportunity to observe that march—the old 23rd moved across that plain of death with the accuracy and steadiness of the best disciplined troops on the field of revicAV. Not a man was out of step. The line was perfect. It reminded me of the movement of officers to the front and centre at dress-parade. I seem to see that line now, after a lapse of twenty-one years, as the men marched, shoulder to shoulder, to the dreadful slaughter that struck down so many of their number within one hour. The countermarch, from the windrow of dead and dying that marked the place of the regiment on the river-bank, was no less remarkable for its perfect order and excited the admiration, even of those who had no knowledge of the terrible ordeal to which the regiment had been subjected while engaged with the enemy.

The rebel-sharpshooters, from their secure vantage, had
ASST. SURG. JACOB ROBERTS.
such control of the field that parties volunteering to re-
cover the bodies of the dead were unable to reach them,
not only just after the action, but, as well, when the
column was moving towards New Berne, three days later.

Dr. Roberts found his first location, on the slope, too
much exposed and even ₌AV men hit, beyond him, on the
hill, after he had reached the partial protection of a
holloAV The Avounded, at first treated on the bare
ground, were afterwards taken to neighboring houses.

### Casualties at Whitehall

#### KILLED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fowler, William T.</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Co. A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Story, Joseph W.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raymond, Harvey A.</td>
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<td>E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westgate, Benjamin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Almy, Hiram H.</td>
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<td>H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manning, Charles</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pierce, Frank</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stone, Franklin J.</td>
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<td>Fletcher, Daniel</td>
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<td>Griffin, Addison</td>
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#### DIED OF WOUNDS.

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Terhune, William</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sears, Charles H.</td>
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<td>D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Briggs, George</td>
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<td>Stevens, Edward</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glover, Charles F.</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>G.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peatfield, William P.</td>
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#### WOUNDED.

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<tr>
<td>Edgett, Isaac H.</td>
<td>Sergt.-Major,</td>
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<td>Smith, Frederic W.</td>
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<td>Hall, Edward A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brown, George A.</td>
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<td>Druhan, Nicholas</td>
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<td>Gunnison, Frank H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verry, Herbert W.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Griffin, Benjamin H.</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pew, Charles H.</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td>Donnovan, Dennis</td>
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<td>Proctor, John J.</td>
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<td>Hart, Samuel C.</td>
<td>Captain</td>
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<td>Leary, Daniel</td>
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<td>Sherman, Henry F.</td>
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<td>Swift, Wm. R.</td>
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<td>Hayward, Charles H.</td>
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<td>Hinckley, George O.</td>
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<td>Clarke, Wm. T.</td>
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<td>Pickett, George A.</td>
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<td>Kilburn, Charles</td>
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<td>Prescott, Wm. H.</td>
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<td>Beckermann, Wm. H.</td>
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<td>Curlin, Michael</td>
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<td>Reeves, John I.</td>
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<td>Flood, Patrick</td>
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Sergt. Fowler of 'A' went into the fight with a fixed presentiment that death awaited him, but refused an offer of duty at the rear, saying, "If I took it and saved my life so, I should never hear the last of it." Story of 'C' was instantly killed by one of our shells. Briggs of
'E,' "a very quiet, intelligent, gentlemanly man," was heard to defend the jollification of himself and comrades, over the victory and apple-jack of Kinston, with the plea, that, what was likely to be so short might well be made a merry life. He, really, died, a prisoner, twenty days after the fight. Almy of 'F,' died instantly, and Manning barely lived to be carried a short distance to the rear. Southworth of 'E' was reported dead but was really taken prisoner, after lying forty-eight hours on the field, and exchanged after four and a half months at Richmond, Va.

Our acting-brigadier, Col. Amory, is said to have promised that the 23rd should not be called upon for any more fighting during the expedition, but could not persuade Major Chambers to yield his place at the right of the brigade. In this order we marched to the battlefield at Goldsboro', arrived in time to see the smoke from the burning bridge and know that a prominent object of the expedition was accomplished.

"Homeward hound." New Berne had been home long enough to make the boys feel so when the order came to retrace their steps. They marched some five miles and had already their fires started and the coffee-pots on when word came of an attack upon the rear guard. Unhesitatingly, however wearily, they started at a rapid gait to help their endangered comrades and were gladdened, after some three miles of hurried countermarch, on learning that their services were not required but that the batteries of Belger and Morrison, with their infantry supports, had been more than enough for the occasion and had repelled, with great slaughter, the gallant rebel assault.

18th. The whole column started early for a long march. Part of the way was made very disagreeable by the woods burning all around. "All the foliage was burned off and the tree-trunks, blackened, or, at times, covered with pearly
ashes, looked like ghosts in the smoky atmosphere. The air was so full of smoke and cinders that we were black as coalheavers and could hardly recognize intimate friends when we reached the welcome bivouac." At Whitehall the Surgeons paused awhile to care for the wounded and put them in ambulances. Dr. Roberts was put in charge of the train.

19th. Reached Kinston by noon. All the wounded, save those already forwarded by a gun-boat on the Neuse, were added to the ambulance train. This persistent forced marching was something that few, in the column, were used to. One, a city-bred youth, of the "pony-squad," was put to hard straits but persisted in such a manner as to vindicate the rapid promotion he had received. Early on the march, SAVOuen feet had driven him to cut off his boots and being unable to replace them, he each day collected cast-off socks and put them on—even five-fold. Thus guarded, he SAVOUICI make a brave start o'mornings and persevere, bis extra socks going as the miles SAVOU added, till evening and the bivouac found him barefoot.

Let us alloAV "Guidon," another member of 'F,' to tell the story in his SAVU words.

RETURNING FROM WHITEHALL.

"Steadily we pace along the dusty road on our return to Newbern. The battles of Kinston, Whitehall, and Goldsboro', have been fought and SAVOU, and the advance of the column is SAVO miles from Whitehall on its return.

The SAVOUIC sound of 'Halt' is heard, and gladly the wearied soldier sinks by the roadside to rest. It is only for a SAV moments, Avhen 'forAvard' is again the Avord and SAV are again pressing on toAvards the Avished-for goal. As SAV near that ever memorable battle ground, SAVC are ordered to close up, and keep the files dressed, ready to
come to the front at any moment. Soon the trees that line the river's bank break upon our VICAV, and all eyes are turned in the direction of the narroAV stream, Avhere but four days ago our men met the foe, and Avhere too, some of our bravest and best are UOAV sleeping their last, dreamless sleep.

Silently and sadly we pass the spot, thinking of our comrades Avhom Awe are to leave behind. Nor do Awe knoAv but rebel eyes are looking on us now. It may be those CAes are now sighting the deadly rifle; and who of us shall be the victim? Who of us shall be brought IOAV without a moment's Avarning? Perhaps the death dealinohowitzer is already pointed, to hurl its canister and grape into our very midst.

We pass on in silence, yet this silence seems almost oppressiA'e, Avhile the rattling of tin dippers upon our haver­sacks and the creaking of the Avheels of the wagon train behind us, strike painfully upon the ear. SloAvely and sadly Awe climb the hill and pass away from the dread spot, never more to look upon it. Two holly leaves, picked from a bush near the battle field, Avith the painful thoughts with Avhich I remember the 16th of December, are the only relics of Whitehall.

THE BIVOUAC.

It is about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The hot sun, which, throughout the long, long day, has been pouring down upon us, is now sloAvely descending towards the western horizon.

Tired and footsore, the weary soldier begins to cast longing looks towards the head of the column, to see if there are not some signs of a halt. Shortly, thin columns of smoke are seen rising above the tops of the trees, far in the distance, Avhile IOAV murmurs of 'There are the
camp fires — they have halted — good,' etc., pass from mouth to mouth, and with renewed energies the tired men trudge along, thankful for that slight promise of rest.

At last the summit of the elevation is reached, and, spread out to Aiew on either hand, are long lines of stacked arms belonging to regiments whose day's march is already finished, and whose members may be seen busying themselves about the fires, cooking their evening meal.

Filing into the field on the right, our arms are stacked, ranks broken, and all are away for the nearest rail fence. After each company has collected a sufficient quantity of rails, fires are kindled. Now for a foraging party. Anything eatable must suffer. Hungry soldiers are not at all particular. Chickens, ducks, or pigs, come in for a share of attention. Wherever found, they must die, notwithstanding their loud protestations, each in his own style.

'Quack,' 'quack,' says a huge blue coat, as he Avalks up to the fire, throwing down a brace of fine, fat ducks. 'Wee, Avey,' squeals a porker, slung on a pole betAveen two foragers, as they tumble him down, in no very gentle manner by the side of the fire. Here come the sweet potatoes, and now for the supper. The pig is soon stripped of his raiment and made into bacon. The ducks are dressed, sweet potatoes are roasted, the coffee boiled, and, amid lively jokes — sayings, perhaps more witty than wise — and peals of laughter, their meal is discussed.

But think not, kind reader, who at home sits round the Avell-fiUed board, surrounded by loved and loving friends, that this is always the case. Oftener it is only a 'hard tack' and cup of coffee. He thanks his stars if he is not oblio-ed to go to his hard couch without a fire, in which case he is obliged to go Avithout his coffee too.

But supper is soon over, when the bed is prepared;
that is, the moss, or the cornstalks, or whatever the soldier has been provident enough to collect. If he has neglected this, his rubber blanket, spread upon the ground or Avrapped about him, with the broad canopy above, is his only covering. Some turn in as soon as supper is over, wisely thinking of the hard march in store for them on the morrow. Not so with all. Gathered in small groups around their camp-fires they remain for two or three hours, talking of Avar matters and telling stories, perhaps of the last fight in A mHandler they were engaged."

20 Dec. The column has reached, or nearly so, our lines. Straggling ahead is \textit{UA} permissible. There was little inducement to indulge in the more common form. Dr. Roberts has permission to keep his train in motion and gets his Avounded to the hospitals in \textit{NA} Berne. Empty wagons are plenty. With permission or without, they find footsore occupants. A sharp eye may detect both Guidon and the hero of the socks in one of them. The column bivouacs once more near Deep Gully, and, next day, the regiments reach their old quarters. A quotation from a private letter may serve as a \textit{sockdolager} to this sketch of the Goldsboro Expedition. "In two days after our return I Avas in as good condition to travel as before A we started. Ha ! Ha ! It makes me laugh Awhen you write that it may make me sick. Your L— is now a pretty tough piece of humanity as to endurance—if he don't Aweigh but one hundred and \textit{A}ty pounds—, and can tote his mus­ ket and equipments with more ease for as many miles as much bigger fellows."
CHAPTER VIII.

1863.

SOUTH CAROLINA. RETURN. MARCH TO AVASHINGTON. CAROLINA CITY. QUARTER MASTER GOLDTHWAIT. ASST. SURG. ROBERTS. FORT SPINOOLA. BOGUE ISLAND. WILCOX BRIDGE. FORT HECKMAN. CEDAR POINT. ASST. SURG. CUMMINGS. STREET'S FERRY. AVINTON. CH'VP-LAIN CLARKE. BROAD CREEK. SWAN QUARTER. EDENTON.

12 Jan'y '63. The expected order came for a movement, as then thought, upon Wilmington. Rations were prepared for the men's haversacks, and the officers bought their private stores. The out-lying companies were called in. The line tents were struck and packed. The regiment bivouacked in readiness for an early start.

13 Jan'y. Marched to rail-road, embarked for Carolina City, pitched a camp on the sandy plain destined to become more familiar next summer, and waited. Two facts are noted by the diarists of these times. The abundant shell-fish, oysters and quahaugs, which could be had, for the picking-up, on the flats near the camp, and the rain storm on the night of 15th and 16th, which, pulling the tent-pegs from the sandy soil, gave many tent-squads an unexpected shower bath. Parades, drills and inspections left little idle time till 19 Jan'y, 1 p. M. Struck camp and marched to INIorehead City under orders to embark. Some hitch occurred and the men were ordered to find shelter in unoccupied houses. There were enough of these for tolerable comfort.

20 Jan'y Carried to the transport, James Morton, on our old friend the stern-Awheeler "Union" sometimes "the Awheel-barroAv " and, more familiarly know by a descrip-
five title, fitter for the camp than for polite society, and readily suggested by her long, black narrowness and her, to many, novel application of poAver, her vis a tergo.

"The ship James Morton was built in 1856, at Thomaston, Me., of 1050 tons, register. On the berth-deck were bunks, three tiers high, for four men each." These bunks were not so comfortable as the canvas cots and mattresses of the Highlander, but the passages were roomier and the deck larger and better sheltered with high bulwarks. Still, the whole 23rd and a part of the 81st N. Y. Inf. crowded her. The line officers were quartered on the after part of the berth deck. At first disposed to complain of the darkness of their quarters, they speedily became reconciled. They managed their own mess. The field and staff were quartered in the house on deck, and messed at the Captain's table.

These were lively times in Beaufort Harbor. The huge fleet was in all the variety of gun-boat, store-ships and transports, and the latter were crowded with soldiers. By clay, more than once, an expensive divertissement was provided in the burning of steamboats; by night, the many twinkling lights, especially of those vessels that had been fowled over towards Fort Macon and anchored in line, aroused a passing interest.

Still, prison life is irksome to healthy youth, and, none the less, when the prison is rolling heavily in the swell of an ill-protected harbor. The animal spirits which had, till a few days past, been kept under by the fatigue of daily drills and parades, must find a vent; and, in a ship crowded like the Morton, that vent is apt to be in mischief. The officers, many of them fresh from the ranks and especially the warrant officers, separated from the men, if at all, by the thinnest and frailest of official partitions, can exercise but little control over a turbulent deck
pi the daytime and immeasurably less over a 'tAveen-decks croAvded with fun-loving youngsters after dark.

One of the diarists likens the Morton to "a U. S. Me-nagerie Awhere the animals cannot make noise enough." He enumerates Avrestling, smoking, fighting, sewing, dancing, SAA-ea-ring, climbing, gambling, Avriting, eating, washing, singing, Avorking, chcAving, reading and "flour- ing the niggers," among the occupations in vogue; and casually mentions eight fights in one day. Is it any wonder that he spent one pleasant day, of off duty, mostly in the rigging whence he counted thirty steamers and sixty sailing craft?

Not unlikely some of my readers can supplement the list Avith other pastimes. Some will recollect the chaff-ing Avhich, coming from the undistinguishable croAvd of the berth-deck after taps, Avas intended for the, more or less, sensitive ears of line-officers in their quarters.

Another aggravation to the 23rd was the sight of transport after transport leaving them, even 78 schooners and store ships and 32 steamers in one day, while the iNIorton dreAv too much water to venture across the bar. jNIean-while, in a tAvo days' blow, the ship dragged a mile and then lay thumping at intervals. A flag of distress was raised but the sea was too high for help to come.

31 Jan., '62. With the aid of the steamer Jas. Freeborn, the Morton finally crossed the bar with only one thump. Gen. Foster and staff, bringing up the rear, passed the Morton some fifteen miles out.

Off Wilmington we Aveëe hailed by a blockader. In ansAverto the second question, "Where from," our skipper, thinking of a former trip, ansAvered, "Pensacola." This brought the gun-boat down upon us, all hands at quarters, and gnus run out. Fortunately a parley was tried first, and proper explanations pacified our zealous friends.
The first week or more after the arrival at Port Royal, the regiment remained on board ship. The roomy harbor held a varied assortment of sea-going craft. In one direction, the Vermont, recently brought forth from her life-long incompleteness at Charlestown, blocked the view with her huge black hulk. In another, could be seen the long black hull, nearly awash, and the turret of the Weehawken. We still believed in the resistless might of the Monitors. Visits to these vessels were in order. Men found that the sea in that huge harbor could run high enough to renew, for passengers in row boats, the tortures of old Ocean.

8 Feb. The first anniversary of Roanoke fight was commemorated with a ration of whiskey.

10 Feb. ToAved across nearer St. Helena Island. The experiment of trying to keep our force a distinct command in another's department began to develop difficulties which, it would seem, needed no great prescience to forecast. Gen. Foster left for the North, as was generally supposed, to secure an authoritative settlement of the question of command.

11 Feb. The regiment landed, and encamped. The men looking forward to a lengthy stay, made haste to utilize the local materials, flooring their tents with the long gray moss, and making awnings for shade with palmetto leaves.

12 Feb. Gen. Hunter issued an order assuming that our force was a reinforcement to his command, and subject to his orders. The discontent along the line, at this summary and seemingly unexpected change, found expression in protest and practical revolt among the general and staff officers. Some of these were put in arrest. One result of these changes was that Gen. Heckman was put in command of a division, and Col. de Forrest over our brigade.
About these times occurred the most marked difficulty between officers and men in the history of the regiment. Persistent laxity in attendance at roll-calls, and many infractions of discipline were met by UCAV, and, the men thought, excessive punishment. Men were sentenced in numbers to knapsack and log drills, other some were punished by the buck and gag, and, in that condition, exposed to public view at dress-parade, finally; a row of stocks was set up and did not lack tenants. To prevent plotting, companies were restricted to their own quarters. At battalion drill, the regiment was formed in square and addressed by the Colonel. Nineteen men were sent under arrest to Hilton Head. The insubordination ceased.

Acting Brig. Gen. De Forrest’s postponement of a brigade-drill, on account of rain, from Saturday to Sunday, coming to the knowledge of Gen. Heckman was met by a division order requiring that Sunday duties should be limited strictly to the requirements of the U. S. Regulations. Some will recall that our acting brigadier was very dependent upon the inside of his hat for inspiration during brigade-drill.

3 Mch. A Lieut. of the 3rd U. S. A., inspected the regiment and imparted some new ideas as to the meaning of the word. Some of the company officers, perhaps from the novelty of the situation, did not earn much praise for their efforts in company and battalion drill.

6 Mch. The regiment rearranged its camp and improved it, but no change could avoid the blinding clouds of whirling sand. Gen. Naslee had been ordered out of the department. Gen. Heckman went with a party of officers of the 9th N. J. and 23rd, to say good-bye. As spokesman of the party. Gen. Heckman said:
"We have come to bid you farewell. * * * We deeply regret the separation. We regret its causes. We regret the manner in which it has been brought about, and we regret the results we reasonably may expect. You carry with you on your departure our hearts and our hopes. Would to God you could carry with you our persons and our arms t * * * * with my whole heart, General, I bid you "Farewell!"

3 April. Finally the regiment started, in a pouring rain, nearly midnight, partly to the steamer United States, and partly to the INorton, on their way, as they fondly hoped, to take a hand in the capture of Charleston. Not till the 5th did they fairly start, and then a few hours through the heavy sAvell of the open ocean brought them to the mouth of the North Edisto where they lay till sunset, Aven the gun-boat S. Carolina led the United States, Gen. Heckman's Head-quarter boat, through the fleet and a short distance into the riA'er. Here they lay listen­ing to the distant booming of the attack on Sumter, study­ing the prett'y village on the bank and the more pretentious houses across the riA'er, wondering what caused the heavy columns of smoke rising inland, Avatching the shells occasionally throAvn from the mortar-schooners, and setting douilie guard at night against possible fire ships, till the 10th, Aven, even after some men Avere already in the surf-boats on their way ashore, the dispatch-boat Nellie Baker made her appearance, with orders, and the whole fleet returned to Hilton Head.

While Aven in South Carolina the orders were is­sued Avhich resulted in reinforcing our array with 300,000 disciplined colored soldiers. Of the 66 men selected from the army for commissions in the " Corps cl' Afrique" forty-eight Avere from Massachusetts, and of these four were from the 23rd, all original members of Co. 'F'. S. P. Driver, Qr. Mr. Sergt. and Sergts. P. T. Derby, P. M. FoAvler and L. M. Emilio. The service was not popular.
It required no little moral courage to gratify ambition by Avay of a commission in the "nigger regiments."

14 April, '63. The regiment was ordered to North Carolina. Great jubilation. Very little of satisfaction or credit accrued to the regiment from its trip to South Carolina. The unfortunate uncertainty as to the commanding officer, the consequent quarrels of Foster and Hunter and the doubt whether we might after all be transferred to another department (making what seemed a mere expedition a permanent separation from familiar scenes and friends), hung over us all the time. Our own officers, whether assuming for the first time the full responsibility of command, or fresh from the restraints that limit all enlisted men, seemed, on the one hand, to assume that increased martinetism will condone and remedy undue laxity, and, on the other hand, forgot that a self-imposed propriety is expected of the commissioned officer. The men spoiled by the lax discipline of the transport were unduly restless under the increased toil and stricter rule of the camp. There were three months of idleness, much of it spent on the crowded transports. The life on shore was an alternation of pouring rain and blinding sand-storms, of broiling sun and shivering sea breeze. There had been no experience and there seemed no prospect of battle. We were glad to escape and return to the familiar scenes of North Carolina.

Thinking that Gen. Hunter might regret the loss of the brigade and countermand its departure. Gen. Heckman ordered all steam ahead. In fact a steamboat did pursue us for that very purpose, but nobody saw her. The pleasure of a return to North Carolina was all needed to compensate the discomforts of that rough passage. To crown all, the steamer was tossed about about the bar of Beaufort Harbor for twenty-four hours, before the sea was quiet.
enough for the pilot to come out. Companies 'A,' and 'K,' on the Morton fared even avorse. They did not get ashore till midnight of the 17th.

North Carolina was as glad to see us, as we to return. At Morehead Aes learned that Gen. Foster was closely besieged at Washington, N. C, and of the ill-success of Spinola's attempt to raise the siege. On a hastily improvised train of platform cars, with the brigade flag and the 23rd's national colors in the front, we hurried off for New Berne. That city had some fear of its own safety if Hill should take Washington. Men could be heard on the thronged sidewalks, as our brigade marched through the streets, sa\ing, "We are safe now." Gen. Foster had escaped and received us at his head-quarters, joined in the enthusiastic cheers with which his staff hailed our return, and promised us speedy work to do.

The men, tired with the tedious voyage, were glad to be marched to and camped upon the Fair Grounds, but, ere they slept, did full justice to the half barrel of whiskey, sent with the Commd'g General's thanks and congratulations. Gen. Foster, justly indignant at the half-hearted measures of his lieutenant, and disgusted with the fiasco of the former attempt, collected all available force to raise the siege.

17 April, '63. In spite of their fatigue the men were ready for the orders, which reached us at 7 A. M., to join the column; and in fact, after crossing the Neuse, were compelled to wait some hours for other troops. At 3 P.M. at the head of the column, in their own department, under their favorite commander, the 23rd pushed gaily out some eight miles to bivouac. The next day they marched sixteen miles. The third day, after five miles, more caution was called for. Line of battle was formed. The 9th N. J., which came with us from South Carolina, went forward
as skirmishers, and, in time, the regiment reached and bivouacked in the evacuated works of the enemy, who had turned to other fields.

25 April. To camp, on the site of our camp of last January, at Carolina City. With an idea that their stay might be long and, perhaps, with the growing conviction of veterans that preparation for their comfort is always worth while, however short their stay may be, the men made their tents very comfortable. Stockades, some four or five feet high with the Sildey tent atop, not only make a wide available floor for the cotton house but permit bunks, in tiers, around the Avails. Sallows and martins, taking to the houses provided as readily as though born to the confusion of military life, enlivened the camp.

Joseph Alexander Goldthwait was born in Salem, 20 Aug., 1813. He was, for several years, a member of the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, and afterwards, A. D. C. to Brig. Gen. Wm. Sutton from '42 till '49. He was our first regimental quarter-master, and acted as such till 7 July '62, when he was appointed Post Commissary and, after Capt. Goodrich left North Carolina, 12 Aug., '62, was Acting Department Commissary. He was appointed Commissary with rank of Captain U. S. V., 22 April, '63, commissioned as such, 8 March, '64, and on 30 March, '65, was brevetted "Major" for meritorious services during the War. In June, '64, Capt. Goldthwait was ordered to Beaufort, S. C, and was Commissary there when Gen. Howard's Corps of Sherman's army passed through. He resigned 15 Aug., '65. After an unfortunate venture in business at the South, he settled down in Salem. He had charge of The Old Men's Home and died there 2 Sept., '79.

16 June, '63. Asst. Surgeon Jacob Roberts, who had been closely engaged with the regimental Avork during his
R. Q. M. JOS. A. GOLDBTHWAIT.
service often months, resigned. He did not receive his discharge till the 25th and was relieved on the 29th. Dr. Roberts was born in Philadelphia, 21 March, 1836. His means were of the narrowest. As he approached manhood he was compelled to earn at his trade, he was a skilled plasterer, the means to pursue his studies at the Seminary and the Medical College. After he had attended two full courses of medical lectures, the war broke out. He passed the necessary examination, was made Medical Cadet, U. S. A., and assigned, among other places, to Fort Warren, Boston, for duty. He continued his studies, got permission to go before the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and was graduated in Medicine, 12 March, '62. After leaving the 23rd, he was contract Asst. Surgeon in the hospitals of Philadelphia for some months, but soon settled down to private practice at 2033 Green St., Phil., where he has since remained. "He has built up a large and lucrative practice, and to-day, as a skilful physician, a warm and well-tried friend, and a genial companion, he stands a peer among his fellow-men." He married in '64 and has had four children.

26 June, '63. Company 'D' was sent to garrison Fort Spinola, an untiuishecl battery of five guns, two 64's and three 32's, on the right bank of the Neuse about two miles below New Berne. Remaining here till 20 Aug., they joined the regiment in barracks near the Fair Grounds.

28 June. Capt. Kent of Co 'H,' acting upon information received from refugees living near his camp on Bogue island, to the effect that a regular communication had been established between parties in Beaufort and others in Onslow Co., outside our lines, took a party of nineteen and proceeded to investigate. A march of twelve miles.

23 Golde, Dec., 83.
brought them at noon to the house of one Elza Smith
where the exchange of mails was said to take place on
Sundays. He did not find the suspected people but dis-
covered a mail which, however, was so free from treason-
able matter as to raise the suspicion that it had been mad-
ung for such examination. He pushed on a mile to the
house of one Thomas Willis, and there took a wherry and
a revolver, the one, as useful to his command, the oth-
er as improper to a civilian in war time. The party reaches
their own camp about midnight, having marched about
twenty-six miles since the morning.

2 July, Co's 'A,' 'B,' 'E,' 'F,' and 'I,' were or-
dered to Washington, N. C. They left Carolina City
under command of Capt. BrcaWter. At New Berne the
order was countermanded and the companies quartered in
barracks on the Fair Ground. Co 'D' still at Fort Spino-
la.

Co's 'C,' 'G,' 'H,' and 'K,' were ordered to New Bern
to take part in an expedition under Gen. Heckman. Capt
Center of 'C,' who brought the detachment back, reportd
as foUoAvs:

"At 34 o'clock on the morning of the 4th, line was formed on th
Trent road, ou the left of Fort Totten, the 23rd detachment takin
the advance. About 4 o'clock took up the march, passing over th
County bridge, through Brice's Ferry, ou the road to Trenton. W
marched about 19 miles the first day encamping between Pollocksvill
and Trenton. Started at 34 A. M. of the 5th, the 23rd in rear of Belger'
Battery, passed through Trenton about seven o'clock, marched som^
three miles beyond and encamped, say ten miles. About 8 o'clock 01
the 6th, received orders to proceed with a section of Belger's Battery
about two miles to a schoolhouse at a fork of the road. One field
piece was placed on the main-road, the other on the road leading t(}
Wilcox Bridge, over the Trent river. Our force consisted of abou
140 men. From the detachment at the schoolhouse a picket was
thrown out about 50 yds. in advance of the guns. Lt. Col. Chambers
with other oflJcers, made a reconnaissance across the bridge and came
upon a body of rebel cavalry. He returned, and then advancing again
Lt. Sherman, Capt. Babson.

Twenty-Third Officers—Carolina City—1863.
with Co. 'G,' towards the bridge, discovered that the rebels had crossed. After a careful reconnoissance of the place and surroundings it was deemed imprudent to attack the rebels with our small force, inasmuch as we were ordered to hold the two roads. Lt. Keith, of the Signal Corps, was dispatched to notify Gen. Heckman of the facts. The road was blockaded, a small guard placed at the barricade, and the rest of the company formed to the right and rear of the gun. Meanwhile the enemy opened with his field-piece, slightly wounded three men in Co. 'K,' but did no other damage and called forth no response from our gun. The field pieces, under command of Lt. Smith, were ordered forward to about three hundred yards of the enemy with the 23rd Detachment in support. The Adjutant reported the enemy advancing. They soon opened fire from their artillery, which was returned by our Battery, and the rebels retreated to the bridge. The 9th N. J. soon came up. Gen. Heckman and staff, accompanied by Lt. Col. Chambers, proceeded to the front. The enemy opened a third time. A shell wounded Lt. Col. Chambers in the left shoulder, inflicting a severe though not dangerous wound. Being notified of Lt. Col. Chambers being wounded, I took command of the detachment. The field-pieces were then advanced to the barricade, supported by the 23rd and a vigorous fire opened on the enemy which soon obliged them to retreat. Soon after, the look-out reported a body of cavalry approaching on the other road, which proved to be the 3rd N. Y. Cav. returning from their expedition. We then marched back about three miles, where we had bivouacked the previous night, and joined the main body, arriving about 74 P.M. About nine o'clock, we, together with the main body, took up our march for New Berne. We marched till about three in the morning, bivouacked, resumed the march at seven, and reached New Berne about seven p.m., having marched in all some sixty miles. The men stood the march in the excessively hot sun very well, many, however, are suffering from sore feet and chafing. A day or two will put them all right.

ADDISON CENTER.
Captain Co. C, 23rd.

Heckman's Brigade.

Col. Chambers's wound, externally very slight, and caused, probably, by a mere bit of shell, felt, he said, like the stroke of a sledge-hammer. The tediousness of his recovery was due to injury to his shoulder blade. Some pieces of the same shell tore the crest of Col. Chambers's
pet horse. It would perhaps be too much to say that the soldier felt his horse's wounds more keenly than his own, but certainly, they did not add to his equanimity while going the first dressing in the field.

Captain Center's report does not touch upon the picturesque points of the expedition, of which I should put first the extraordinary train brought in by our cavalry. All the horses, mules, asses, bulls and steers, all the wagons, carts, coaches, carryalls and buggies, all the negroes, negresses and pickaninnies in a wide stretch of country, had been gathered in till they formed a procession to which the wildest show of Antiques and Horribles were decorum itself. We had gone out to provide a more accessible base to our raiding cavalry. It was no part of our design to provoke or accept a general engagement so far from our own base. Leaving, then, a fair start for the queer jumbled cortege, we too took up the line of march, and through the long, cool hours of a brilliant midsummer night, plodded our homeward way. Not till after sunrise did we stop for a brief repose.

10 July, '63. Capt. Raymond of 'G,' Lt. Bird of 'K' and Sergt. Dodge of 'G,' were sent with 100 men to work on Fort Heckman at Morehead City. Each company detailed was to take one tent and cooking utensils for a mess. They remained on this duty till July 24th.

13 July. The Cedar Point expedition. Gen. Heckman reported:

"Started, from Newport Barracks, at 10 A. M., 13th inst. with my command, consisting of the 9th N. J. V. I., Col. Zabriskie; 'J' companies of the 23rd Mass., Capt. Brewster; one section of Co. 'I,' 3rd N. Y. Arty., Lt. Thomas; and one company of 12th N. Y. Cav'y, Capt. West, taking the Cedar Point road to Broad Creek. Built a bridge over Broad Creek at or near Dennis' plantation, and proceeded as far as Saunders, where I ordered my command to bivouac; distant from Newport 12 miles. At 5 A. M., on the Uth, had the column in motion"
ASST SURG. E. P, CUMMINGS.
for Cedar Point, where I arrived at 8 A. M., distant from Saunders, 9 miles. Having previously ordered the gunboat Wilson, with one company of S1stN. Y., Capt. Raulston, to proceed down Bogue Sound, and communicate with me at Cedar Point, upon my arrival there, and not finding them, we encamped on Hill's plantation and awaited her arrival.

Ordered Capt. West, with his command, to make a reconnoissance to Pelletier's and Smith's Mills and report. He returned at 4 p. M. on the 10th and reported the bridge at Smith's Mills on the road leading to Onslow, partly torn up. Found no pickets of the enemy until he arrived at the bridge, found a small party there whom he routed. In company with my staff, I proceeded as far as Pelletier's Mills. Found the bridge over Petiford's Creek in fair condition, and with little labor it could be made safe for artillery. From all the information I could gain, the nearest point from the mouth of White Oak river for crossing, is the bridge at Smith's Mills.

9 A. M., 15th. Lt. Cook, in command of two boats from the gunboat Wilson, reported the stream aground about ten miles up the Sound with no prospect of getting off. Sent the boats, with one platoon of Co. 'B,' 9th N. Y. in command of Capt. Harris, to take the soundings of White Oak River, for five miles from the mouth. Reports no possible chance for fording. No casualties occurred throughout the march.

It would seem that this expedition, to the rank and file a useless march, and tedious kicking of aimless heels, was an armed scouting party to settle the question of possible attack or, perhaps, in preparation for a movement on Wilmington. The march back to Newport Barracks, through the rain, was at a rattling pace, twenty odd miles inside of six hours.

About this time, Dr. Edward P Cummings reported for duty as Assistant Surgeon. He was born 19 May, 1824, at Stratham, N. H., where his father, the Rev. Jacob Cummings, was a Congregational minister. He attended several medical schools and took a degree at New York. He had married and was practising at Exeter, N. H., in 1861. He was acting Asst. Surgeon on the barque Roebuck, in the blockade off Charleston. Being " almost
continually ill" on this service, he was compelled to resign. He was assigned to the 23rd, 4 July, '63, and on duty with the companies in the barracks, near the Fair grounds, that summer, but, before the regiment left for Virginia, was sent to Roanoke Island, where he remained till muster-out. He was homeopathist and came to Berne with the conviction that he was going to conquer malarial disease with very small, if not infinitesimal, doses of quinine. After the war he settled in Newburyport where he made many friends and had "constantly grown in favor and in professional appreciation" until his death on the 8th of April, '78. He left a son and two daughters.

22 July, '63. Commands to move, and countermands came thick to-night, anent some threatened attack from the direction of Washington. Next day the battalion went out, part of the by rail and encamped at the cross-roads. At midnight came an alarm that the enemy were crossing at Streets Ferry. Co's 'A,' 'G,' and 'H'—thirty men all told—were sent out but found nobody. All returned to Berne next day to find orders awaiting them to join the force on what is known as the Winton Expedition.

26 July '63. Embarked on board steamer "Utah," 5 A. M. for Winton, N. (.., with other regiments and a section of Belgier's Rhode Island Battery, under command of General Heckman. Anchored off mouth of Chowan River; next day arrived at Winton. On the 27th Co. "G" crossed to the opposite side of the river. Upon landing, the Seventeenth Mass. advanced, and found a body of the enemy strongly entrenched about three miles out; drove them from their works and occupied their position; cavalry from Suffolk and a battery soon arrived and were sent in pursuit of the flying rebels. Our regiment was sent out to scour the country around and to guard a place called California Crossroads. On the 30th, the cavalry returned, having captured a number of prisoners, and destroying a large amount of property; during our stay at this place, we captured a large number of horses.
Capt. F. J. Babson.

Chaplain J. B. Clarke


R. Q. M. Henry B. Peirce.

Capt. K. V. Martin,
mules, wagons, carts, etc., besides a large amount of cotton and forage. On the 30th we received orders to return to New Berne, Co's 'E,' 'K,' 'G,' 'H' and 'I,' on board the Escort. 'A,' 'B,' 'C' and 'K,' on the "Curlew." Arrived at New Berne on the 31st at 4 o'clock A. M.

Co. 'G' was sent across the river to receive, and, if necessary, support the cavalry from Suffolk. The river was so high that the men were compelled to wade hip-deep for half a mile. After the cavalry had come and gone, the company spent its time collecting everything contraband of war, and destroying all that could not be brought away. They added largely to the spoils of the expedition, and reserved a goodly supply of excellent tobacco to "put that in their piffies and smoke it."

Meanwhile the body of the regiment was ransacking the country in another direction. Almost uninterrupted rain and innumerable mosciuiotes were balanced by extensive captures and unrestricted foraging. A barrel of peach-brandy modified the discomfort of their drenched bivouac. A fair sky, and the route "Home again" made endurable the deep mud of the march back to Winton.

15 Aug., '63. Lt. Col. Chambers was out with a party of officers on horseback. Have an impression that the party, although large, had no definite military intention. While crossing, at speed, a gully in the road, which had been brido-ed, or rather filled, with fence rails, man and mare came down together. The accident, which looked bad enough, fortunately had no serious consequences.

Jonas BoAven Clarke, a graduate of Dartmouth College, was appointed first chaplain of the 23rd, to date from 18 Sept., 1861, from civil life. He was pastor of a church at Stavampscott, Mass. 19 Aprd, '62, he was sent North, Massachusetts in the Civil War.
with Avounded, on the steamer Cossack. TAAO or three
times afterwards he Avas sent North on business in con-
nection Avith the U S. San. Com. 19 Aug., '63, he le-
sioned ou account of ill-health. He is _UPPERCASE Chaplain and
Librarian of the City Institutions at South Boston.

1 Sept., '63. "Seventy-eight men, under Capt. Ham-
mond, embarked on steamer ShaAvsheen; went up Broad
Creek in search of guerillas; landed on both sides of the
creek; scoured the country around; made a few cap-
tures and returned to NCAV Berne at 8 p. M.--'

21 Sept. Capt. S. C. Hart of 'D' took one hundred
men on the steamer. Col. Rucker, to Swan Quarter, near
the mouth of Pamlico River. Their object Avas the rescue
of certain Union men from prison. They met no armed
resistance and found no prisoners. After a few hours
sojourn, long enough for a taste of the local honey and
peach brandy, they returned to NCAV Berne.

10 Oct. An expedition, under command of Col. SUX,
third N. Y Cav'y, made up of a squadron of cavalry, a
section of artillery and about one hundred of the 23rd
under Capt. W L. Kent of 'H,' AAvs organized for the
purpose of breaking up a nest of bushAvhackers Avho had
their head-quarters in the sAAVamp to the north of Elizabeth
City and Edenton, and made forays upon the so-called
Union men of the neighborhood.

Having landed at Elizabeth City, without opposition,
Capt. Kent Avas ordered to hold the toAVn, with the artil-
illery and infantry, retaining all Avho came in, and permitting
none to pass out.

"We picketed all the roads and, for two days, hived all the small
farmers, old women and boys who came in, making it very unpleasant
for all, who, without exception, came to me and offered to prove that
Corp. F. L. Jones, 'H'

F. M. Alley, 'C'

Capt. W. L. Kent.

rg. W. H. Prescott, 'H'

Serg. N. T. Howard, «H»
they were good Union men and women. The cavalry pushed out into the swamps, and, at the end of two days, we received orders to embark for Edenton to meet Col. Mix and his command there. This we did, taking with us all the horses that had come into town during the two days. The authorities at Elizabeth City ignored us completely. We reached Edenton next day. Col. Mix came in towards evening. The mayor entertained us very handsomely. Before midnight we started for New Berne. Our transport, little better than a tug, was ill-adapted for so many men. They were compelled to sleep on the open deck. In the morning, Chas. H. AA^heeler, private of 'I'was missing. We supposed he had walked overboard. No outcry was heard. Arrived at New Berne we learned that the 23rd had started for Virginia, took cars for Morehead and rejoined the regiment en route for Newport's NCAVS. 

s« Letter of Capt. Kent.
13 Oct., '63. The usual experiences attending a change of location began to-day. Orders were received to keep three days rations cooked and everything packed for a start at an hour's notice.

16 Oct. We started. The men were formed in line, marched to the station, and carried thirty-four miles, on platform cars, in uninterrupted torrents of rain. Arriving at Morehead City, at 10.30 A.M., they stacked arms on the pier. Beginning to embark, at 9 p.M., on their transport, the JNLiple Leaf, they were fairly on board, baggage and all, by midnight.

17 Oct. Just as night had well settled down, at 8.30 p.M., off Cape Hatteras, the lights of a large steamer were seen just ahead. She seemed all ready and aiming to hit us amidships. We shut off steam. She altered her course so that she only brushed us amidships with her passing quarter. It was our old acquaintance the "United States."

Neither the fifteenth amendment nor the general sentiment which now sustains it had any force in those days, at least with the rank and file of the army. Many of the boys, on the deck or in the 'tAveen decks were captiously asking "What's that d—d nigger doing in the cabin?" It was the Rev. John N. Mars, Chaplain of the 1st N. C. C. T., who was provided with transportation fitting his rank, and, on the Sunday of our arrival at Hampton Roads,
at the invitation of Col. Elwell, held service in the cabin, to which the men were admitted. He delivered "a sermon characterized by such a high order of ability as to drive home to the hearts of his auditors the golden precepts which fell from his lips, and excited their sympathy and admiration."^"  

19 Oct., '63. The regiment landed at Newport's NCAVS. The men were, for the first time, provided with shelter tents, and, although but a few months were to elapse before they knew and appreciated the great merits of these tents in the field, they put no high value upon them for winter quarters. They complained that not only could they not stand up in their tents but even had to crawl out, in order to get off coat and boots, to go to bed. If they dug to make head-room they were liable to be drowned in sudden rain. Uncle Sam did not supply any means for heating: the "doo--kennels" but the men began to contrive stoves out of condemned kettles. 30 Nov. A supply of A tents arrived.  

Newport's NCAVS, closely overlooking the scene of the famous sea-fight between the Merrimac and the Cumberland (whose spars might still be seen, a seeming stone's throw from the bank), is a breezy bluff on the left bank and near the mouth of James river, and had been, for many months, the home of numerous and frequently changed troops. Each detachment on its arrival made haste to secure such material and camp fixtures as their predecessors had not carried away. Much that was combustible had to serve as fuel at first, but lumber was too scarce and valuable to waste.  

The regimental hospital was, at first, in tents, which had a sloping, continuous dais on each side for bedsteads,
and, the available lumber being all used for that purpose, only Mother Earth for floor. Dissatisfied with this awkward arrangement, Dr. Derby secured a building which had been intended for stables. Its Avails, of untrimmed logs, set in the ground, carried a tight shingled roof. The walls were some forty by twenty-five and perhaps ten feet high. Floor, doors, AvindoAv-sashes, partitions, chimneys, everything movable, had been "one-d" away to the neighboring camps. Dr. Derby's influence was, fortunately, sufficient to secure a load of boards. The Avoods gave us floor-timbers. Deserted camps supplied the bricks (mostly bats). The next clay bank was our mortar-bed. WindoAv-glass was not thought edible enough for the Hospital fund; we glazed with bleached muslin. The regiment easily furnished skilled labor. The sick had comfortable quarters.

13 Nov., '63. Maj. Gen. J. G. Foster, U. S. V. our long-time and well-trusted commander, was ordered to other fields. His efforts to take with him regiments that had been under his command since their formation were unavailing. His regrets and farcAvell appeared in a general order to-day.

JOHN GRAY FOSTER was born, 27 May, 1823, at Whitefield, Coos County, N. H. At the age of ten he removed to Nashua, N. H. His opportunities for acquiring an education, in boyhood, were only such as the common schools afforded — such as those shared by the poorest in the land.

At West Point, he won not only the lasting affection of his classmates, but, steady application seconding natural ability, high rank in all the varied studies pursued at the Academy, and the fourth place in a class of fifty-nine graduates, many of whom great distinction in the Civil War.
MAJ. GEN. JOHN G. FOSTER.
In the Mexican War, he was given a brevet of 1st Lt., for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Churubusco, and a second brevet, of Captain, at Molino del Rey. In the latter fight, he was severely wounded,—his leg shattered below the knee,—and, only with difficulty, saved his life. The intervening years were passed in the busy exercise of the duties of his position, an officer of the Engineers, and the war found him, a Captain, in the garrison of Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, S. C. Here he won a third brevet, of Major, for the skilful transfer of men and guns from Moultrie to Sumter. There are, among his old friends, who say that, had Foster been in command, incipient rebellion would not have been allowed to erect, with impunity, the circling batteries under whose fire the flag of Sumter fell in April, 1861.

Of his military service, since 1861, the preceding pages may serve as a sketch. When he left us, at Newport's News, he relieved Gen. Burnside at Knoxville, Tenn. In Feb., '64, a fall from his horse aggravating his old wound, he was assigned to less fatiguing duties in command of the Department of the South. Here he won, at Savannah, the brevet rank of Brigadier General (the intervening steps had been the meed of Roanoke and CAV Berne), and finally, for meritorious service in the war, the brevet of Major General. After the fighting was over, he had command of the Department of Florida for a year or two, and was, afterward, assigned to his proper engineering work.

7 Mch., '67. He was commissioned Lt. Col. of Engineers. He was, for some time, stationed at Boston, where his services, in removing obstructions and securing from further injury the channels of the harbor, were of great merit. His health failing, he hoped for improvement by accepting duty on the Western Plains. This
failed, and, on the 2d of Sept., 1874, he died at Nashua, N. H., and was buried with all the honors which his native State could heap upon him.

24 Nov., '63. Reenlistment papers were opened. Capt. Babson was detailed as recruiting-officer and Sgt. C. W. Brooks, of Co. 'A,' headed the list. In all, upwards of 200 men reenlisted and were furloughed to Massachusetts.

21 Dec. The cold called for smart fires, and smart fires in stoves are dangerous in cotton houses. One tent was burned in the 23rd and more in other regiments. Your historian learned one day how swiftly and silently fire will eat up a dry tent. He heard, while washing, an outcry outside, and was astonished to find that his tent was burning. The contents of the handy basin checked that fire.

25 Dec. Christmas was celebrated by First, No drills. Second, Target practice. Third, Foot-races. Fourth, Sack race. Fifth, Throwing the hammer. Sixth, Burlesque Dress-parade. Our parade ground was thronged with spectators all day—Everybody was pleased. Lights were permitted ad lib. after taps.

Target practice came frequently in these times. Gen. Heckman offered a silver medal for the best marksman. The medal was handsome, of solid silver and provided with silver chain. It was sent to the 23rd with the following note.

H'd Qrs., Heckman's Brigade.
Newport's News, Va., 13 Jan., '04.

Colonel,

You are directed to present this reward of merit, at dress parade, to private Andrew Dodge, Co. 'F,' of your regiment for his skill as a marksman, and as a token of esteem from his Brigade Commander Brig. Gen. C. A. Heckman.

By command of
Brig. Gen. C. A. HECKMAN.
(Sgd.) W. H. ABEL,
A A. G.
7 Jan., '64. Some little excitement arose in camp on the discovery of Capt. Babson's colored servant dead on the beach. An inquest was held, but nothing discovered to show that the fatal result need be traced to any cause other than intoxication.

The command at Newport's NCAVS was several times ordered to hold itself ready for immediate marching. Nothing came of these alarms. One of these occasions was finally amusing, and at the same time interesting, as showing the alertness of veteran soldiery even in what might seem so secure a place as our winter camp. Many men, not only at head-quarters but in the neighboring camps, heard heavy artillery towards Yorktown, and none were surprised at orders to hold themselves in readiness to move in support. Real surprise was felt, as time passed, that no information or orders came from Head-quarters at Fortress Monroe. Investigation proved that what seemed the booming of big guns, twenty miles away, really came from contact of the heels of an idle youngster with a bass-drum under a table on which he sat.

High cold winds were common enough. In early January came more decidedly wintry weather, leaving in proof an inch or two of frozen sleet. The battery-men, willing to enjoy a reminiscence of winter at home, got up sledges, with pole runners, jumper fashion. Twelve well trained artillery horses made little of pulling the heavily-loaded vehicles over the slippery grass, while all the bugles of the regiment made the Avelkin ring. They visited all the camps and had a good sleigh ride in the early morning hours, before the sun restored the customary mud.

12 Jan. "Attended church to-day in the chapel of the 9th N. J. Our building was of logs roughly put together. Our floor—the ground. A rude desk is slightly
raised above the ground. Some of the Christmas decorations, pine boughs and holly berries, still remain upon the Avails. PCAV audiences are more attentive than the soldiers who pack this room every Sabbath. About half the audience to-day were 23rd boys."

13 Jan., '64. The reenlisted men of several regiments started on their home-furlough. Those of the 23rd, under Capt. J. W. Raymond of 'G' were drawn up in front of Gen. Heckman's quarters and cheered him. Making a speech in response, the General assured the regiment that he was proud of it, and desired that it might remain in his command as long as it was in the service.

The furloughed men of several regiments, including the 23rd, were received in grand style in Boston. They were lodged, and fed on the best the land afforded at the United States Hotel; marched through the principal streets, and again fed and addressed at Faneuil Hall. One of the speakers there called them the wheat and their non-enlisting comrades in camp, chaff. This made some talk in the camps, but men who had done their full duty since '61, and proposed nothing less for the term of their enlistment, could afford to smile at the invidious distinction. After the speech-making the men were sent to their homes.

Capt. Raymond, with such of the reenlisted men as belonged in the eastern part of the state, reached Beverly, Mass., on the 18th. A vast crowd gave them a hearty welcome. Beverly was wide awake. Flags were displayed on stores and dwellings in great profusion. The Beverly Light Infantry', Capt. Porter, 8th M. V. M., with the Salem Brass Band performed escort duty—ToAvn Hall was filled to overflowing. F W. Choate, Esq., made a speech of welcome. Maj. Ellingwood, 15th M.

^8 H. E. Valentine's Diary.
V. L, twice wounded,—with arm still in sling,—made a spirited speech.

Having been ordered away to take command of the division constituting the force holding Getty's Line, near Portsmouth, Va., Gen. Heckman issued a general farewell order, assuring the command of his pride in it, and giving a promise of continued interest.

The military telegraph, radiating from Fort jNnonroe to all the commands, was so constructed that all messages went everywhere. Of course, some messages were veiled in cipher. Others, sent in the common code, soon became generally known. For instance, when, 19 Jan., '64, curiosity was rife as to which, if any, of Gen. Heckman's old regiments would be ordered to join him at Getty's Line, his answer to the telegraphic query—whether he would prefer the 20th or 25th Mass.,—settled the question for us before the order for moving was received.

22 Jan., '64. After the usual two or three days of conflicting orders, the Steamer Escort came for us to-day, but, so late, that the regiment was not fairly on board till 9 p. M., and the steamer remained, for the night, at or near the pier at Newport's News. 23 Jan. Starting near dawn, we reached Portsmouth soon after sunrise, loaded our effects on cars and followed, on another train, to our proposed camp near the railroad and just inside the fortified lines, some three miles from Portsmouth.

The 16th Conn. Vol. Inf. had occupied the ground with an admirable camp. They had fondly hoped to enjoy their comfortable quarters till the spring campaign opened. With the petty jealousy, which, if not natural, is at least very common under similar circumstances, they threatened that no other regiment should inherit what had cost so much labor and expense. Gen. Heckman met their
threats with an order that "not a rail should be drawn and no fires allowed in company streets" and directed that a sufficient force from the 13th N. H. should protect the camp till the 23rd arrived. A letter from the 16th Conn., printed in a newspaper of the time, says: "a spirit of insubordination arose among both officers and men." — "Our men heard of this detail (that from the 13th N. H.) and the first thing we saw was the officer's guard quarters on fire." — "At half-past two the camp was set on fire in three places,— in an hour the handsomest and most comfortable camp in the department was in ashes." The destruction of the enlisted-men's quarters, and, I think, of the line-officers, was complete. The more substantial houses of the field and staff had partly resisted the fire. Only the hospital, a roomy log-house, escaped.

We were favored with several bright summer-like days. The men worked with a will. Experience had made them skilful in the simple carpentry which builds of shakes (thin riven boards of Southern pine), the little house for which the tent is to be the roof. From the ashes soon arose a fair camp named, not infelicitously, "Camp Phoenix." With what foundation of truth, I know not, but, in fact, the men congratulated themselves that the fire had removed the extensive population, non-enlisted, which, rumor said, had shared the bunks of our predecessors.

10 Feb., '64. Kimberly, contract surgeon, reported for duty and remained with the regiment most, if not all, the time, till we went to the front.

Our camp was quite near the railroad and Division Head-quarters. The cavalry and some of the batteries were to our right and some of the infantry several miles to our left. On the 30th of January the troops of the command were. The 3rd brigade of Infantry, Col. Steere,
4th R. I., commanding, made up of 4th R. I., 10th and 13th N. H., 23rd Mass., and 9th N. J. A cavalry brigade under Col. N. B. Lord, 20th N. Y., made up of 5th Penn. and 20th N. Y., and Artillery, under Capt. Follett; Batteries 'D' 4th and 'A' 5th, U. S. A.; 'A' 1st Penn.; 'M' 3rd N. Y.; the 4th Wisconsin; and 'A,' 'B,' 'C' and 'D,' 13th N. Y.

In many respects our station on Getty's Line was pleasant. The shops and theatres of Norfolk were within easy reach. Supplies were good. The gigantic oysters of Elizabeth river were abundant and cheap. Some found amusement in private theatricals, if one may use the phrase for the entertainments in the big floorless building near the Railroad station. The theatre had been built by a New York Artillery regiment and the scenery painted by a member of the 5th Rhode Island. The 23rd furnished part of the actors. The garrison of Portsmouth sometimes furnished an audience. A private box was made of flags, etc., for the reception of the General and Staff.

Orders were issued for a general vaccination of the regiment. One of the men, even at that late day, undertook to have an opinion of his own as to the advisability of the operation and refused to submit. He counted without Col. Chambers, and found himself persuaded by bayonets to the Surgeons and quartered at the guardhouse till the question of his susceptibility to the disease was settled.


At Getty's Line we saw little, if any, campaigning till March, when, from the 3rd to the 12th inclusive, we were at it with little intermission, and, with as little result. The enemy, perhaps to cover the passage of a supply train, took the initiative and threatened attack. We were
hurried, by rail, to Bernard's Mills and confronted them. We thought them too strong and Avell-posted. They seemed to entertain a similar opinion. We sent for reinforcements. The navy took a hand, and a gun-boat made a great midnight pother from the Nansemond. The enemy, perhaps from their usual dislike to gun-boats, perhaps hearing of our imminent reinforcements, disappeared. Generals Birney and Kilpatrick came across from Fortress Monroe with much infantry and cavalry. Gen. Kilpatrick, at least, came to the front, looked wondrous Avise and went away. We came back to camp. Deering, rebel brigadier, enticed Col. Cole to make a dash at Suffolk Avith his colored cavalry- They got into a very tight place and barely escaped capture. Hart, formerly of 'D,' Dollard of 'E' and Dodge of 'F' were in the thick of the fight. We, infantry, were routed out again to their support. This time, we went, by rail, only to BoAver's Hill, and thence, on foot, along the railroad, to near our old position, where we were for some time under artillery fire. Then came two or three days of idleness at and near Magnolia Springs. The cottages of this summer resort gave us shelter. The Avater of the Springs added little zest to our scanty rations. My own diary principally records much whist and euchre. 12 March. Towards night back to camp.

14 Mch., '64. Examined thirty recruits.

16th. A ripple of excitement in the regiment from an order requiring fifteen minutes of drill in the manual, at reveille and tattoo roll calls, under a commissioned officer. These drills would have come off at 6 A. M. and 8 p. M. Privates' diaries state that some of them did occur. The tattoo drill was soon revoked.

Comrades, other than those of Co. 'C,' may recollect a youngster who attached himself to that company at
Getty's Station and followed its fortunes till the old members went home in September, '64. He was James A. Lawrence, an orphan, of Suffolk, Va. Sergt. George Pulcifer took him to his home at Gloucester, Mass., and sent him to the public schools. He is married, has three children and is doing well in business.

22 March. Afternoon and evening occurred a violent snowstorm. A north-east wind, that would have clone credit to midwinter on Cape Ann, left drifts three feet deep. As ill-luck would have it, the supply of fuel was short, and, the roads being practically impassable, men were driven to burning their bunks and floors to keep out the cold. By the third day, however, the Spring sun reasserted himself. The melting drifts were still too deep to permit drill, and a lively game at snowballing took its place.

28-9th. Midnight. The enemy made an attempt, with boats, on the Nansemond. The whole command was ordered out. A countermand came before the order could be executed.

5 April. The sudden death of private J. H. Jewett of 'I,' was the more affecting from the long time that had elapsed since death had visited our camp. Perhaps for the same reason, the always plaintive wail of the funeral fife had an added touch of sadness as his small escort followed Jewett's body to the grave.

The following is Col. Elwell's report of the expedition towards Smithfield.

Head-quarters 23rd Mass. Vols., near Portsmouth, Va., 15 April, 1864.

Sir:—In compliance with Special Order No. 14, par. 2, Head-quarters Lee's Brigade, I proceeded by rail, with IG officers and 398 enlisted men of my regiment, to Portsmouth at 6 o'clock, p. M., on the 13th
inst., and there, in compliance with orders from Brig. Gen. Graham, embarked on board the steamer "John A' D. Pentz" and sailed up the James River, under convoy of the gun-boat "Brewster." I landed with my command about nine miles above Smithfield, at four o'clock on the morning of the 14th inst. I immediately took a line of march towards the town. After marching about three miles, came upon the enemy's pickets, and drove them in. Continued on about two miles further, when I came upon the enemy concealed behind earthworks; after a short skirmish with them, drove them out, with a loss on our side of two men (Privates Osborne, Co. 'G,' and Symonds, Co. 'C') slightly wounded in the leg. I followed them on about half a mile, when they again made a stand on the further side of a mill-pond, at a place called Wren's Mills, and there being but a very narrow place to cross, I engaged them about an hour, when one company charged across, drove the enemy from their position, and captured a Signal Officer of the Confederate States service, and two privates of the Fourth Confederate States Cavalry.

I had one sergeant dangerously wounded through the left shoulder (Sergeant Porter of Co. 'I'). The enemy's cavalry having begun to give me some trouble in my rear, and having no means to carry my wounded along with me, and not knowing the strength or position of the enemy in front, I deemed it proper to fall back to the James River, at a point called Fort Boykin. I found near this fort a Signal Station, where I captured a private of the Seventh Confederate States Cavalry; also, a piece of artillery, and a quantity of ammunition, said to have been taken by the enemy from the U. S. gun-boat "Barney Smith" near Smithfield. During my march to this point, I had a corporal (H. B. Lord, of 'I') seriously wounded in the right leg by the enemy's cavalry, who followed our rear guard very close. I sent my wounded men on board the gun-boat, and turned over to Capt. Tyftee (Phyl"e?), United States Navy, all prisoners captured, together with the piece of artillery and ammunition.

I have missing one private (Thomas, Co. 'F'), who is probably wounded and a prisoner. He was sent with my quartermaster to the river, to communicate with the gun-boats. I reembarked at 8 P. M. and sailed down to "Pagan Creek," where we came to anchor for the night, to await the arrival of boats from Smithfield. At 10 o'clock, this A. M., in compliance with orders received from Brig. Gen. Graham, I proceeded to Portsmouth with my command; from there, by rail, to my camp at this place, arriving at 3.30 P. M. It was impossible to find out the strength of the enemy, or their loss in killed and wounded, but should judge, from what I could learn from the prisoners taken, that they had at least 100 men, and I have no doubt but what I did
them much injury. My loss is wounded 4, missing 1, total 5. The enemy's loss, as far as I am able to tell, is four prisoners, one piece of artillery and a quantity of ammunition.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,


To Brig. Gen. GKAHAM,
Commanding Army Gun-boats.

Co. 'C' was first deployed as skirmishers and sufficed to drive the enemy's picket, which, however, made a stand, with its reserve, in front of their works. Co. 'I' was sent in and took place on the left of 'C' and Co's 'G' and 'B' were sent respectively on their right and left flanks. Osborne and Sjmonds were hit soon after this formation was made, and Hussey, of 'C,' had his rifle smashed and haversack raked by two balls. The centre of the line charged with the bayonet and the enemy fled from his works which commanded a cross-road.

In half an hour the flanking companies came in and the column pushed on till they found the enemy in strong position at Wren's Mills, where, hidden by a breastwork and the underbrush, he completely commanded the narrow road where it crossed the mill-pond. A brisk musketry-fire, of an hour, failed to dislodge him. Sergt. Porter, with characteristic recklessness, exposed himself, willingly, to the enemy's fire. He received two or three fatal wounds which his astonishing vitality resisted for hours. He died during the night. Capt. Raymond, of 'G,' with a platoon of his company, charged down the hill-side and across the dam. Although, if any, of his command, escaped some mark, in clothing or equipment, no one, except Joseph F. Vickary, was wounded. The movement resulted in the capture of the position and the prisoners mentioned.

A request was sent to the main body, for further reinforcement. Col. Ehvell refused this and ordered the
column to move back towards James RiA'er. The movement was much hampered by carrying our wounded on stretchers. The enemy, favored by his familiarity with the ground and undeterred by any resistance on our part, was very annoying. Corp. Lord Avas wounded after the lineAAA halted and the arms had been stacked in the fancied security of the river-bank.

Quartermaster Peirce reports, for his share of the affair:

"Under orders from Col. Elwell (to secure transportation for the wounded), I went back towards the river, taking with me privates Gould of 'E' and E. C. Thomas, of 'F.' We could find nothing in the way of animals or wagons. We finally went to the river-bank and signalled the gun-boats. One sent a small boat ashore. The Commander and eight men came in. When I saw them coming I sent Thomas to notify Col. Elwell to send down the wounded. When the boat landed, having heard nothing from the regiment, we went up over the hill and found that they were nowhere in sight—they had moved on. Just as we were moving through a peach-orchard, near the road, a squadron of rebel cavalry came up. They did not see us. We gave them a shot apiece. They turned and ran; as did Ave. Gould and I were taken aboard the gun-boat. The Captain (who was commander of the James river fleet) signalled a lighter-draught steamer and putting us on board told the Captain of it to land us at Smithfield. We were aground half the time till nearly night when we reached Smithfield. Found that all the other regiments had reported except ours. Reported at once to Gen. Graham, who was in command. He asked if I had any idea concerning the whereabouts of the regiment. Told him that I thought they had found the enemy too strong and had fallen back to Fort Boykin. He then gave me the Steamer John D. W Pentz and told me to find them. It was dark long before we reached Fort Boykin but I found the regiment there. With the aid of the gun-boat, which had, meanwhile, taken off our wounded, the regiment, bivouacking at Fort Boykin, was taken to the Steamer Pentz. We made our way to the fleet and returned with it to Norfolk the following morning. I afterwards learned that Thomas was wounded and captured, after he went over the hill, and, that he died in Libby Prison. Gould was killed at Cold Harbor."

From this time the regiment lost the services and comradeship of an officer, not only more generally respected.
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From this time the regiment lost the services and comradeship of an officer, not only more generally respected.
SURG. GEORGE DERBY.
but, better loved than any other,—Surgeon George Derby. He left us at Getty's Station, although his duty on the staff left him near us, and the separation did not, for some months, seem final.

At Lynnfield, AVC learned to know the courteous gentleman; at Annapolis and Hatteras AVC found the genial comrade Avloose trained voice Avas ever ready to help in sacred melody or convivial song; on the battle-field AVC saw the fearless surgeon, thoughtless of self and calmly bringing all the resources of his art to the aid of the Avoided; in garrison Av remarked his tireless devotion to his charge and Avere proud of the iiosoition so readily assigned him by his peers of the medical staff". Of more value than any aid he gave us Avili pill or potion Avas the lesson of his daily life; his gentlemanly courtesy; his inflexible integrity All this Avas invaluable to the younger men about him Avhose characters Avere forming amid the trials of Avar and the myriad temptations of camp.

Dr. Derby established the Academy General Hospital at New Berne, directly after the battle, and, from this time out, Avas seldom, technically, on duty Avith his regiment. His duties, hoAever, never called him far aAvay, and his services Avere always ready on any emergency.

At XcAvport's XcAvs, he was on regular regimental duty. His big sU-rel horse, Tom, usually left to devour unearned oats, found the road to and from Fort \nIonroe a daily task. An explanation of this unusual equestrianism came with the Doctor's announcement of his engagement to Miss Elizaljcth, daughter of the late Wm. Parsons of Boston, Avho had been visiting a sister at the Fort. They were married, 3 March, '64.

Having passed, with flying colors, the requisite examination, Dr. Derby resigned his commission as regimental suro-eon, to accept the appointment of Asst. Surgeon of
Volunteers, 18 Ma'y}, '64. This was followed, 30 June, '64, by his commission as Surgeon U. S. V. I need hardly remind my military readers that these Surgeons U. S. V. were a body specially selected for staff duty. As such, Dr. Derby served for some time in the opening campaign of '64 as Inspector on the staff of Gen. Butler. Finding the politico-martial atmosphere about him exceedingly distasteful. Dr. Derby applied for more active service, and was, for some months, busy as Division Surgeon, etc.

6 Dec, '64, he was sent to take charge of U. S. Gen. Hospital "Cony" at Augusta, Maine. Nearly a year later, he wrote me, "I have really enjoyed running this hospital. I never expected to like it half as well. Found things in a poor way with a lot of dishonest cusses (such as they call, down-east, "smarter'n lightning") stealing right and left. Pitched them out and reformed things generally. With hard work, got everything in excellent order. This I enjoyed." He was commissioned Brevet Lt. Col., 13 Mch., '65, "for faithful and meritorious services during the War."

Mustered out of U. S. service in the late fall of '65, he returned to Boston, settled down in the house he had built on Charles Street, and occupied it, as he intended, "till the order came to move on to Mt. Auburn."

From 1867 to 1870, he was surgeon at the Boston City Hospital. Meanwhile, he was, from 1866, State Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages; from April, 1869, Secretary of the State Board of Health, and Lecturer on Hygiene at Harvard College, and, in 1872 was appointed Professor in the newly established chair of Hygiene in the Medical Department of the University. He published in 1868 a treatise on "Anthracite and Health" which attracted great attention.
He had four boys. Two survive their father. The elder, William Parsons, was born on the fifth anniversary of our New Berne fight. His brother Roger, though but eleven years old, is looking forward eagerly to the time when he, too, may be—Dr. Derby.

I leave to his intimates of the nearly ten years of civil life, since the war, to tell their regret for their friend, and their estimate of the loss his death occasioned to the State, to his country and to science.

His associates on the State Board of Health, speaking through Dr. Henry I. BoAvditch, after recording their sense of the peculiar value of Dr. Derby's service in the field, said,

"How much the present position of the Board, as a motive force in the community, depends upon his really wonderful faculty of meeting and moulding men, we shall never exactly know. For my own part, gentlemen, Avords would fail me to give you my idea of the debt we owe to him."

The Medical Faculty of the University of Cambridge, resolved,

"That they learned with the deepest regret of the death of their late associate Dr. George Derby. His talent, zeal and untiring industry made him preeminent in the department over which he presided and render the loss to the profession and the community almost irreparable, while his high moral character, courtesy and genial manners greatly endeared him to us."

The Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. 90, p. 629, says,

"Not only the profession, but all the inhabitants of Massachusetts have lost a friend and a benefactor by the death of Dr. George Derby. He expired on the first hour of June 20th (1874) after an obscure and most painful illness of about a month's duration. The autopsy revealed abscesses in the liver and peritonitis. It is by his labors in the position of Secretary and Executive Officer of the Board of Health that he has laid the community under such deep obligations to him; but his influence has extended far beyond the state, and the effects of
the impulse which he gave to sanitary science have been felt throughout the country. He was an enthusiastic reformer, but his enthusiasm was always under control of his reason and his conscience. He accepted the great responsibilities which often fell upon him, and, though courteous, he was firm as adamant. He made no display but did his work quietly, patiently, thoroughly. There can be no doubt that his labors hastened his death, which leaves a void that cannot be filled. His family and friends have the satisfaction of knowing that his worth is acknowledged and that the whole community joins them in deploring their loss."

Similar resolutions from the State Boards of Health of Michigan and California corroborate the Journal's opinion of the far-reaching influence of Dr. Derby's enthusiasm in the cause of sanitation. Finally the Council of "The American Association for the Advancement of Science, which is New-World-wide in its scope, resolved, that,

"As the Academy honored itself when he was chosen a member, so the Academy may well mourn his loss; for there is no one, at present, who can worthily fill his place."
26 April, '64. The good management which usually marks military movements was seldom more evident than when the regiment left winter-quarters for active operations this year. Tents were struck at sunset, the camp was left at 10 p. M., several pleasant hours were spent on the march to and on the wharves at Portsmouth and, by 3 A. M., of next day, the right wing was settled away on the Geo. Leary — the left wing and guard on another boat. With continued promptness, we got under way by noon, reached Yorktown before dark, were dumped on the beach under the bluffs, and went into bivouac there.

28th. Moved a mile or two up river. Made a camp of shelter-tents—then distributed for the campaign. Weeded out more men unfit for active soldiering. Seventeen men were sent to General Hospital.

29th. Another move three or four miles toward Williamsburg. Filing-off from the dusty high-road at 11.30 A. M., we made a pleasant camp on the green sod, among the scattered copses of an "old-field." It really looked as though the "Star Brigade" was to enjoy a neat, fresh camp, pending the arrival of the rest of the corps and the preparation of our transports.

At 1 p. M. came the most exigent orders to return to Yorktown. That short-lived camp among the bushes disappeared like an exhalation. Shelter tents were mounted
in the long roll across the body—the bandoleer of modern infantry. The scanty regimental baggage, little more than a few head-quarter tents and the company kettles, was put in wagons. The brigade, its four-mile gait raising a dust which speedily turned the fresh northern faces to the semblance of the yellow Cracker of the Carolinas, rushed back to Yorktown. For what? Somebody had blundered. We were really wanted to hold ourselves in readiness for a review next day. There was nothing for it but to sleep away as many of the intervening hours as practicable. The historic heights of Yorktown merited then, if ever, the epithet wind-swept. Your historian recalls with satisfaction the comfort accruing from the shelter of a pile of boxes of ammunition. Under their lee he, and Col. Chambers, enjoyed a night-cap pipe and the sleep of the tired-man.

Inspection, and muster-for-pay in camp filled the forenoon, as a long tiresome review, on the dusty plain east of Yorktown, occupied the afternoon of the next day.

We began to realize the meaning attached, at army Head-quarters, to the phrase "light marching order" and to see, as comfort after comfort was stripped from us, how nearly an army can be cut down to the towel and toothbrush of the ideal tramp.

During this time of waiting some of us visited the works thrown up by McClellan's army in '62 and wondered at the amount of labor expended in building approaches to a position which, high authority is said to have asserted, was not so difficult as the fortifications we had overrun so readily at NCAV Berne that year.

4 May, '64. We struck camp, got aboard the propeller Montauk and, towards night, joined the fleet at its rendezvous off NCAVport's News.

5 May. For the third or fourth time the 23rd assisted
in one of those mighty pageants in which the North showed its poAver and resources by sending a Avhole army at once, in transports, to its destination. In the vanguard, except for the heavy skirmishing line of monitors and gun-boats, Ave ploughed the waters of the James, Avhich, since McClel­lan left nearly tAvo years before, had seen little of Avar, except the occasional passage of a flag-of-truce, exchanging prisoners. Once our propeller "took bottom," but the nei^hborino: "Nellie Pentz " soon pulled us off.

Stately mansion and lonely hut alike seemed tenantless. The dilapidated landings, stretching their sunburnt length across the flats to the channel, showed as little life as the crumbling ruins of historic JamestoAvn. A solitary negro could occasionally be seen, capering on the bank, and Avaving the bandanna of exultation. Even to his sloAV apprehension the conviction came

" It must be now that the time am coming.

The year of Jubilee."

Once we paused a while to land a force of colored troops Avhose Ibrmation, during the past winter, had so tardily realized the suggestion and prediction of Gen. Burnside at the Astor House breakfast, as Ave passed through NCAV York in November, 18(51.

The signal party at Bermuda Hundred had so little idea of our coming that they Avere all busy fishing iu the river. So speedy was their retreat that even the fresh-caught fish in their boat, as well as all the equipment of their camp, fell into our hands.

Heckman's brigade Avas first to land. A heavy picket, including companies ' B' and ' H ' of the 23rd, was throAvn out and ere dark. Gen. Butler held uncontested posses­sion of an easily-defended base Avithin twelve miles of the rebel capital.

6 May. Just as the line Avas getting ready for the
march, Capt. Center of 'C,' who was overhauling his revolver (seeing to the condition of its caps, _etc._), had the ill-luck to discharge it and send a ball through one of his toes. He persisted in attempting to march towards what we all supposed would be a speedy, near battle, but was compelled, shortly, to give up.

Our forward movement was, not resisted but, observed by a force which called for caution. Our skirmishers saw, several times, a mounted rebel, who, properly keeping himself at a safe distance, cheekily beckoned our column to advance. Before noon we reached Cobb's Hill, on the Appomattox, the extreme left of Butler's future line. Here the brigade had a permanent camp during most of the marching and fighting of May. We helped throw up the fortifications in its front and always returned to it until after the Cold Harbor expedition.

The rise from the landing was so gradual as hardly to give a New Engander the idea that he was surmounting a hill. The river bank on our left and the declivity on our front were however steep and of considerable height. It was a terribly hot place, that May noon, while the brigade "resting in place" saw the army come up and file off to the right.

Towards four p. M. Heckman's "Star Brigade," composed of the 23rd, 25th and 27th Mass. and the 9th N. J., some 2700 strong (men, largely, seasoned in battle and, pretty thoroughly, sifted of that element, which, snuffing the battle afar off, keeps its distance), went out into the fire of that battle-mouth which was destined to reduce it to a mere handful of Avar-worn men.

The battle-field, or skirmish-ground, of Walthall Junction, sometimes called "Mary Dunn's farm," and in the brigade (perhaps because we had it all to ourselves on the 6th, and it was our part of the more extended field of the
7th), "Heckman's Farm," permitted unusual opportunity to see fighting on a largish scale.

It was a parallelogram of cleared fields, undulating, but so nearly level that many points commanded a view of the whole. As we entered, at the corner nearest Cobb's Hill, the enemy was discovered at the further end and near the diagonal corner. The 23rd was sent along the lower end, somewhat masked by a swell of the land and by some farm buildings, to hold the woods on our left and guard that flank. We were not actively engaged and could clearly see the manœuvring of the skirmish-lines, the unflinching advance of the 27th, the steadiness of the 25th,—under fire without cover—and could observe the precision of their firing when they came into action. Our battery was in full sight and so was the disturbance it made among the rebels behind their rail fence and railroad bank.

There was a great temptation to go on. It was quite on the cards that we could whip and probably capture the opposing force, but, orders not to risk bringing on a general engagement were peremptory, the recall was sounded and, leaving our eight dead on the bullet-swept field, we fell back to Cobb's Hill, with our sixty wounded. The 23rd suffered no loss. Leaving a field in the hands of the enemy was a novel experience to the men of Heckman's command.

7th May Your historian was ordered to report at the Field Hospital and had an opportunity to see something of the Strachan house and surroundings before much had been done towards its transformation into "Point of Rocks Hospital." It was a neatly-painted four-roomed house of one storey. Already, one room had been set apart for the wounded and another for surgeon's quarters. Some of the women of the family attempted to remain and occupy
the other rooms, but a few hours convinced them of their mistake, and, of their accord, they sought other quarters. The shady orchard, around the house, offered a cool refuge for the sun-struck, who came back in such numbers from the front, and, in a day's, convenient space for our hospital tents.

In the early days, at least, the hospital was only a halting place in which to recove the hasty dressings of the field, to perform necessary operations, and, generally, to prepare the sick and wounded for their journey to Hampton and the North. The number of our patients and our consequent labor varied much. After an action, crowds were heaped upon us. Then, house, tents and all the shady corners of the orchard were crowded with sufferers and groups of surgeons were busy at their operating-tables, not only all the livelong day, but, far into the night. Perhaps the next day, the steam-boats had carried away almost all our patients, and, our light duties over, we speculated, over the contemplative pipe, upon the outcome of the thundering war, so audible from the not-distant front.

Once war came to us. The rebels, from across Appomattox, then entirely in their hands, began shelling, regardless of our yellow flag. One of our number, not yet long enough commissioned to have learned that standing-fire comes, sometimes, into a surgeon's duties, raised a laugh by jumping upon his horse and frantically spurring the poor beast—still securely fastened to the hitching-post.

The Point of Rocks, whence the name, was a picturesque, craggy promontory, jutting out into the river within one hundred yards of the cottage. It commanded a beautiful country. The vicinity of Avaving grain, hanging woods, and winding, island-dotted river, Avith the spires
of Petersburg in the distance, was sadly changed as the year passed. The smiling fields were trampled to dusty wastes. The bosky hill-sides were bare and frowning with forts and batteries. The river became a mere break in the double line of works. The spires were targets for scores of cannon. The air was filled with the roar of "Parrots" and the shriek of "Whiptortis," while musketry, from the bickering of the pickets to the clamor of a line of battle, must have been almost as continuous as it was, in those curious days, the ripple of Appoquinimink, washing the base of the cliff.

Meanwhile the troops had gone out again over much the same ground as yesterday. Heckman's brigade went to the very spot. The 23rd, this time with the 25th, moved again to the left and were just in time to prevent a flank movement of the rebels. To-day the brijiade had little more to do than listen to an artillery duel, till Gen. Brooks, on our right, turned the rebel position, and destroyed a stretch of railroad. Our loss from the enemy was slight, but the men suffered severely from the sun. They were for some hours of midday, unprotected in the open field. Scores were prostrated. We found our dead of yesterday, not only unburied, but, stripped and shamefully mutilated.

8th, Sunday, and a day of comparative rest in camp. The rebels showed across the river, but a few shells scattered them. Organized Avork on the lines began.

9th. Third movement towards Petersburg. The turnpike was reached, as well as the railroad, and telegraph, as well as track, destroyed. After noon the forces formed line of battle and moved direct upon Petersburg. The enemy fell back fighting, making a short stand at every ridge, till driven Avithin their strong position at Swift Creek.
At this time, the rebel officers, having conceived the idea (based, not quite without reason, upon our disjuncted, ineffectual movements since lauding) that our troops were "ninety day emergency men" and easily handled, encouraged their rank and file with extraordinary preparation for making a soldier — whiskey and gunpowder — (the canteens on the battlefield proved this) and assumed the offensive in force.

"I was about to relieve my front-line with the second, but, instead, closed up, instructing my colonels to fire at a given signal. The Confederates came on in splendid style, with the peculiar "rebel yell" till within forty yards of our line, when our crushing volley swept them over the brow of the hill, and across the creek into the arms of their comrades, who were holding a redoubt which covered the force. It was a gallant charge and a bloody repulse."

The brigade was drawn up across the turnpike, the 27th Mass. supported by the 9th N. J., on the right, and the 25th Mass. supported by the 23rd on the left. A section of the Fourth U. S. Reg. Art'y occupied the road, in the front line, but, speedily discovering that the enemy had the range too exactly to leave the position tenable, had left before the charge. The attacking force was so broken and demoralized by the volley of the front line that it was no very serious work for the second line to drive the remnant back to their works.

The intervening space was thickly strewn with rebel dead and wounded. More than two scores could be counted in one little glade among the copses. In another place were five of our enemies in one gory heap. The


The accompanying map is from a sketch furnished by E. T. Aitherby (late of Co. K 25th M. V. I.). He quotes from Gen. Johnson laa'ood, who commanded the opposing force, "On the 9th, I was ordered to take part of my brigade and make a reconnaissance in front of this line. I took the Lt., the 11th and a detachment of the 25th" (S. C. inf.) "under Capt. Carsen. This object was accomplished, but, from the broken and wooded nature of the ground, I became more heavily engaged than I desired with the heavy force in my front, and my loss was severe."
task of burying the dead and succoring the wounded was speedily undertaken. The tender care for the latter contrasted strongly with the treatment our dead received on the battle ground of the 6th.

All this time the heat had been intense. Scores more were prostrated by the sun. Many lost their reason. Some filled the air with their insane 3'ells. Some needed force to prevent them from dashing alone upon the enemy. Others, it is said, turned their A'veapons upon themselves.

The niirht save little rest. On our own front the enemy had received lesson enough to keep him quiet, but, before sunup, three ineffectual charges, directed to the right or left of our position, called up the Avhole line to repel possible assault.

Casualties at ArroAvfield Church in the 23rd were,

<table>
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<tr>
<th>WOUNDED.</th>
<th>Sergeant, Co. I.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Eldridge, Elisha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lapham, Otis W.</td>
<td>Corporal, &quot; E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salkins, William</td>
<td>Private, &quot; B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cobbett, James</td>
<td>&quot; K.</td>
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Some confusion has arisen as to the name of this action. Swift Creek, naturally adopted by the enemy, who was contesting its passage in defence of Petersburg, is shared by two other battle-fields, and Pocahontas, the name of a suburb of Petersburg, is open to the same objection. Ar-roAvfield Church Avas a building betAveen the lines, in front of the 27th Mass., where its Avell-peppered AA'alls still stand.

The surgical staff at Point of Rocks started out, early on the 9th, for service in the field. We were misdirected and, before noon, established tables, etc., at a farm-house which proved to be too far from the scene of action. Moving two miles further, we found a neat, modern, four roomed house, on a terraced hill-side, and not far, I think, from Walthall Junction.
Here our work speedily found us, and lasted as far into the night as our supply of candles permitted (saving some that we might not be in utter darkness in case of emergency), and till the dawn, in front of the house, was thickly covered with regular rows of those who had passed under our hands.

A little diversion, in our grim work, came from a sergeant of the brigade, who, hit by a spent ball and tumbled into a ditch, insisted that he had a serious wound and must be carried to the surgeons. The disquiet of his stretcher-bearers was only equalled by his astonishment on being assured that he was not wounded. The effective force at the front gained a speedy recruit.

The refreshing sleep, earned by a long May-day's activity, and enjoyed in a corner of our blood-stained operating room (robbing our horses of their saddle cloths for beds, and rolling our coats into pillows) lasted only till dawn. With light enough, work recommenced and continued till all the force fell back to our base.

The regiment had been relieved from its place at the very front by the 40th Mass., and had gone to the rear for the cooked rations from which its active duty had cut it off for twenty-four hours, when a rumor of threatened attack on our lines sent the whole command back to Cobb's Hill. The effect of the sun was again very disastrous. One diarist, in the 23rd, confesses that he was not of the number, says, that only forty men reached camp as a regiment.

11 May, '64. Gen. Heckman issued the following order:

Hd. Qr. 1st Brig., 18th Army Corps,
In the field. May 11th, 1864.

(General Order, No. 21.)

The general commanding takes great pleasure in returning the gallant officers and men of his command, his thanks for the noble manner in which they have discharged their duties since the opening of the present campaign. The enviable reputation which you had at-
tained and so richly merited has been sustained in a noble and creditable manner, and the commanding general would not only be doing great injustice to his feelings, but to the officers and men of his command, did he fail to notice it. The fatigues and privations, which you have suffered without a murmur, are but characteristic of your previous conduct, and the punishment inflicted upon the rebels, is one of the many lessons you have taught them, that will cause them to ever remember and fear the Star Brigade.

By command of

W. H. ABEL,
Brig. Gen. C. A. HECICMAN.
A. A. G.

12 May, '64. The whole army started out from the works with face set towards Drury's Bluff and Richmond. The sun, to-day, proved too much for some, who had not yet quite rallied from their exposure in the actions towards Petersburg, but the steady rains of the next three days removed that difficulty. Not much ground had been covered when the enemy was met. A heavy skirmish line was then thrown out and supported at a short distance by the line of battle. In this order, hour by hour and day by day, the rebels were pushed from hill to hill, and, finally, from line to line of outworks, till we had driven him fairly into the works at Drury's Bluff, and, even there our skirmishers so commanded his guns as to silence them.

A private in Company 'C' furnishes the following graphic account of an incident of these operations.

"Darkness called halt to friend and foe. Then, the call for picket to relieve the skirmishers given, a detail was made from each company, and, in the rain, set, tired and hungry, these men, who were to stand while others slept, faced in single file towards the foe and marched out through the skirmish line, into the darkness. Quietly, almost without a whisper, they took post perhaps ten feet

30 Fort Darling was built on the plantation of Maj. Alexander Hamilton Drewry, and we ought to write Drewry's Bluff.
apart, and about two hundred yards in front of, and parallel to, the line of battle. Their orders were to fire, without challenging, upon any one approaching from the direction of the enemy.

Save the drip of the softly-falling rain and an occasional word from the line of battle in the rear, all was quiet. With every ear intent to catch the slightest noise from an enemy known to be so near, the sound of a branch broken by some nearby foot spurred everyone to the vain attempt to see the threatening foe. Subdued whisperings followed, and were met by the half-suppressed clicks along the picket line, as ready thumb and finger prepared the rifles for immediate discharge. Men think quick under such circumstances. Some further movement was heard from the outer darkness, and a dozen rifles rang out on the midnight air, followed by groans of wounded men, and cries of 'Don't fire upon friends.' The picket detail of some other command had blundered out into the darkness before our lines."

The Army of the James marched up to and posted, in a thin single line, along the captured outworks of Drury's Bluff. Heckman's Brigade formed its extreme right. Somebody must be at each end of every row of soldiers. As the posts of danger, these are the posts of honor. Very little experience teaches that one needs either an impassable country on one's open flank or such force of reserve in rear as will suffice to resist assault till proper changes may be made in the main body. We had neither. To our right a practicable, open country stretched, more than a mile, to the James River. At the earnest personal appeal of General Heckman, some reinforcements of infantry and artillery were ordered, but they arrived too late to be of value during the attack.

Lt. Col. James Steuart, 9th N. J., in a letter, apparently quoting from some previous publication, says:
"He was general-officer of the night and in placing and visiting the pickets became aware that the enemy was massing in our front. He reported personally to Gen. Heckman, Comm'dg Brigade, this fact and the urgent necessity of reinforcements being sent to protect the gap which was open between our right and the James river. Gen. Heckman sent his aid Lt. Richard P. Wheeler to Div. Hd. Qrs. with a report of the situation and a request for the necessary assistance.

Some time later an officer reported to Col. Stewart with a company of colored cavalry. As this was not what Avas wanted—in fact, this reinforcement would have been an obstruction to us, under the circumstances and surroundings, rather than a help—Col. Stewart directed the officer to take his command and follow the prolongation of our line till he reached the banks of the James river, then take his position and hold it till further orders."

The only other information about our cavalry support, which has reached me, is, that one of our pickets, falling back at the onset of the enemy, fell in Avith an officer of cavalry Avho asked the whereabouts of the enemy. Professing incredulity of the account received, he made a short personal investigation and then took his command to the rear with a celerity Avhich far outstripped my informant's progress.

Another misfortune to the brigade resulted from its move to the right late on Sunday the 15th. It Avas thus compelled to give up the protection of Avorks throAvn up during the day and had to rely upon such, very insufficient, shelter as could be raised, without proper tools, in the night.

As finally placed to Avithstand the assault the brigade was en echelon, in the order, from left to right, of 25th, 27th, 23rd Mass. and 9th N. J. In front of the 23rd the Awoods, a groAvth of small hard pine and shrub oak, extended a few yards and then the open ground gradually rose to the Avorks of Drury's Bluff—a sort of natural glacis. A little-usecl wood-road folloAved, in a general Avay, the line of the brigade. It cut the line of the 23rd
and afforded, for some of the companies, some protection to men lying in the road-bed and firing over the bank. Wetter, perhaps only the accumulation of three days' rain, filled a hollow between 23rd and 9th. A road called the stage road, running, more or less parallel to the turnpike from Petersburg to Richmond, was between the 23rd and 9th N. J.

Along this road Gen. Heckman and staff came from their quarters to the battlefield. The enemy's batteries afterwards enfiladed it, with the purpose, perhaps, of impeding reinforcements.

Gen. Heckman's account of the battle, as published in "Bearing Arms," p. 350, is as follows:

"At midnight the rebs moved out from their Avorks, massing strongly on our extreme right, and, just before daylight, having obtained position, rushed with great impetuosity on our pickets, but, after a desperate struggle, were forced back by the gallant Capt. Lawrence and day broke (thanks to the vigilance and gallantry of the Star Brigade) with our lines still unbroken.

Shortly after dawn, a dense fog enveloped us, completely concealing the enemy from our view. Five picked brigades in column debouched from the enemy's works, and, rapidly advancing, drove in our pickets, pressing up on a run to our main line. Hearing their approach, my brigade swept instantly into line and steadily awaited their coming. When only five paces intervened between the rebel bayonets and our inflexible line, a simultaneous scorching volley swept into the faces of the exultant foe, smiting hundreds to the earth and hurling the whole column back in confusion. Five times, encouraged and rallied by their officers, that magnificent rebel infantry advanced to the attack, but only to meet and be driven back by those relentless volleys of musketry.

Finding it impossible to succeed by direct attack, they now changed front and attempted to crush my right, held by the Ninth New Jersey, but, here, too, the right wing having been reserved, they were met by a galling fire, and again for a moment faltered. But soon they once more advanced in column by brigade, and the Star Brigade, being without artillery, and, withal, vastly outnumbered, was, for the first time in its history, compelled to fall back and take up a new position.

"Awhile this movement was being executed—the Ninth already in position—my staff being engaged in other parts of the field, I passed
Battle-ieldofOrewrif'sffiiifr
MAY TJ. 1364.

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Union -In

TWEENAY-THIRD MASS HISTORV

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Rc-b-' Troops

Roa'ls
along to the left of the Ninth to a point I supposed to be occupied by
the Twenty-third, but found instead an approaching line of battle.
Taking it to be reinforcements, I ordered them to wheel to the right
and charge, and at the next moment, discovered that they were "gray-
backs" and at 9 A. M., of the 16th, I was a guest of the Hotel de Libby.

I never at any other time experienced such musketry fire as on that
day. It was one incessant volley, and its terrible fatality may be
judged from the fact that the enemy acknowledged a loss of four thou-
sand five hundred on my front alone; and I lost nearly all my field and
line officers either killed or wounded."

One needs only General Heckman's assertion that he
supposed an advancing rebel force to be a reinforcement
from our side, and, that, as such, he ordered it to wheel
to the right and charge the enemy, to account for his fail­
ure to find the 23rd in its supposed position. In fact,
the General, unaAware or forgetful of the fact that the right
flank of the 9th N J. had been tvoice re?erioned. — facing
three Aways to the enveloping enemy — Awalked out from
the angle, Avhich he supposed the regimental left, into the
hands of the enemy.

It is difficult, for one who Awas not in it, to form a fair
idea of the density of that morning's fog. Even before
the action became general a column of the enemy, almost
Awithin stone's throAV, was only detected by a momentary
lift of the fog, shoAving their massed feet on the opposite
slope. Those on the right flank of the 23rd were first
made aAware of the crushing attack on their right-rear by
the splashing of feet through the pool. The rebel-bri­
gade, Avhich SAvept aAway the tAvice reserved flank of the
9th N. J., passed its left companies unheeded in the fog
which was by that time doubly thick with smoke. Nor
Awas the fog entirely to our disadvantage. It, doubtless,
led, by permitting their close approach en mctsse, to that
dire punishment Avhich disal^led Beauregard's left and
prevented its further advance that day. The bravest
remnant is to charge again over ground paved with fallen comrades. Again, when retreat was inevitable, the friendly fog provided a near haven for the fugitives.

Not till after midnight did Gen. Heckman and his staff seek the sleep which human nature demands, and never so peremptorily as after a long, long day in the saddle. Hardly, as it seemed, were they warm in their beds, when heavy firing on the skirmish line demanded their presence with the command. Arriving, by the road which cut the brigade line between the 0th N. J. and 23rd Mass., the staff was sent in all directions for the latest reports.

It fell to Lt. C. S. Emmerton, A. D. C, to be sent along the brigade line to the left. He found the 27th up and ready, but unable to see any enemy. To Col. Bartholomew's inquiry, what to fire at, the lieutenant was able to answer by pointing out the massed feet of the enemy, marking time on the opposite slope, and thinking this information of sufficient importance, returned to report it to Gen. Heckman.

Before he reached the 23rd an adventurous rebel, perhaps a skirmisher in advance of the force to which by this time the 27th was paying attention, fired at him and received an equally harmless return shot. Not stopping to settle the matter, but referring it to Capt. Kent who was, with his company, on the left flank of the 23rd, he pushed on by the regimental line and, across the interval, to the 9th N. J. Here his inquiry for the General being met by the answer "further to the right," he went on, only to find the right companies represented by nothing but the killed and wounded on the ground. Misled, as the General was, by his ignorance of the change in the regimental formation, he kept on through the fog. Very strangely, be missed any body of the enemy, but occasionally en-
countered individuals, and, in one case at least, changed
the order of things by encouraging a body of our men, go­ing to the rebel rear as prisoners, to take their guard in
charge, and show them the way to our rear. He reached
brigade headquarters, and, finally, the remnant of the
brigade in its position.

Shelter tents and camp equipage for eight companies of
the 23rd had been brought up the afternoon before. With
them had come a scanty supply of entrenching tools
which, worked by reliefs, were of some value in improv­ing the scanty breastworks. As Gen. Heckman states,
the first serious fire from the picket-line brought the reg­iment into place, and a steady fire had been kept up from
the time the fire of the enemy gave some sort of target.
Officers and men alike estimate this period of successful
resistance to the front attack, at two hours. Some say
they nearly exhausted their ammunition. It is difficult
to reconcile this supposed lapse of time with other facts.
It was, probably, much less.

Lt. Col. Chambers was in command of the regiment.
One of the diarists records that, during this early time,
he was walking up and down behind the line, clasping his
hands, and evidently enjoying the fun.

Lt. Isaac H, Edgett, his acting-adjutant, reports, "When
Col. Chambers was hit, A vere standing very close to­gether, and he fell against me, forcing me down on the
right knee—his body falling across my left. I laid him
on the ground, and was proceeding to ascertain the nature
of his wound, when he rose to his knees and said 'I guess
they have fetched me this time—Go and find Brewster
(Major), and tell him to take command, but don't let any­body else know that I am hit.' He then got upon his feet
and, clutching his left breast with both hands, started for
the rear. I learned afterwards, that he went only a short
distance when he fell again, Avas picked up and carried aAval)' on a stretcher."

Even then he refused to lie down, but went away, sitting cross-legged on the stretcher, and, with compressed lips, repressing any sign of the pain he suffered.

Failing to find Maj. BrcAvster, Lt. Edgett sought Capt. Raj-mond of* G,' senior captain, commanding his company on the right of the line. He found the Captain just picking himself up from the mud. He had been knocked down by a bullet which grazed his head, and had temporarily confused the faculties, usually so clear and ready on the battle-field.

Hardly had the captain fairly taken in the situation, and, accepting the responsibility thrown upon him by the chances of Avar, had taken one turn up and down the line, when one of his men drew his attention to the right and rear with "Look there. Captain!" Looking, he saw an explanation of the splashing sound, which, through all the tumult of the battle, had been puzzling him. A large force of the enemy Avas coming full on our right, and slightly overlapping that flank.

It Avas, evidently, time for a change of tactics. Captain Raymond's order "Fix bayonets," brought the wondering regiment to its feet. The men, busily occupied with the enemy in front, and confident of their ability to hold him there, were puzzled as to whose assault they were expected to repel. Adjutant Edgett ran down the line to inform the officers of the attack on our flank and Capt. Kent, from the left company, carried the word to the other commands beyond. None too soon, came "Face to the rear I" "Fall back!" The enemy Avas, already, behind our line and many of the right flank company, marching directly into their hands, became prisoners. A like fate, to less extent, befell all the companies. Even ' H,'
on the left, lost four men. The regiment was forced from its position and lost, temporarily, its organization.

Within a few rods of the original position, Lt. R. P Wheeler, aid to Gen. Heckman, made a zealous attempt to rally the men and form them for organized resistance. A number halted and fell into line. Voices raised in entreaty and command attracted the attention of the enemy, who sent in a volley. Lt. Wheeler fell, and, with him, ceased all attempt at holding that line.

A little band of devoted spirits, including the color-guard, determined to do their best to save the regimental colors. They got into a snarl of brambly undergrowth, and, when they had extricated themselves, were surprised, on a sudden lighting of the fog, by the sight of a rebel line, with five colors, within as many rods of them. They kept up a steady fire, and the rebels, perhaps still unable to see how small a force was behind our colors, advanced but slowly. Serg. David Wallis, of Co. 'F,' carried the National flag. Wrapping it around the staff, grasping the staff by the lance-end and trailing it behind him, to avoid catching in the bushes, he put his long legs to good use. Running away obliquely, he escaped injury from the volley sent after him (although 180 bullets tore his clothes) and saved the flag. Perhaps the others might still have escaped but for the obstinacy of Corp. Fernald of 'G,' who carried the State flag. He was so convinced that the line, in sight through the fog, was of our friends, that he actually made it necessary for the others to use force to prevent him from going over to the enemy. This delay brought the enemy's line so near, that, in the increasing light, they saw the great disparity of the forces, and demanded a surrender. To this our squad, hoping to gain a little time, answered with a volley. The return fire, coming from the whole rebel line, killed seven and wounded three.
Of the four still in condition to defend the State-flag were private A'lliam D. Cole of Co. 'E.' Early in the fight he had received a flesh wound in the left upper arm. This did not prevent him from keeping his rifle going till the barrel was so hot that he hardly dared load again. At his feet, lay his son, Edwin L. Cole of Co. 'E,' disabled by a wound in the leg. Hoping still to delay the advancing line, the elder Cole tried "one more shot" at the color-bearer and missed. The return volley left Cole on the ground riddled with balls. At last the rebel line charged forward, captured the flag, and made prisoners of Corp. Fernald of 'G,' Corp. Smith of 'E,' and priv. Henry Pratt of the same company who, without a rifle himself, had been very efficient in tearing cartridges for Cole. One effective rifle in the group.

Capt. Raymond of 'G,' following the retreating regiment, stopped to help a wounded man. Bray of his company. Concluding, from the bloody torrent gushing from the man's breast, that he could do no good, he rose to leave him, and found the rebel line, with colors, close upon him. His contemptuous refusal to surrender brought a volley upon him which tore his clothes, carried away his sword-belt and almost blinded him the dust and bits of bark torn from neighboring trees. Yielding to first impulse, he opened a return fire from his revolver, but speedily recognizing the odds against him, he left the field in the hands of the enemy and escaped into the favoring fog.

He soon came across a group surrounding the Avounded Wheeler, who was very urgent that the regiment should not suffer for his sake. He said that he was mortally wounded and might as well be left to die; that the attempt to carry him from the field Avould at least endanger his bearers, and might be disastrous to the regiment. He took out his watch, diary, etc., and, consigning these to
his friends, begged them to leave him to his fate. Capt. Raymond Avould hear of no such sacrifice, but set the unselfish hero safely on his way to an ambulance and the rear.

Soon after, hearing a familiar voice, in phrases which the friends of Col. Chambers can readily supply, from a thicket which he was passing, Capt. Raymond entered and found the Lieut. Colonel's stretcher bearers lost, and despairing of finding their way to the hospital. These, too, he set on their right way.

Before leaving the battle-ground it may be well to make record of the final experiences of the Coles of 'E.' Though the son had but one wound, in the leg, the father was Avounded as he may expect to be who undertakes, single handed, to resist a brigade at short range. Early in the action, a musket-bolll had passed through his left upper arm. The shot which at last disabled him came from a "buck and ball" cartridge. The ball traversed the abdominal cavity and carried away a bit of the hipbone. The buck-shot, four in number, passed through the anterior Avals of the abdomen. While lying helpless, a stray ball came along and piercing nine, still unread, letters, in his blouse pocket, entered, without penetrating, his left arm again. Two of the buckshot emerged by one wound of exit and the last ball fell from the shallow Avound it had made. That leaves twelve bleeding Avounds.

They had fallen in the open, and, when the fog had finally disappeared, found the heat of the sun and the thirst from their wounds unbearable and tried to reach the shade. No sooner Avere they seen, erect, than the rebels made them prisoners and took them, incredible as it may seem, mostly on foot to the steamboat which carried them to Richmond.

At Sir. Cole's desire, the guard permitted them to go
along, or near, the line of battle. They passed through the Avoods, Avhence they could see the ground in front of the 25th and 27th Mass. Here, as elsewhere, the Avounded had been removed, and the dead, although in large numbers, not in astonishing numbers. When they reached the ground occupied by the 23rd, the space in front was so cumbered with the dead, which lay in three windrows where the division lines had stood, that an officer: Cole uttered a cry of amazement. At this, their guard asked the number the 23rd had carried into the fight, and, when told, was astonished in his turn and exclaimed, "Why, you have killed outright more men than you had in line!" The small number of dead, whether of our men or of the enemy, which they saw and counted on the right of the brigade, may, perhaps, be accounted for by the changed position of the 9th N. J. during the fight.

As they passed over the battle-field, where, as Corp. Davis of G,—"Uncle Tom,"—had found it some hours earlier, they were constantly compelled to turn aside to avoid the dead, and along the glacis of the fort, covered, far and near, with the wounded, the unusual sight of a father and son, wounded and prisoners, attracted much attention. The compassion of a subordinate officer of the ambulance corps gave them a lift of which the peppery Major in charge soon deprived them. While lying by the roadside. Gen. Beauregard catechised them and went off much elated by the number, furnished by the prudent Cole, of the Yankees whom he considered whipped by his smaller force.

Some of our men, after the failure of the first attempt to rally, encountered a general-officer (they say General Smith, our corps commander) who upbraided them, "For shame! Aiew, for Shame! The best brigade in the 18th corps behaving in this way."
"All halted and exclaimed, 'We are not running, General, we are ordered back.' Without another word he spurred his horse forward. In a few moments he came back, at great speed, went to the top of a hill beyond us and made preparation for forming a new line. He ordered the ground to be cleared of shelter-tents where a Rhode Island battery had camped. Just in front a Captain of the 9th N. J. had formed a line of his own regiment, with a few of ours, say two hundred in all. We advanced to the edge of the woods in front, where we halted and remained in line. The shells were still flying overhead but the enemy made no further advance in that direction."

Something further to the right, a larger number of the 23rd, perhaps the equivalent of a company, as companies went in those days, as gathered under Capt. Raymond. Gen. Smith, needing a force to hold a house still further to the right, asked for the 23rd and its commander. Being assured that they were before him, he regretted that their numbers were so reduced, but, having apparently modified his opinions, sent them on the duty with the remark that even so few of the 23rd could be relied upon. They held that position till the army fell back, at night, to our lines at Cobb's Hill.

Capt. D. W. Hammond had been sent to our old camp, near Cobb's Hill, to bring up those who had been unable to march with the regiment when we left camp, but might be found sufficiently recovered to share the siege of Fort Darling. He had collected about one hundred and was nearly ready to start with them when one of the 23rd came in, on horseback, with us of our reverse. He mounted the horse and led the reinforcement with Sei-o-t. Charles Friend of 'G' for lieutenant. After about a mile he met a general-officer, whom, on inquiry, he found to be Gen. N. Martindale and who ordered him to hold a fork of the road and promised that a battery should be sent to help him. Capt. Hammond, with this force,
held the fork of the road until all the command had passed to Aird's the fortifications near Cobb's Hill.

The following order may serve to show how the Star Brigade stood with its Division commander the day after the fight in the fog:

Hd. Qr. 2nd DiA'. 18 Corps.
In the Field, 17 May, 'G4.


The Gen. Commd'g desires to thank the officers and men of this Division for their patience, endurance and bravery, during the operations of the last twelve days.

A perfect stranger to the Division on assuming command of it, his experience with it, during the above period, has given him the most perfect confidence and gratification.

By ord. of Brig. Gen. G. WEITZEL.
(Sgd.) E. E. GK.WES.
Lt. and A. A. G.

The record of the casualties at Drury's Bluff must always share the uncertainty which falls to all battles where the ground is left in the hands of the enemy.

The regimental record, as published in the Adj. Gen. Rep. "Massachusetts in the Civil War," gives 89 killed, wounded and missing. Many men known to have been very seriously wounded, including, of course, all who could not help themselves nor even be helped from the field were reported "taken prisoners," and, very properly, for some of them are hale men to-day. As time went on some of these were paroled and brought us UCSVS of the fate of some of their comrades. I assume that all, of whom no word ever came from the rebel hospitals and prisons, died on the field of battle.

Killed, 13.

Kelly, James W.,
Wilkins, George G.,
Jones, John AA',
Sawyer, Charles H.,
Wormstead, Theodore,

Private, Co. A.
" " "
Corporal, Co. B.
Private, " " "
" " "

Killed, 13.
### Casualties at Drury's Bluff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wing, John A.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Swaney, William H.</td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bray, Benjamin</td>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVOod, Charles</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>I</td>
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<td>Crooker, Marshall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bridges, Jelouis F.</td>
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<td>Cunningham, John</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackraan, Benjamin H.</td>
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**Died of Avounds, 10.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chambers, John G.</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 July, '64, Lt. Col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton, Va., 2 June, '61,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fuller, Benjamin F.</td>
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<td>Private, Co. A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C'romett, John E.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day, Abraham, Jun.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingman, Henry C.</td>
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<td>D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taylor, AWilliam H.</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Elmer F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson, Fletcher N.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond, Va., June,'64, &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet, Caleb W.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Aug., '64, Private, &quot;</td>
</tr>
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**Avounded, 16.**

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ricker, Francis M.</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potter, Frederic A.</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Flynn, Thomas</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crosby, John F.</td>
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<td>Spencer, Byron</td>
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<td>Cole, Edwin L.</td>
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<td>Cole, Wihiam D.</td>
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<td>Page, James W.</td>
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<td>Stetson, Edward L.</td>
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<td>Brown, Robert N.</td>
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<td>Liflin, John</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reed, Perrin AV.</td>
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<td>Kent, W L.</td>
<td>Captain</td>
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<td>Davenport, Edward L.</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
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<td>Parsons, John D.</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
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<td>Gay, Andrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perkins, Josiah A.</td>
<td>Private</td>
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**Prisoners.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gove, Wm. A.</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td>Chute, Andrew M.</td>
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<td>Higgins, Abisher A.</td>
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<td>12 Aug., '64,</td>
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Morgan, Patrick, d. And'ville, 7 Sept., '64, Private, Co. B.
Nickett, Frank, d. Richmond, 3 Jlch., '05, " " "
Ray, William H., " " "
Griffin, Benj'n H., d. And'ville, 23 Sept., '64, Sergeant, " C.
Brackett, Levi, Jun., " 11 June, '64, Private, " "
Delano, Henry A., paroled, " " "
Gray, James S., d. Charleston, S. C, 22 Sept., '64, " " "
Tripp, Jireh B., " 4 Oct., '64, Corporal, " D.
Ormond, Patrick, d. And'ville, Sept., '64, Private, " "
Patch, John S., paroled, " " "
Smith, Benj'n H., Corporal, " E.
Blaisdell, George E., paroled, Private, " " "
Cole, Edwin L., paroled, " " "
Cole, Wm. D., paroled, " " "
Parsons, William, d. And'ville, 22 June, '64, " " "
Pratt, Henry, 15 Aug., '64, " " "
Quinlan, John, paroled, " " "
Carlton, David, killed Charleston, 25 Sept., '64, 1st Sergt., " F
Winchester, Silas, d. Florence, 19 Oct., '64, Corporal, "
Dudley, Charles, paroled, Private, " " "
Grosvenor, Edward P., d. And'ville, " " "
Hinckley, Geo. 0., 28 Sept., '64, " " "
Tibbetts, Alvah, 2 Aug., '64, " " "
Goodridge, Samuel, Jr., 1st Sergt., " G
Dennis, Charles R., d. And'ville, Sept., '64, Sergeant, " " "
Munsey, AA&m, paroled, " " "
Blanchard, Andrew J., d. Florence, 4 Nov., '64, Corporal, " " "
Davis, Thomas D., paroled, " " "
Ferniild, Charles G., d. And'ville, 29 Aug., 'G4, " " "
Jeff's, Tristam C, d. Charleston, 14 Oct., '64, " " "
Wallis, Joseph P., Nov., '64, " " "
Agent, Joseph F., d. (Charleston?), Sept., '64, Private, " " "
Burk, Edward K., paroled, " " "
Clayton, John W., " " "
Danforth, Geo. A., d. And'ville, 17 Aug., '64, " " "
Elliott, Charles, 2nd, d. Charleston, Sept., '64, " " "
Elliott, Israel, Jr., 12 " " "
McGrath, Louis, d. Florence, '64, " " "
Morgau, Edmand C, And'ville, 5 Aug., '64, " " "
Stott, John, (Florence?), 14 Oct., '64, " " "
Trask, Charles P., paroled, " " "
Webber, Eleazer A., d. And'ville, 12 Sept., '64, " " "
Austin, E. v., paroled, Corporal, " H
LT COL. JOHN G. CHAMBERS.
It appears then, that of about 220 in the fight, 13 were killed on or near the field of battle, 10 are known to have died of their wounds, 17 others were wounded and 51 taken prisoners. Of these 14 were paroled, 33 are known to have died in prison and four are (at date) uncertain.

John G. Chambers, son of John and Belinda (Woods) Chambers, was born at Chelsea, Mass., 15 Sept., 1828. At the age of fifteen, he went to work, at first in a printing office at Cambridge, and, after a little, in the office of the Boston Journal.

In the spring of 1840 he enlisted, in Co. 'E,' Capt. Croavinshield, of the Massachusetts Regiment, for service in Mexico, and served through the war. One of his comrades recollects him as "genial comrade and gallant soldier."

After that war, he was at Avork, as compositor for the Journal, as reporter for the Atlas, or, as collecting clerk for the Courier: In the spring of 1861, he went out, with the 5th M. V. M. as 1st Lt. in Co. 'E,' and, after a time, was appointed Adjutant. His commander, Gen. S. C. Lawrence of Medford, says of him:

"He was born a soldier, and those details of the military art, which many learn only by painful application, seemed to come to him by inspiration. His soldierly bearing and conspicuous gallantry placed him high in the esteem of the entire command, and, when, afterwards, his old comrades heard of his appointment in the Twenty-third, they predicted for him a brilliant career in the service of his country; their expectations were fast being realized when he was cut off by an early and glorious death. Nowhere was that event more sincerely mourned than in this community where he had established his home and where he had made a wide circle of friends."
In the 23rd, he, to say the least, ably seconded the efforts of his superior officers to turn our eroding of Avilling and intelligent civilians into soldiers. At Roanoke, he was disabled by sciatica and spent the day of the battle in his bunk,—the unhappiest man in the army.

On the Tarboro march, his old enemy, sciatica, returned and disabled him. At Wilcox Bridge he received a Avound, more troublesome and tedious than dangerous.

The bullet, at Drury's Bluff, struck, firrst, his Avatrl, and, traversing his left side, lodged near the spine. When extracted, at the Chesapeake Hospital, it was found flattened Avith bits of the Avorks from the Avatch einl)edded in it.

On the field his Avound seemed likely to be speedily fatal. AVe Avere surprised, as the Aveek Avent by, to hear that he still survived. I saAV him at the Chesapeake Hospital on the 22nd of June. He Avas then very lively, shoAved great interest in the UCAVS from the reiriment and no very obvious reason Ahy he might not recover. UntoAvard symptoms set in. He died 15 July, ii<6i.

The regiment lost its best soldier in Lt. Col. John G Chambers. Previous experience of actual service, in which he Avas, nearh', or quite, alone, among the regi­mental officers, helped his natural alnlities. He Avas very inpatient of the "town meeting" management of companies, so common among volunteers. Pie insisted upon a proper distinction betAveen commissioned officers and enlisted men. If, in the l)eginning, and Avhile holding a subordinate position, he did indulge in the conviviality so common among those of his age and rank in our armv, as the years passed and he assumed responsible command, all this Avas changed. The condition of the regiment, Avhile he had command, and its proAA'ess at Whitehall, are his best epitaphs to those familiar Avith that time.
RICHARD P WHEELER, born in Danvers, Mass., 16 Aug., 1835, lost his father when he was fourteen years old, but had already avowed his place and recognition among the business men of Salem when the war broke out, and he enlisted as 1st Sergt. of Co. 'F'.

Comrades, your historian, who, in the early days of the war, for weeks shared tent and mess and blankets with him, may well voice your common thought. "How good a fellow we lost when Dick Wheeler died!" We, who saw him in action, hurrying across the hottest fire of the enemy with message from his general, or, in a night-alarm, cool, with rare "four o'clock in the morning" courage, who found him, not simply reckless of danger, but, thoughtless of everything but duty, know how good a soldier met his fate in the fog of Drury's Bluff and who can properly appreciate his last words, when, after some days promise of recovery, sudden untoward symptoms made death inevitable. "I am fully ready to die—I have given my country my all."

He was buried, with appropriate ceremony, from the Tabernacle Church in Salem.

Serg. David Carlton of 'F' met a sad fate. His indefatigable unselfishness kept him, as long as reason lasted, among the cheeriest and most useful to his fellow-prisoners. After a time, his privations induced the dementia so common in the inhuman prison-pens. In this condition, he wandered too near "the dead line" and was murdered by his guards.
The current phrase "bottled up," as applied to the army of the James after Drury's Bluff, is, after all, not fairly descriptive. It is probable, though never settled by experiment, that we could not have marched, easily and pleasantly, out to our recent battle-fields. It was demonstrated that the enemy, who made numerous and persistent efforts, could not get in. In most other directions, we could go as we pleased, and it did please the authorities to send a considerable force to cooperate with (iraut.

As I was directly with the regiment during the expedition, my diary, pretty full at the time and amplified soon after the war, with help from others who shared in the marring while my task was the mending, furnish a convenient journal and itinerary.

27 May, '64. The regiment was almost "on the move" and orders came for me to select those unfit for marching. Have no note how many were found, but, that the number was large, may be gathered from the diary of a clerk at Brigade Head-quarters, who says that four officers and two hundred and three men were reported from the brigade, and that all these were sent, by order from Division Head-quarters, for further examination by a board of Surgeons at Corps Hospital, with threat of condign pun-
ishment to malingerers. After a tedious wait of some hours in column, we were marched off into the woods hoping to deceive the inquisitive enemy as to our destination.

In camp, that night, I shared the quarter-master's shelter tent. (It is the freely expressed conviction of the Honorable, the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that he and the Historian of the 23rd Vol. Infy., would, in this year of grace, if sleeping in one shelter tent, be somewhat crowaled.)

28 May, '64. Up at 4.30. Sick call, 5.30. Waited till 6 p. M. for orders to march. Nearing the Appomattox, at Broadway Landing, we waited again for utter blank darkness before we attempted to feel our way down a steep, crumbling bank, across a pontoons provided by Capt. John Pickering, Jr., of Salem and his 13th Company of unattached Artillery, and up, through more clinging mud, on the way to the Point. We were still supposed to be stealing away from the enemy —fearing, not his attack but his observation. We were convinced that the enemy could not see us much. Nothing reached our sleepy eyes but the occasional glint of a pipe-lighting match or the shimmer of new palm-leaf hats from the rear rank. These hats were the application of the teaching of the sun at Althall Landing and Swift Creek. Finally, we filed among the tender shoots of foot-high barley, glad to sleep even without the usual fires. Our chaplain, the Rev Lewis L. Record of Gloucester, Mass., was manfully sharing our lot, but, when it came to sleeping on the ground, feared snakes and insisted upon a place in a wagon.

29th. As usual the regiment was up betimes and eight companies were soon on board the Montauk, with 'G' and 'K' on another steamer. Here we waited the livelong day and were then sent to Fortress Monroe for orders. We
Avere soon overtaken by Geo. Martindale, on the C. W. Thomas, who told us to follow him up the York River as far as he went. Fort Powhatan, the stronghold, built and held by colored soldiers, was passed before dark, and solid sleep left the question of continued progress unsettled and uncared for.

30th, '64. From Fort Boj'kin and the familiar Newport's NAVS, Fort Monroe and Yorktown, we pushed on to new sights on the York and Pamunkey. The York showed more houses on its banks than the James but hardly of equal style. The Pamunkey was, to most of us, a novel proof how crooked a river can be. At times, looking across the level meadow, three steamers could be seen seemingly steering in opposite directions but all, in reality, striving to reach our common objective, the "Yllite House." At last, it is hardly necessary to say, on a bend, we met a returning schooner, and, trying to escape her as the swirling current brought her down upon us, ran our own nose into the bank and found ourselves fast, on a young ebb-tide. We were on the right bank and under a steep bluff which completely commanded us. Possible guerilla attack was met by proper preparation.

31st. Found us fast, but the rising tide suggested another pull at the anchor, which had been carried out astern, and off we went leaving on the bank a young lady, in jockey hat and feather, who had come down, from some neighboring house, to inspect the invading horde. The usual quiet of White House Landing was broken with a bustle unknown since McClellan's forces had left it two years before. As steamboat arrived after steamer, their living freight was lauded, and, forming by regiments and brigades, took place for the coming march. Many, snatching the opportunity to rid themselves of the dust of Bermuda Hundred, and not loath to escape from the
fervid heat, made the shore gay with bathers,—though quite lacking the bizarre costumes of the seashore.

By mid-afternoon, the column started. For a while we Avent through a region marked by recent cavalry fighting and nauseous with the smell of dead horses. Soon, filing away to the northward, we entered a portion of Virginia as yet unvexed by war's destruction, if not entirely free from war's alarms. About sunset halted for a time near a fine mansion looking down, from an easy hillside, over fine lawns and fertile fields. Modern taste had as Act taught few of us to contemn its classic colonnade. It seemed a fair exponent of the Awealth and refinement of tide-water Virginia. The march was prolonged far into the evening and long after all were aching for sleep.

I do not propose to end each day's chronicle with an assertion of the need or a laudation of the comfort of restoring sleep. Still, I will leave it to my comrades, to all who have known summer campaigns, whether loss of sleep is not, at least, one of the Avorst experiences. Thirst, within bounds, may be endured. Hunger in a measure, defeats itself with the faintness which kills appetite. Sleep alone will not be put off. Every moment its demands are more exigent. The horseman in his saddle, and the foot soldier in the dusty road, momentarily losing consciousness and as instantly waking to the drear certainty that the end is not yet, alike long for the order to halt and the chance of a night's slumber. When the opportunity comes, it is never for all. Some must watch while others sleep. I, who have never "been there," fully sympathize with the trials of him who must serve a first tour of duty on picket after a fatiguing march.

1 June, '64. However, after an early breakfast we
were off for a hot march to NCAV Castle Ferry and formed lines of battle in a huge open field where nothing but muttering of distant artillery gave sign of Avar. After this had become tedious AVe we started off again, so nearly on our morning's track, as to indicate something Avrong in orders.

I doubt if the still ignorant line would have been better pleased had they then learned that our AVerily prolonged march last night and our broiling to-da}' Avere each un-called for, or at least misplaced, and, that, by the clnnisy error of a telegraph operator, an armA' intended for NCAV Cold Harbor had been sent to NCAV Castle Ferrv. There Avas no misunderstanding the effort made to correct the mistake. FeAV Avho shared Avill ever forget that ten miles of forced marchino- under a ferA'id sun and throu2:h clouds of dust. It was hard to prevent straggling. The men, comparatively unused, could not endure the double infliction. Am glad to say that the men of the Star Brigade set a good example to their fellows. We Avere pretty Avell winnowed of the straggling kind. Perhaps the sight of a portion of the 6th Corps, hurraing across, with closed files and Avell-preserved distances, in execution of one of Gen. Grant's flanking movements, had a salutary effect as example.

There Avas still some daylight Aven we crossed the last rise and entered the Avide valley which Avas to be the last resting place of so inau}^; the scene of suffering and trial to all. Already the bickering of the skirmish lines sounded like business. Our mass against the evening sky proved an irresistible temptation to some rel)el artillerists. Their shell went clattering, like steel-clad pigeons, over our heads and did "excite the special wonder" of our nCAA'-fledged Chaplain.

Cold Harbor is, or was, during the Avar, a stumbling-
block to American writers. Perhaps there were as many who wrote Cole or Coal as were those who spelled the word as I have above, and as it is now, I think, generally accepted. The name, as found in Virginia, may be assumed to have been imported, a reminiscence of home with an early settler who came from one of the one hundred and fifty Cold Harbors which are scattered over thirty-two counties of Great Britain.

Fifteen years before our fight, on that memorable 3rd of June, 1864, fixed indelibly on the memories of all Americans the name of a hitherto unknown Virginian hamlet, the question of the etymology of the name was raised in England, was discussed by the Society of Antiquaries, and had become a standing topic with the correspondents of "Notes and Queries."

They bandied it about till our war was over. They devoted no little research and applied great ingenuity, with no convincing result. Specious suggestions founded on the Latin, Celtic and other ancient tongues made the Cold Harbors by turns coal-pits, grain-bins and sheep-cotes. One thought them locations of Roman colonists; putting into the mouths of the unlettered people a possible contraction, used in writings which they could never have seen, viz.: Col arva. Another, discovering that the name was always used at a bend of the road, ransacked his Latin, and produced. Coluber, a snake.

Behind all these fancies was the sturdy fact that all along the Roman roads, from Basle through Britain, forts or stations had a name to which the people, as is evident from the persistent idea running through all the differing languages and dialects encountered by the Avay, attached the idea Cold, though we may never tell why.

No descendant of the Puritans, remembering the Avelcome refuge their fathers found in the block-house against
the incursive red-skin, will need explanation of the fact that Roman colonists looked upon their forts as havens or harbors from the blue-skinned Picts.

For a general statement of the Cold Harbor campaign I copy from Gen. Stannard's Report such parts as describe operations in which the 23rd had a share.

"Report of operations of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 18th Corps Army of the Potomac, from the 31st of May, when we landed at the White House, to the 20th of June when relieved from the command and assigned to the 1st Division."

"CAPTAIN,
In obedience to orders from Division Headquarters, that portion of the 1st Brigade which landed from transports, consisting of the 27th Mass., 55th Penn., 23rd and 25th Mass. Reg'ts, marched at 3 p. M. on the 31st of May, preceded by the 2nd Brigade from White House Landing, on the Pamunkey River, in the direction of New Castle. The 9th N. Jersey Reg't of this Brigade had not yet arrived. At 11 p. M. the command bivouacked in line of battle on the left of the road and parallel with it. The 25th Mass. Reg't was placed on picket. At 7 a. M. of the 1st of June, resumed the march, arriving at Cold Harbor, about 3 p. M. At 4 p. M., the command having been moved to the extreme right of our Corps line, the 55th Penn., were formed in line of battle on our right, and the three remaining regiments, by division mass were posted in echelon from right to left.

A few moments later, a division of the 27th, Major Walker, were deployed as skirmishers to cover the right and flank of the Division, and, at the same time, the 25th, Col. Pickett, were ordered to dislodge the enemy from a small redoubt in our front, which they easily accomplished. The remainder of the 27th was sent to the support of a battery of artillery."

The whole command now moved forward, the 25th Mass. on the right, joined by the 55th Penn. and 23rd Mass. on its left; the left of our line serving as a support to our first line which now became heavily engaged. The command lay in this position till eight p. M. when it was, by the direction of the General commanding Division, moved to the right, where it occupied throughout the night a line of rifle-pits from which the enemy had previously been driven, with a strong picket, consisting of three companies of the 25th Mass., in our front. The command lay in the position above indicated throughout the day, on the 2nd, and about 9 r. M., was ordered to extend its line, by deployment to the right, to form a junction with the 6th Corps and cover the movement of trains.
COLD HARBOR.

We lay in this position until daybreak on the 3rd, when, the trains having passed, our intervals were closed to the left, and, at 4 A.M., the whole command moved to the left. Having moved about half a mile, the Brigade was formed *en masse* by division, the 27th Mass. leading, and, moving rapidly across an open field under a sharp artillery fire, entered a piece of woods through which we moved in the same formation, our left resting upon the edge of a ravine. The column was formed in the following order, 27th Mass., Major Walker; 25th Mass., Col. Picket; 23rd Mass., Col. Ehvell and 55th Penn., Captain Shearer. The 27th Mass. was now deployed as skirmishers, and, moving up cautiously arrived at a distance of 350 yards of the enemy's works, when the command was ordered to charge over an intervening rifle pit and carry the works by storm.

The works, at this point, consisted of strong rifle-pits, converging to a small earthwork, mounting three light field guns, directly in our front, on the further side of a deep ravine, and situated at the convergence of an angle, the apex of which was towards the enemy. As soon as the intervening rifle-pit was cleared, and my command reached the edge of the ravine, it became at once evident, in view of the converging fire of musketry and the direct area of artillery which was cutting down each successive division as it rose the knoll, that it would be impossible for a sufficient number of men to reach the works, to produce any effect upon the enemy, and, as no concert of action on the part of other commands was apparent, I ordered the remnant of my command to retire to the rifle-pits, which they did in good order, holding the advanced line for more than two hours, when, having strengthened my second line with the 9th N. Jersey Vol., who had opportunely arrived, I withdrew to that line.

My loss in this movement was 31 commissioned officers, including all my staff, and 462 enlisted men. My command held this position until 11 p.M., when it was relieved by other troops and fell back to the second line of rifle pits.

On the morning of the 4th inst. the 89th N. Y. Vol. Infy reported to me, thus strengthening my command considerably. From this date till Saturday the 11th, my command occupied these rifle-pits, during which time, I alternated with the 2d Brigade, furnishing picket in front of our works. Nothing of note occurred during this time. My casualties were small, amounting to 3 officers and 50 men. On Saturday, the 11th, moved my command up to the first line, relieving Col. Steadman, 2nd Brigade. Remained there till Sunday evening. At 9 p.M. of this date, in obedience to orders previously received, I withdrew the main portion of my command from the rifle-pits, leaving my picket and the 55th Penn. Regiment as a support thereto, and marched rapidly to White House Landing where I arrived at 5 A.M. of the 13th."
When the brigade Avent into action on the Lst, Ass't Surg. Fish of the 27th and I made a little field-hospital, Avhere, before bedtime (perhaps professional caiies and duty postponed sleepiness), AVC received some fifteen Avounded. We Ave in a little hollow, sheltered on two sides—if one kept IOAV. AS the evening wore on, some­body to our right began sending Minie balls into our un­protected flank. A little closer hugging of our Avails and replacing of our Avounded saved us and them. Chaplain Record volunteered to bring up ambulances. I douit Avhether he knew the difficulties of his task, or if the driv­ers knew the dangers of our advanced positicni. In fact, they could not reach us in the darkness, but soon after daylight came up and carried away all our Avounded.

That third of June, it Avill be easily conceived, Avas a busy day in all the hospitals, and not least on the field Avhere the first dressings AA^ere applied. The first wounded, or the rumor of their coming, found us still abed. They were folloAved by an uninterrupted stream, till our Avorthy Chaplain urged that we should take a recess for dinner. To our answer, that dinner Avould be very AVCU at dinner­time, he shoAved us that it AA^as 3 p. M. Our llyiiig-column of reinforcements had brought no ambulances, at least, there Ave none at hand. We Ave compelled to make our Avouded as comfcn'table as possible under the shade of neighboring trees. After a time the ambulances of an­other corps, not so heaA'ily engaged, were kindly volun­teered, and, before dark, all the Avounded were on their Avay to or enjoying such additional comfort as the Corps Hospital afibrded.

My last recollection of Maj. Brewster Avas his expres­sion of comparative pleasure, Avlien, Avithdrawing my fin­ger from the depths of the Avound in his right .--shoulder, I assured him that the bone Avas untouched. About mid­night, Geu. Stannard first found time to have his wound
examined. It was very slight. A bit of shell had hit the very top of his boot leg, and, spending its force on the leather, had hardly penetrated the skin beneath. Lieut. C. S. Emmerton's wound was similar, though more severe. Something, never identified, had lodged among the tendons of his right arm, and a general agreement of the surgeons sent him, much against his will, to hospital till danger of inflammation was over.

One of the wounded corporals gives the following account of his experience, "I was on the Color Guard at the Battle of Cold Harbor, when I got knocked over. I hobbled out the best way that I could. I walked about halfway down to the landing when I got into an ambulance. There were hundreds of others just like myself, hobbling along down to the landing, some with their arms slung up and others holding on to their legs. I will never forget the sight when I was carried aboard the steamer at the Landing; the deck was completely covered with the wounded, some with their legs off and others with their arms off. We were carried to Washington, D. C."

For a day or two, the assistant-surgeons directly serving with the line, as distinguished from the operators and others at the Corps Hospital, remained with their hospital squads, a mile or so to the rear of the rifle-pits. We made a visit every day to the regiments, squatting among the men, in their incomplete, extemporized works, and dispensed astringents and anti-periodics. Occasionally a wounded man was brought back from the front. Capt. Woodbury of Co. 'F' came in with his shin barked by a ball which reached him, in what seemed a secure trench, by glancing down from a branch. A number of men, too sick for duty in the trenches, were with us.

Mails reached us. One evening we were enjoying ourselves from home by the light of a bit of candle under our shed-
ter. The commander of a reinforcement (said to be heavy artillery from Washington, and cavalry to the sounds of real war), whose full ranks darkened a neighboring opening, sent an orderly with the request that we should put out our light lest we draw the enemy's fire. We described the distance and intervening forests, and hoped we allayed their not entirely unnatural fears.

Our turn of real bother, if not danger, came next day. It seemed as though the rebels, failing to drive our troops from their blood-bought positions, had determined to make all at the rear uncomfortable. Two men, in a party like ours, were killed, within a stone's throw. We moved for a place of comparative safety. The shells followed us from point to point with as much precision as if we were in full sight of the guns. Finally, the rebel side of a steep hollow gave us safety from direct fire, but a cry uncomfortable sleeping ground. Next morning, as though aware that there were places in our rear safe from rifled guns, the rebels tried their mortars and dropped shells all about us in a perplexing way. It was as safe to stay as to go. After a while they stopped.

On this day, the 7th, am ordered, on my morning visit, to locate with the regiment in the trenches. Find, on returning to it, that my squad is again demoralized by shells that have been dropping near them, and I bring all up to the front.

Would that the ready pencil of some adventurous artist, or better still, the facile dry-plates of modern photography had been at hand to help me describe the trenches of the Star Brigade at Cold Harbor. Word-painting is hopeless. The ravine, which the ready eye of our commander caught as the only means of reaching the fortified plateau behind, is the chief natural feature. It forms a sort of covered away connecting the left flanks of the works,
which, crooked about to aA'oid the trees, occupied, Avith some approach to the regularity of a formation in column with regimental front, the nearer part of its right slope.

Farther up, and across the head of the raA'ine, are the works of the 2nd Brigade, of which more anon. In the open, to the right of the command, in a bigger pit, Avhere one may stand upright under the canvas cover made necessary by the absence of trees, is Gen. Stannard's quarters. Here he Avelcomed the medical staf*, pending the efibrts of the pioneers, Avho AA're set to dig a hole for their special accommodation.

Bear in mind that these AVorks Avere commenced by men crouching to escape the direct firo of the enemy at close range ; that the bayonet for pick, and the tin plate for shovel were the chief, and, in many cases, the only tools; that, even after three nights, Avith their comparative ease aud safety for Avork, had intei'A^ened, Aounds and death could only be escaped by constant vigilance and care.

Uninterrupted musketry at first filled the air with missiles, burving themselves in the banks, or streAviiry: the trenches with bits cut from the overhaniiing trees. After-Avards, vigilant rebel sharpshooters made a sure target of carelessly exposed head or hand. The rations Avere all cooked at some distance to the rear. One of the squad, bringing up food for the 9th N. J., had safely reached their second line. Hearing a row in the front line, and forgetting the prudence Avich had become natural t(j those living under fire, he peered over the Avail to see the row, and fell back with a ball through his head.

For five, long, June days, the rebels had refused us any opportunity to bury our dead. To-day the shifting wind had brought to their noses the scent of corruption which they had compelled us to endure. ToAvards night an or­der, Avich was said to have been addressed in turn to all
the medical-officers of a superior rank in the corps, and
had found all too busy to attend to it, came to me to go
out with a flag of truce and arrange for the rescue of the
wounded, and the burial of the dead.

There was little time for ceremony. Carrying a ram­
rod, to which had been fixed a sheet of lint, I climbed
over the Avorks. On the neutral ground, I met a Missis­
sippi Major, who speedily assured me — it needed little
demonstration—that all our men not already dead, had
been made prisoners by the enemy.

The little space between our Avorks and the old, well­
finished Avorks of the enemy was thickly strewn with the
dead. But—whoose dead? There were no colored troops
charming us. These faces are black as ebony. Five
lono" summer suns have changed our comrades to bloated
Ethiops. The all-devouring worms are pouring forth,
in diso-uting eruption, from mouth and nostril and ear.

There was little chance for recognition. Here and
there some comrade could certify the place where his
friend fell dead beside him. Capt. Wilcox, of the staff,
could be recognized by the badge on his coat, replaced by
some repentant rebel on his otherwise rifled body. For
the most part, the seventy-one bodies found were cou­
sined to a common grave "in one red burial blent."

First, it was necessary to collect and pile the muskets.
The rusty bayonets, hardly distinguishable in the gather­
ing gloom of the grove, were full of danger. While the
pioneer corps, under direction of Lt. Choate of G,' were
digging a long; trench, the stretcher corps engaged in
their painful task of bringing to the pit the decompos­ing
bodies. Somebody supplied the working parties with whiskey. One could hardly blame even the abuse of stim­
ulants under such circumstances. Long before our task
was over, curiosity brought a crowd of sight-seers, and I
was glad to find that the surgeons, too busy to initiate the work an hour before, had found a little opportunity for relaxation.

The short hour of truce once over, both sides resumed killing.

8 June, '64. The brigade pioneers dug a habitation for the medical staff. It was first on the right as you enter the ravine from the open field. It was some five by ten feet, and perhaps four feet deep on the deeper, rebel side, where all the earth was thrown up so that we could stand with some safety. Shelter tents, buttoned together, formed a screen from the sun. It was, on the whole, not so bad a place, albeit our olfactories suggested a horrible suspicion that the excavation approached the grave of something buried in '62.

Asst. Surgeon Fish of the 27th Class., Gillette of the 9th N J. and your historian slept, side by side, as if in one broad grave, at the inner end. Our "squads," stewards, nurses, cooks, etc., were the remainder. It was some little time before some of the men could refrain from clucking their heads when the occasional stray bullet, failing to find its billet among the fighting men, went 'zip' across over the canvas or 'thud' into the bank. We made daily visits along the trenches. Sometimes men came to us for advice between visits. One of these was avunculecl ly an exploding shell, while talking with the doctor at the mouth of our den.

The interminable noise of all manner of arms, never ceasing though not so heavy as at first, became a matter of habit. It did not interfere with our chat, our letter writing, or the making out of our reports and the triplicated papers which red-tape required for our supplies. Somebody procured dried peaches, a pleasing variety to the staple pork, hard tack and coffee.

11 June. The Star Brigade relicA'ed Col. Steadman's,
Avhich had, up to this time, been holding the most advanced lines. Only a few feet intervened between the muzzles of opposing rifles. Theirs, like ours, Avere only poked cautiously through holes prepared for them in the works. Bullets seemed, as it Avere, more intentional. They struck, or passed over, Avith a business-like direct­ness. Our predecessors had finished Avorks, Avhich seemed quite elaborate as compared Avith the jumble of ditches and banks Awe had been occupying. The outermost line Avas high enough to make a covered Avay for the tallest man without stooping. AYe found neat and commodious quarters for the medical staff.

Our location Avas a marked salient of the general line, and, perhaps for this reason, Avas crossed by three lines of artillery fire. One of these lines came from a mortar-battery; perhaps the same that hunted the field-hospitals so persistently a few days since. The shells did us no harm. They either Avent or of their mark, or Avere intended merely to make unhappy the non-combatants at the rear. They afforded a striking illustration of the power of the ear to analyze sound. By attention, one could distinguish the belloAV of the mortars but their distance left the noise of their explosion hardly louder than the clamor of the neighboring field pieces. Ever and anon, hoAvever, the cry would be raised, somewhere along the line, "There goes one of 'them things'" (a bit of army-slang of very various meanings, but of unquestioned application under these circumstances). All AAöild look up and easily descry, far above us, the bomb Avith its smoking fuse. NOAV, Avhether from the burning fuse or from the hurtle of the bomb through the air, I do not knoAV, but one could ahvaA's bear, in sjiite of the din about us, a Avliisper descending, as gentle as the sighing of a June breeze in the top of a lofty pine.

12 June. One of our three-ply lines of fire beo-au to an-
noy us by dropping bits of prematurely exploded shell. No one was hurt, but there were narrow escapes and stories of considerable loss, from the same cause, among our predecessors. We make complaint, and the battery, one of our OAVU, was stopped.

Orders came to prepare for a forced march. Twenty-three men were found to be unfit and were sent in advance in wagons.

Soon after dark we left the works, and formed en masse in a neighboring field. The rebels suspected the move, and felt for us with a Coehorn. Their aim was so inaccurate that the shelling, which might easily have been A'ery damaging, we were so near and so massed, was only a spectacle,— as it were, a burning of Roman candles.

Once well away from the lines, after tedious delay, the first thing the column met was—silence. For twelve days, waking and sleeping, we had lived on a noLsy battle-field. We were noAV plodding in darkness along a sandy lane. It was oppressive. Hardly were we accustomed to this UCAT sensation, when we encountered another. This time it was—nausea. Our road, towards White House Landing, led again across the cavalry battle ground. The unburied horses had lost no fragrance since their effluvia assailed us a fortnight before. To me, at the rear, a queer sound came as the troops went doAVn into a holloAV traversed by the road. The column was vomiting. Of course, there was some straggling, but, spite of all, through the hardest march yet encountered, we reached the Landing before sunrise.

13 June, '64. After noon, we got on board the big propeller, J Devenny. She had room enough, but was dirty, and had no accommodations. Our sleep on deck was only hazily interrupted by the SAvell, as we passed around from the York toAvards the James.
14 June, '04. At City Point, AVC were ordered to report at Point of Rocks. Gen. Butler met us near the Hospital, asked if AVC were pleased with our experience since leaving his command, and promised us a time for rest and refitting before resuming active operations. On this promise, a number of regiments settled down in bivouac in the woods near by.

15 June. We found that we were nearly deserted by our neighbors, who had gone to join their commands across the Appomattox and elsewhere. We, too, got orders to report to Gen. Turner, but, ere AVC were underway these orders were countermanded, and, selecting a camping-ground in shad) AVC just settled away for the night, when orders came again, and we started for the front, ^, to support the thin line holding the AVorks between the Appomattox and James rivers, thought to be threatened with attack. However it may have been with others, your historian was so little satisfied with his previous sleep, that he could not resist another nap in the saddle, with pipe lighted in mouth, at that. Soon after midnight, we settled down again at just that uncomfortable distance in rear of the AVorks, marked by the entire absence of sinks, which had 7iot been dug by our slovenly i)redecessors.

16th. Soon after nine o'clock, AVC moved out through our AVorks, and the strong but deserted AVorks of the enemy. There was a smart skirmish beyond, Avithout loss to our regiment, which pushed on with the column, to destroy telegraph and railroad. Delayed by attending to some Avounded of other commands, the regimental hospital squad, trying to overtake the column, was headed off in its course by one staff-officer, who said AVC were on the road to Libb^, and stirred up by another, Avhen Availing in supposed security, Avho assured us that to sit still
14 June '94. At City Point, AVC were ordered to report at Point of Rocks. Gen. Butler met us near the Hospital, asked if AVC pleased with our experience since leaving his command, and promised us a time for rest and refitting before resuming active operations. On this promise, a number of regiments settled down in bivouac in the woods near by.

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SURG. S. C. WHITTIER.
meant to be taken prisoners. We moved on our works with celerity. Our column was but just behind, and next, at no great interval, the rebels. Artillery fire opened immediately, and continued till midnight. The situation as things were before Cold Harbor, was restored.

SAMUEL C. WHITTIER, newly appointed Surgeon to the regiment, reported for duty on the 18th and was mustered in from that date. Dr. Whittier, third son of John and Hannah (Hanson) and grandson of Obadiah, is cousin to the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. He was born at Dover, N. H., 3 Jan., 1837, attended an Academy at West Lebanon in Maine, and was fitted for college at the Franklin Academy in Dover. He was graduated in medicine, at Harvard, in the summer of 1862, and four weeks afterward, commissioned Asst. Surgeon of the 11th Mass. Vol. Inf., which he joined at Fairfax Seminary, Va., on the 4th of September of that year. He had been with, or near, his regiment since that time and was among the operating surgeons of his brigade since the campaign opened.

After muster-out, with his regiment, he practised medicine in Lynn and E. Boston, Mass., and Great Falls, N. H. In the last place, 2s May, '68, he lost his wife (born A. Augusta Iluckins), whom he married 29 August, 1862. On 22 November, 1869, he settled in Portsmouth, N. H., and on 20 June, 1871, he married Miss Eunice C. Briant. He has had, and lost, one child by each marriage. In active practice at Portsmouth since 1869, he has met with desired success. He has been President of the Portsmouth and Stafford District Medical Societies, and is on the Board of Censors of the State Society. By appointment of the last named Society, he delivered the Valedictory Address to the Medical Graduates of 1879.

Your historian, having been, since the 4th inst, on duty as assistant surgeon with a surgeon's commission in his
pocket, Avas not displeased at the chance to report and be mustered for his UCAV duties. He left the regiment on the 20th of June. Although, as it happened, the chances of Avar brought them so near again, in the familiar scenes of North Carolina, that he had, for a time, at Kinston, the surgical care of the old Twenty-Third, he is, of course, compelled to rely, even more than before, upon others, for the details of the subsequent regimental history.

He Avas mustered in, as Surgeon of the Second Mass. Artillery at New Berne, N. C, 27 June, '64, and served as such, there, at Kinston and at the forts below Wilmington, till mustered out, Avith his regiment, at the end of the war. Since then, he Avas, for some months, assistant-physician at the NeAV York State Asylum for the Insane at Utica, N. Y., but has never attempted general practice. He is unmarried.

CASUALTIES AT COLD HARBOR.

KILLED.

Weaver, Norbert V., Corporal,
French, Charles L., 1st Sergeant,
Chase, Charles, Private,
Dow, Charles H., ((
Gould, Oscar E., ((

DIED OF WOUNDS.

Day, Charles C, Private, Co. C. Alexandria, Va., 20 June, '64.
Perkins, Isaac H., " E. Washington, 25 "
Stetson, George F., " H. Washington, 8 July,
Chellis, John F., " H. Washington, 20 June,

WOUNDED.

Brewster, E. A. P., Major,
Emmerton, C. S., 1st Lt., & A. A. D. C.
Edgett, Isaac H., " " " i;cg. Adj.
Sherman, James L., " " " Corporal, Co A.
Iticker, Francis M.,
Stirling, William S.,
Whitney, Jonas L.,
Johnson, Eben N., Private, Co. F, d. Andville, 1 July, '64,
Hardwick, Henry C, " H. Paroled.

There were but six companies in action. When Capt. Raymond of 'G' took his company and 'K' from our "\iontank" where there was no more room, to the transport "Thames," at City Point, he found nine companies of the 9th New Jersey Infantry already on board, and himself the ranking officer of the united commands. The Thames ran aground opposite Jamestown, hard and fast. On the 31st the ferry-boat "Winnisimmet" took the troops off, and carried them to near Fort Monroe when she in her turn ran
aground, and the men were taken off by the "Massachusetts". She succeeded in taking them to White House Landing, arriving after dark on June 1st. They were ordered to guard a train moving towards Cold Harbor, and only reached Massou's Hill that day. Next day they met the wounded in great numbers, hobbling from the front to hospital. An effort was made to secure the service of the detachment for another round of escort duty to and from the Landing. Capt. Raymond had had enough of this, and wanted to join his command at the front. He pushed his remonstrance personally till he reached Gen. Smith, commanding the Corps. The general was not displeased at this form of insubordination, and remarked that there would be little difficulty in filling their places for such duty, and, when he learned that they were to fill the gaps in his "best brigade," Avlich, according to positive orders, he had placed at the head of his column, he sent them forward gladly. It is not difficult to imagine their welcome in the trenches. Capt. Hammond of 'B' was sent with his company and 'A', out on picket early on the 2nd. After twenty-seven hours duty he was relieved, but could not find regiment or brigade. He encountered Gen. Martindale who sent him in to the relief of his sore-beset comrades. These two companies dug trenches a little to the right and rear of the regimental line.

ETHAN ALLEN PAUL BREAVSTER, son of Ira Allen and Mary (Avett) BreAvster, was born in Salem, 23 Nov., '37. After a full preparatory course in the Salem schools, he entered Amherst College, and was graduated with the class of 1858. His studies at the Harvard Medical School were interrupted by the war. He was 2nd Lieut, of Co. 'J,' 8th M. V. M., alias Co. 'A' 7th M. V. M., alias "Salem Light Infantry," alias, and much better knoAvn
MAJ. E. A. P. BRE"WSTER.
then, "The Salem Zouaves" (the company that helped to rescue and man "Old Ironsides," and brought her around to New York). Capt. Brewster's successful effort to raise Co. 'A' of the 23rd may be read in the first chapter. During the early months of 1863 he was acting-major and mustered in that rank on the 17th of August. His wound, received at Cold Harbor, still disabled him when he was mustered out at expiration of term.

He soon resumed his studies and graduated in medicine in 1865 at Harvard. He began practice at Janesville, Wisconsin. Here his first wife, Laura Alice, daughter of Calvert Phillips of Great Falls, N. H., whom he married 21 Sept., '61, and who had shared his life in camp in 63-4, died, 21 July, '69. At Escanaba, Michigan, where he reestablished his practice, at first in the employ of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, he married 21 Apr., 1873, Elizabeth, daughter of William Kingsbury of Escanaba. Here he not only secured a large practice, but made himself the centre of the social, religious and political life of the whole neighborhood. He wrote popular poems and plays, for which he drilled his actors and managed the stage. "He worked himself to death." He died, 5 April, 1877, leaving a widow and two children by her. "Everything having life—and locomotion—attended his funeral."
CHAPTER XII.

THE TRENCHES BEFORE PETERSBURG. BURNSIDE'S MINE. "OUR MINE." THE FRESHET. PICKLED-TRIPE AND AVATER-AIELONS. TO NEW BERNE. STEAMER FAAXX.

From the 20th of June to the 25th of Aug., '64, the regiment was in the trenches before Petersburg. They were, of course, not all the time in the very front, where men were shot through the head for peering through the loopholes left for rifles; where they bartered coffee and tobacco in the morning and exchanged bullets all day; where the head-board along the works, meant to screen the riflemen when taking aim, was riddled like a sice; where they threw hand-grenades and got them back whenever they failed to explode. Some what less than half the time, the regiment was at the rear, either in the comparative security of the camp, or in a sort of half-way Purgatory, whence it could help the skirmishers if pressed.

Such a life must have been full of incident, but the diarists fail to give it. Either the contempt bred upon the familiarity of veterans, or the difficulty of comfortable writing, make such diaries as I have seen very dull reading. Surgeon Whittier has been good enough to prepare a sketch of the regimental history during his connection with the 20th. From this and other sources, I have been able to compile a tolerably connected history of the regimental experiences for those parts, at least, of the last year when something was happening out of the monotonous routine of life in camp, or at the small outpost stations.

The grim humor of the situation, perhaps, excuse
the narration of one incident. A clump of small trees, between the lines, interfered with our fire and afforded shelter to the enemy. A party was sent out, after dark, to chop them down. They forgot that the ear may learn what is veiled to the eye. The first blows of the axes, drew the fire from the enemy's skirmishers. Of course, this fire was speedily returned from our side, and the chopping party, between two fires, had need to look for shelter. What seemed, in the half-light, rifle-pits deserted by the enemy were close at hand. Our men jumped into them, and stayed there in safety till the firing was over. But, another sense came into play. As they lay to escape the whizzing bullets, their noses informed them that the rebels did not dig, nor use, those holes for rifle-pits. The situation was horrible, but the alternative was worse. After that, they could make no exceptions to the adage "any port in a storm" of lead.

About the 1st of July, Capt. Raymond of 'G,' who, since had lost Col. Chambers and Maj. Brevster was disabled by his wound, was, practically, in command of the regiment, had another, and perhaps, the closest of his escapes from serious injury. I do not forget that the bullet which, hitting him in the head at Drury's Bluff, left him, for a time, unconscious, or the missile which passed just his right armpit, grazing his thorax and arm, at Cold Harbor, came very near his life. This time the immediate disability was more lasting, and the remote effects have never disappeared.

A few feet to the rear of the trenches, where the men spent their tour of duty, a pit had been dug for the accommodation of the officers. It was square, a few feet deep, and had forked stakes at the corners to hold a sun-screen of green boughs. On the sides towards the enemy, logs rested against the corner-posts, a sort of revetment to hold
up the eailh throAvn out in excavating. Two or three steps Avere cut in the stiff clay for easier access. Sitting on the bank near the stairs, and leaning against the log revetment, the Captain Avas reading a letter in fancied se­curity. A shot or shell, from some rebel gun, plunged through the heaped earth, struck the log on AWhich the Captain's shoulders rested, and threw him against the sharp-angled abutment of the stairs, and so to the bottom of the pit, Avhere it left him covered A with a confusion of logs, clay and boughs.

Examination proved a rib broken, another bent and a third bruised. Reason enough Avith most men, for re­course to the hospital and sick leave. Not so thought Capt. Raymond, who submitted indeed to the bandaging, but insisted that he could not be spared, and that his cure would progress as Avith in the trenches as anyAvhere else.

With the 29th and 30th of July came the regiment's share, which Avas very slight, in the fiasco of Burnside's mine.

"We were not relieved this evening but left the pits. The skirm­ish line and second line of works only are still held. Most of the troops are moving towards the left of the line. A fort is to be blown up. About 1 A. M. we started for the right of the 5th corps, where we were ordered to lie down in line till called for. At 4.30 A.M. we needed no calling. When the fort blew up it jarred the ground, and every mau ou to his feet in a moment. I thought the ground under me was caving in. We were held in reserve at the second line. The fire was the hottest and heaviest I ever heard."

AVhile waiting, in line of battle, for the momentarily expected order to advance, some distant rebel force began firing at the regiment. One of our men, a little shorter than Dr. Whittier and standing just in front of him, Avas hit and fell into the Doctor's arms. When asked Avether

33 Sergt. Brooks of 'A.'
he was badly hurt he spat out a mouthful of blood, expletives, teeth and a bullet which had broken two teeth and stopped no further harm. The Doctor fully appreciates the good luck, for him, which kept that bullet from exploring among the arteries of his neck.

5 Aug., '64. The date of what is sometimes called, by way of distinction "our mine." The subjoined account from the Neio York Herald is a graphic account of the affair in a general way. Sei'gt. AndrcA's of'A' adds some interesting detail and more minute topography

H. Qr., 18th Corps. In the Field, 5 Aug., Mid.

"From numerous deserters, that have entered our lines within the last week, it had been discovered that the rebels were mining in several places on our front. We were, therefore, fully prepared, though somewhat surprised, when at about five o'clock yesterday afternoon, a mine blew up between our line and that of the enemy, the explosion being immediately succeeded by rapid and successive volleys of musketry. The smoke from the explosion had hardly cleared away, when our men answered the rebel fire and drowned the rebel yell with their wild cheers of derision, at the failure of their mining operations. The enemy had, in all probability, intended to blow up a sap we had run out towards their line, and charge through the opening. They had, however, sadly miscalculated the distance. The explosion took place five rods in advance of the head of the sap. Not a particle of the debris was thrown into any portion of our lines, and the sharpshooters did not even think it necessary to abandon the sap. A mass of dirt, nearly 30 feet in diameter was thrown into the air to the height of nearly 100 feet. The enemy, seeing their mine a failure, satisfied themselves with rising behind their works and pouring in heavy musketry, mostly on Ames's front. The losses on our side were hardly greater than on an ordinary day's picket-firing."

Our second line, at this point, was among trees on the rebel-ward slope of a hill. The intervening valley was crossed by a zig-zag. The rebels were a few feet beyond the crest of the next hill, and our skirmishers in various pits and gopher-holes on its acclivity. A small log-house, on the line of our works, was well riddled with all manner
of missiles, but, perhaps, added something to the security of two bomb-proofs, so called (holes for shelter from direct fire and offering some protection from the flying bits of shells), near it. Here, for some days before the mine was sprung, the ear applied to the logs in the works, or, better still, to a ramrod thrust into the earth, could detect the sounds of digging. This part of the line, held by a small party representing three companies of the 23rd (and, of these, Co. 'F' by one Corporal), was separated from the rest of the regiment by loAver ground, so swampy that it had been left unfortified, and, of course, unoccupied.

The mine was more directly opposite that part of the line held by the rest of the regiment. They were, in fact, running the sap which the rebels tried to blow up. Even here, although the shock of the explosion threw down the gabions upon the men at work in the sap, very little of the material thrown up by the mine fell within our lines. Something, however, knocked Capt. Raymond over into the puddle at the bottom of our trench whence he scrambled up to direct the defence. Not till months after did he learn, what puzzled him for the rest of the day, how one of his shoulders became so Avet.

During most of the regiment's duty in the trenches, Dr. Whittier kept up a hospital on a hill to the rear. Here men, too badly used-up for duty at the front, found rest in a good air and comparative safety and received better care than they could find in the crowded base-hospitals. There were, usually, thirty or forty of them, but the individuals were constantly changing, as a few day's treatment Avould generally put them in good trim and courage to return to their duty.

15 Aug., '64. The great shoAver, so disastrous in some parts of the line, occurred Avhilc the 23rd Avas in the front.
line. Here they suffered no greater harm than a thorough wetting, which, however, was more endurable in the open than in the bomb-proofs whose leaky roofs streaked them with yellow mud. The rain, moreover, filled the excavations, turning bomb-proofs to cisterns and zigzags to canals, thereby giving those who must move from place to place the choice whether to be drowned or shot. In one place, our boys got some satisfaction by helping the accumulated waters cut a passage through a low place in the works and pour out upon the rebels, who, just there, occupied lower ground.

In the camp, or, more particularly, in the ravine in front of it, the damage was much greater. The protection afforded by the high, steep sides of the ravine from the direct fire of the enemy, was very enticing. Some regiments and some sutlers, failing to notice the marks of former freshets, or, lightly discounting the risks, had pitched their camps, mostly shelter-tents, and established their shops. Over most of these, shelters from the sun, made of green boughs laid on frames of poles, had been raised.

Even towards the hill-top, where the 23rd had its little camp, the rain was heavy enough to wash away all lighter articles and present to the men returning that night from their tour of duty in the "pits" a scene of wild confusion. He was lucky who could find even one corner of his shelter-tent still in sight and could thus rescue it from the overwhelming mud.

In the ravine, the water running from all the neighboring heights soon became a raging torrent. It swept away camps and shops like straws in a gutter. It rolled army wagons over and over before it. It swept away a section of the railroad bridge. Men, caught sleeping in their tents or hampered by the fall of the leafy shades, were
helpless. Nor could those on the bank render much aid, for the torrent carried their luckless comrades away as fast as they could run along to their rescue. Some, who, after the first rush of the angry waters, ventured in to "save" the coveted goods of unlucky sutlers, found themselves in a dilemma which was not without its danger. The current was still strong enough to make it impossible to climb the steep clay banks without help. Some accounts assert a loss of 40 men. I do not learn that this included any one from the 23rd. It is said that a man, with difficulty saved from very imminent death by drowning, was immediately killed by a stray rebel bullet piercing his brain.

Speaking of sutlers — some may recall that Slay brought up three barrels of pickled tripe. Captain Raymond "sampled" the article and arranged that the boys should have all they asked for, during three days, for twenty-five dollars. It was agreed that nothing should be paid if the tripe should be eaten before that time. NoAvAVO hundred hungry boys (in active service the stomach is always ready and its capacity seemingly unlimited) had no idea that the regimental fund should suffer if they could help it. AVhen the race came oS, May and the tripe were distanced. Again, one of the sutlers brought up one hundred and fifty water-melons. Some of the officers bought up the lot and distributed them. The boys found them a pleasant relaxation from the stern realities of Avar.

**CASUALTIES AT PETERSBURG.**

**KILLED.**

- Galletly, Fred. A., 5 Aug., '64, Private, Co. A.
- Morrill, Geo. T., 29 July, '64, " B.
- Tripp, AVm. IL, 16 Aug., '64, " D.
CASUALTIES AT PETERSBURG.

Barker, John A., 20 July, '64, Private, Co. I.
Saville, James R., " " "
Shattuck, Wm. W.," " "

WOUNDED.

Raymond, J. W., Captain, Co. G.
Andrews, Wm. A., Sergeant, " A.
Cummings, Wm. C, 23 Aug., '64, Priv., " G.
Lake, Noah J., Priv., " D.
Martin, Henry, 26 June, '64, " F.
Ayers, Jacob E., accid., 18 Aug., '64, " G.
Early, Wm. F., 25 June,'64, " I.
Grimes, Wm. H., 25 Aug.,'64,
Wentworth, Asa H ,
Mylod, Warren JI., 22 June, '64,

PRISONERS.

Romeo, John, 30 July, '64, Private, Co. B.
Ellis, John, 24 Aug., '64, " G.

On the 25th of August the regiment Avas withdraAvn from this front and marched across the Appomattox. As our boys toiled up the steep bank from the pontoon-bridge at BroadAvay Landing they found themselves in company Avith one-hundred-days men from Ohio, veterans of tAvo Aveeks and no battles, in full groAvl against their quarter-master. Their AA'^orst grievance Avas that no butter had been issued to them since their enlistment. Being assured by our Avar-worn wags that the 23rd Quarter-master issued butter regularly, they Avent on their Avay breathing threats of vengeance on their lazy and inefficient commissary

In a short time came the ahvays Avelcome pay-day, but the men were compelled to splice their patience, already well stretched, because, forsooth, the paymaster, although ensconced in a bomb-proof while the regiment Availed out­side, insisted upon packing off" to the rear and Avaiting till the rebel artillerists found some other target.
20 Aug., '64. Came the Avell-earned promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel of Capt. John W. Raymond of Co. 'G.'

4 Sept. At 8 o'clock P. M. came orders to proceed to Bermuda Hundred and embark for NCAV Berne, N. C. The regiment stopped over at Norfolk, to reclaim the camp-equipage and other property left behind, last Spring. There was a delay of three days for lack of transportation. It was natural enough that men who had been through four or five months of such uninterrupted active service should be quite ready for such dissipation as Norfolk could afford. All could be got together were hurried on board a transport which dropped down the stream. Here Corporal Thomas J. Peach, Jr., of Co. 'B,' in some unexplained manner, lost overboard and drowned.

Chance, or that sort of intentional accident which is apt to befall old soldiers, detained several men who next day secured passage on the steamer Fawn to rejoin their comrades by way of the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal.

These were:

| Evans, Henry B. | Private, Co. A, ( |
| Gunnison, Frank H. | ( |
| Gibson, Chas. II. | ( |
| Leary, Daniel. | " " " |
| Cashman, Michael, | Corporal, " H. |
| Eaton, Joseph, | Private, " D. |
| Fox, Charles, | " " " L |
| Wentworth, Asa H., | " " " |
| Emerson, George, | " " " K. |
| Proctor, John, | " " " |

10 in all according to Evans of Co. 'A.'

Beside the 23rd men, some recruits were on their way to join regiments at the front and five Colored Infantry acted as Guard.
It is not difficult to picture the scene. The little steamer, short and narrow that she may pass the locks, and of light draft on account of the shallows of Currituck Sound, glides puffing along between the dense ranks of dismal cypresses. Her passengers, with the happy-go-lucky carelessness of veterans,—thinking no harm so far from the front,—or, should I say, the usual fatalism of the soldier who so soon learns to throw all responsibility on his officers, are grouped about the decks. They chat and smoke and sleep—for the lack of sleep implied by five months active participation in the Virginia campaign of '64 is not soon retrieved.

They approach Coinjock and the bridge savings as if to yield the usual passage—an event hardly worth notice in a less monotonous voyage. Not so fast. Too soon for safe passage—too late for retreat—the bridge swings back and the boat is a helpless prisoner between the high banks of the narrow canal. A body of bush-hackers, glad of an opportunity to murder safely, pour a volley from the overhanging bank. Hardly a man escapes injury, although so far as our 23rd men are concerned, only one, Gibson of 'D' is killed and Fox of 'I' with two wounds, one perforating his body, is left for dead. The enemy, securing, as they think, the mail, and firing the boat, hastily decamp with their prisoners. HOAV hastily may be judged from the fact that the larger and more important part of the mail was afterwards recovered from the Avreck.

Four days a-foot took them to a log-prison in N. Carolina (perhaps Salisbury); they were taken thence to Wilmington, and to Columbia, S. C, where, by contrast at least, treatment and rations seemed fair and reasonable. Thence, after three weeks, to the horrors of Florence where
they found 12,000 fellow prisoners in one stockade to whom Avas doled a half pint of meal a day and even this pittance was withheld on any pretext — once for three consecutive days — and where, in the approaching winter, their only protection was the rags their own campaigns and their thieving captors had left to them. Still, most of them survived, their imprisonment being comparatively short, although one of them, Evans of 'A,' weighed but 90 pounds.
CHAPTER XIII.

NEW BERNE AGAIN. CAMP UNIT OUTPOSTS SOUTH OF TRENT RIVER.
CONSOLIDATION. END OF ORIGINAL TERM OF SERVICE. YELLOW
FEATHER. CORPS. WATERS. HOSPITAL. STEWARD PRIME. SIGNAL CORPS.
RECRUITING SERVICE. KINSTON. PROVOST DUTY IN NEW BERNE.
MUSTER-OUT. 23RD REGIMENT ASSOCIATION.

10 Sept., '64. Found the regiment on picket and outpost duty south of the river Trent. Companies 'C' and 'K' were at Croatan Station, on the railroad about ten miles from NCAV Berne; 'A', 'B', 'G' and 'H' were at EA'ans Mills, near the railroad, but not on it, and some five miles from NCAV Berne; 'D' and 'I' garrisoned Fort Spinola, and the rest were in a camp, named in honor of our late Lieut. Col. J G. Chambers, near Fort Spinola and about one and a half miles from the city.

21 Sept. The following order, which explains itself, was received.

Head-quarters,
SPECIAL ORDERS, ^


X. The term of service of a portion of the 23d Regiment Massachusetts Vol. Infantry, having nearly expired, the following orders in execution of the provisions of Circular No. 36, current series, from the Army Department, Adjutant General's Office, are published for the information and guidance of all concerned.

The re-enlisted men (veterans) and all recruits (drafted and volunteers), who have joined the regiment since the date of its original muster in, except those men enlisted under the authority of the Honorable Secretary of War, given to the Governor of the state of Massachusetts by telegram dated Washington, D. C, July 22nd, 1862, and published in General Orders No. 28, series of 1862, Commonwealth of Massachusetts; all those men who enlisted prior to the date of the orders referred to, AND AND RECEIVED NO BOUNTY; and those men who enlisted in the regiment
in the State of Massachusetts after its muster in, and prior to its leaving for the seat of war, will be formed into two companies of the legal militia standard. The remainder of this same class, not sufficient to form a company, will, at the same time, be organized as a company. The men who compose this last will be selected from those who have the least time of the whole to serve. These companies (new organization) will be designated "A," "B," and "C," and will be officered by the following named officers:

Lieut. Col. JOHN W. RAYMOND,
Capt. LINNY P. WOODBURY,
Capt. DAXIKL W. HAMMOND,
1st Lieut. FRANCIS M. DOBLE,
1st Lieut. WILLIAM E. Choate,
1st Lieut. ISAAC H. EDICTT,
1st Lieut. AVILLIAM G. BRAGDON,
Surgeon SAMUEL C. AVHITIER,
Regimental Quartermaster HENRY B. PEIRCE.

The companies will be organized in the following manner to facilitate future musters out:

Company "A" will be composed entirely of veterans. Company "B" will be composed of the remaining veterans, and of sufficient number of men (to complete the maximum organization—not veterans), who have the longest time to serve. Company "C" will be composed of the remainder.

The officers will be assigned according to present rank—the senior officers to the company longest to serve.

In the expectation that the regiment will be filled up, it will retain its designation—the 23d Massachusetts Volunteers—and the regimental colors will be retained by Lieut. Colonel RAYMOND. * * *

By command of Brig. Gen'l EDWARD HARLAND:

WILLIAM PRATT,
Actg. Assistant Adjutant General.

This order was unsatisfactory. It was hoped that an exception might be made, in the case of the 23rd, to the provisions of Circular No. 36. Home influence was brought to bear. The order was obeyed but, perhaps, a little languidly. Before anything was accomplished an order from Gen. Butler came, on the 5th of October, countermanding Special Order No. 146 and ordering a continuation of the ten-company formation.
LT. COL. JOHN W RAYMOND.
26 Sept., '64, Such of the original members of the regiment as did not reenlist, with those who enlisted early enough to be rated with them, started for home on the expiration of their term. They took the steamer Thorn for Fort Monroe, were quarantined four days, transferred to the Admiral Dupont, taken to NCAV York and thence, per steamer Charles Thomas, to Boston, where they arrived on the morning of Oct. 6th. After receiving the hospitalities of the city at Faneuil Hall, hearing speeches from Mayor Lincoln, Adj. Gen. Schouler and others, they were dismissed with orders to rendezvous at Lynnfield on the 13th for muster-out.

From about the middle of September till the Avelcomo frost killed the disease, New Berue was under the thrall of Yellow Fever. The out-lying regiments did not suffer much except among their men detailed for duty in the city. No one was permitted to enter the city unless driven by urgent necessity. One found little inducement to repeat a visit of curiosity to what seemed a dolorous city of the dead. The pall of smoke filling the streets, from fires kept burning at every corner, was hardly more sombre and depressing than the utter vacuity and stagnation. One only saw those whose duty it was to tend the fires nor met any but the burial parties of the numerous dead.

The regiment lost a number of men. Just how many is difficult to decide from the imperfect returns. The following deaths occurred during the epidemic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Iden K.</td>
<td>12 Oct., '64</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>'A.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph N.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks, Solomon</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph P.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph P.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry T.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>'B.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H.</td>
<td>6 Nov.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>'C'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaph S.</td>
<td>28 Sep.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landel T.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph P.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To most of these men belongs all the claim to heroism which comes to him who joins a forlorn hope and falls "i' the imminent deadly breach"—more aptly—to him who holds his post knowing that the enemy's sappers are burrowing daily nearer and that to remain is death.

I do not know that he is alone but there are certainly not many whose meed is greater than that of Corporal Henry F. Waters of Co. 'F.' He had been, more than two years, clerk in the General Hospitals. The time for which he enlisted had expired and he might have honorably sought safety in his Northern home. He remained at his post till all around him had been stricken down: till he himself fell and then, after a few days at Morehead, returned and remained till all danger was over.

Nor did the fact that he had been detached more than two years, in fact, promoted out of the regiment for the greater part of that time, help much the sorrow in the regiment at the loss of Billy Prime, once of 'F,' who died Sept. 27th. Though not of us he had been hearty in receiving and watchful in caring for all of us whom Avonds or disease had sent to General Hospital.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON PRIME, born in Charlestown, Mass., 28 Oct., 1840, was, at the outbreak of the War, a clerk with Brown and Price, druggists of Salem, Aviere he resided. He had been a member of the Salem Cadets. He enlisted as private in Comp'y 'F' and fully met all the duties of his station till the regiment went on outpost at Batchelder's Creek in April, '62. He acted as Hospital Steward during that duty and on our return Avas made
1st Serg. C. W. Brooks, ‘A’

Serg. P. M. Fowler, ‘F’
Serg. W. T. Fowler, ‘A’

‘m 4Kf

Corp. H. F. Waters, ‘F’

W P Chappie, ‘F’

W L. Welch, ‘A’
Apothecary and Steward of the Academy General Hospi-
Liec., '62. He was discharged for promotion and
warranted Hospital Steward, U S. A. He was retained
in the New Berne hospitals and, his merits being recog-
ized by successive surgeons, had, for some time been
Chief Steward (practically, in most matters, Executive
Officer) of the Stanley Geueral Hospital with its more
than a thousand beds.

While his fidelity and executive ability secured the es-
teeam of his superiors in rank he lost no friends among his
fonner equals and his untiring labors in their behalf se-
cured the love of the myriads of sick and wounded under
Ms care and of the other multitude of helpers Avho were
under his command.

Dr. Clayton A. Cowgill, Surg. V S. V., in whoso un-
avoidable absence the epidemic began, Avrites of him, 12
Oct., '64, "his great activity of character and entire re-
liability in every respect rendered him invaluable to this
Hospital and I had learned to respect him as a man of self-
sacrificing integrity and love him as a friend." Corp. II.
F, AVaters of Co. F', Avho had, in a parallel line of hos-
pital duty, the best opportunity for ol)servatiou, says of
him, 27 Sept., 'i4, "a good friend and the most useful
efficient man in the Hospital" * * "our loss—at this
time too Atien this scourge is ravaging the place aud bravo
men are rare—no one can estimate" * * "only Surgeon
Maver's^ death could possibly be so great a blow.

SIGNALLING.

It is not a little singular how few recollect anything of
the recrimental signal corps which was formed in the 23rd,
as well as in other regiments, in the summer of '62. The

Maj-er, Surg. 16th. Conn. V. I. at the time in charge of the Hoepital.
service seems to have been put under the charge of the Adjutant with a non-commissioned officer and a private detailed for the work; in the 23rd, Corp. Edgett and priv. E. C. Blossom of 'A'. By day they used flags; at night, torches (made up in paper tubes and held when fired in a handle like the stock of a pistol); in fogs, they had a code of signals on the drum. For some reason the system was but little, if ever, used among us, and was soon forgotten.

Not so with the regular corps whose novel antics were a source of so much interest during the monotonous days at Hatteras—the value of whose services we all so heartily recognized long before the cruel war was over.

Thinking that many of my readers would like some account of the true awkwardness of the "antics" aforesaid, I copy part of a description which may be found in "Bearing Arms," p. 517.

"A signal-kit consisted of staff, flags, torch-case and torches, half-gallon can of turpentine, and a haversack of wicks, matches and shears. The flags were made of muslin or linen, white with black centre for dark back-grounds— as woods or dark buildings—black with white centre for sky or light buildings, and red with white centre for use at sea or mixed back ground. Three sizes were used, six, four and two feet square, the four being known as the service flag. The signal staff consisted of four joints each four feet long, and the length used was governed by the distance to be signalled; usually three joints were sufficient. The flags could be read from one to twenty miles, as the atmosphere favored, a cloudy but otherwise clear day best answering the service. On such a day a message was signalled ten miles with a handkerchief on a twelve-foot pole. The torches for night work were eighteen inches long by one and a half in diameter, and when signalling with them a second torch was placed at the feet as an axis. * * *

Stations wishing to communicate with another would raise their flag (if at night, a torch), the signal officer with field-glass watching the station called, while the flag, or torch, was swung from right to left until the station called responded with two dips to the left. The officer called off the message, while the men signalled it; one or more dips to the right or left, or a combination of both motions, indicated a letter of the alphabet or an abbreviation or contraction of a word.
or sentence, and each of these motions was designated by a number. For instance — A was "22," two dips to the left and up to the centre; B "2112" one dip to the left, over to the right up to centre, down to right, over to left and up to centre; C "121" one to right, over to left, back to right and up to centre. Ends of words, sentences or messages were indicated by one, two or three dips to the front. A closely written page of foolscap could be signalled in from twenty to thirty minutes.

Lieuts. Lang of 'D' and Niles of 'H' with priv's Geo. C. Hardy of 'A', Edward H. Haskell of 'C', William F. Fales of 'K' and B. F. Peirson of 'E,' were detailed for duty on the Corps 26 Dec. '61, and afterwards Lt. Fisher of 'A' was detached for the duty.

They were required to satisfy a board of examiners before joining the Corps and then spent the short interval, between their appointment and the sailing of the fleet, in earnest study of their new calling. They had the schooner "Satterlee" to themselves and she gave them more than their fair share of hardship before entering Hatteras Inlet. For three weeks they were knocked about outside, at anchor off the Cape within sight of their comrades, and blown off again to the Gulf Stream and of course, for weeks on short rations. At last, not until the 28th of January, a tug brought them safely over the bar, where they were distributed to the various commands.

Lt. Lang, assigned to the Third Brigade, was on special duty, picketing the narrow passage into Croatan Sound, the night before the battle at Roanoke, and was first to open communication from shore to the fleet after the infantry landed. After the capture of Berne, he went with the column attacking Fort Macon and was stationed at Carolina City. Here he made several important captures of vessels and was of great service in directing the fire of our batteries against the fort. In one of the many expeditions, which he accompanied that summer, his horse
was shot under him and his \(OAVU\) shoulder lamed in the fall. He kept on till after the Goldsboro Expedition and then, "ruined by chills, lame shoulder and weak eyes — resigned."

Lt. Fisher, detached for duty in the Corps in Feb. '63, was for some time on duty in Virginia, mostly in the camp of instruction. After transfer to the Corps in Sept. '63, he was on duty in the Department of the South. He was first to open communication with Gen. Sherman, at the end of his "March to the Sea," "showing," as his superior reported, "ability and good judgment in the way he adopted to accomplish it." He was brevetted Captain of Volunteers and has, since the war, held the rank of Major and Brigade Quarter Master in the Californian Militia.

Priv. Haskell was made Sergeant and Acting Signal Officer, 9 Aug.,'63. Was slightly wounded at Chantilly and waved the flag on some twenty-six battle-fields. Except Fales, who was discharged for disability, all were transferred to the Corps.

One word for those who were performing, in later years, an arduous duty for which they got little credit with their comrades at the front. I refer to the Recruiting Service. Many supposed it to be a sort of prolonged leave on full pay, with little to do, and all the honors usually heaped on returned heroes. Let us see. Officers and men speedily learned that at the recruiting stations, they were liable, as before, to stand their fair share of camp duty. Guard mounting and dress parade were as unfailing as ever. The officers soon found that they were expected to make the soldiers, before they could lead them to the front.

The material, as a whole, differed greatly from the crowd of eager volunteers, who pressed forward in '61. Instead of our native boys, fresh from the schools and as
eager as they were docile, they found the heavy immigrant, clumping up to the line in his wooden shoes and calico jacket, and needing an interpreter at every step. Then, men came from the prayer meeting and brought it with them. Now, the desperado, ready with the bludgeon when the marked cards or loaded dice failed, enlisted only to reap a harvest from the pockets of bounty-laden comrades. Then, men argued with their surgeons for a little longer trial of their infirmities, and looked upon a drumming out as worse than death. Now, the deserting bounty-jumper roved from station to station and from state to state. If so closely attached that he could not escape till actually face to face with the enemy, he was ready for a double desertion then, if he could, in any other way, bag another bounty.

Let us suppose two hundred such men collected, and assigned to one of our lieutenants. His first duty was to march them to the clothing department and see them provided with all a soldier's outfit, except arms, and to promise a distribution of overcoats and mittens as soon as the canes and lanterns should arrive. Then came instruction in care of themselves, their clothing and quarters, not forgetting unceasing drill in facing, marching and the simpler movements.

In time came the order to the front. They might or might not be sent forward under the orders of their instructors. Whoever commanded them, undertook an arduous task. At the stations every artifice was tried to procure intoxicating liquors. On the road the hungry bounty-jumpers risked their lives through the windows of moving cars, although every cent of previous bounties had been taken from them before starting; to be restored on reaching their regiment. Whatever officer went among them must do so, revolver in hand. Guards with full
cocked rifles hung to the rear platforms, ready to shoot Avithout Avord. AVhen forwarded by sea, the recruits could not Avell desert on the passage, but could give their escort much more trouble. One of the diarists paints a picture of such a passage. It Avas stormy and the usual discom­forts of a short sea-voyage Avere added to tlie pandemonium Avhich raged below Recruiting duty Avas not all pleas­ure.

We are approaching the end of the Avar. The 23rd is to be ealled upon for its last service in the field. Gen. Sherman's army has been leaving its smoking trail across the Carolinas. He has been subsisting largely upon the country but must soon seek a base for rencAved supplies of ammunition and such stores as the conquered country can not furnish. NOAV comes the opportunity for Avhich Ave took Xew Berne nearly three years ago and for Avhich Ave have held it since.

"Several things combined to make NCAV Berne a more useful base of supply for Sherman than Wilmington. The harlorat Morehead City and Fort Macon Avas abetter one than that at the mouth of Cape Fear River, and would admit vessels of a deeper draught. The railway betAveen the harbor and NCAV Berne, some forty miles long, Avas in operation, Avith some locomotives and cars already there, Avhile nothing of the kind Avas at Wilmington, the enemy having carefully removed all raihvay rolling-stock on that line. From NCAV Berne, much of the Away to Kinston, through the Dover Swamp, the iron Avas not so injured that it might not be used again, and the reconstruction of the railway by that route Avould be both easier and more economical. As, therefore, a safe base was assured for Sherman in case of need at Wilmington, Schofield turned his attention to preparing a still better line of communication from NCAV Berne to Goldsboro. Several thousand
convalescents returning to Sherman's army had been sent from Washington to Berne and a division of new troops, under General Ruger, assigned to the Twenty-Third Corps, had also been ordered to proceed to that place. The old garrisons of the district would furnish another division."

The force improvised to take, rebuild and hold the railroad to and beyond Kinston was a queerish medley. Numerically, I fancy, the larger part were Westerners. They were a new type to most of us. Long, slim, swarthy, capable of getting over much ground and pushing forward with every appearance of cheerful alacrity they were apparently undisciplined and seemed never to have so much as heard of any deference due to superior rank. An amusing illustration of their readiness for fight was provided by one of their number attached to the 23rd whom Col. Raymond brought to me while we were on the march.—A battalion of the 2nd Mass. Art'y was in the column, acting as Infantry.—The man had well-marked small-pox, one of the rare but well known, "walking-cases," so called. When told what ailed him he was very anxious to be allowed to go forward to what he supposed was the impending fight and could hardly be persuaded to go to the rear and report in the Hospitals at New Berne. Some days later we found their real value in the field. The battalion of Mass. Art'y held a place in an extended line of improvised breast-works. There was a threat, or rather rumor, of attack by the enemy. Suddenly, the Massachusetts boys—themselves, with a sprinkling of veterans leavening the mass, green, and under fire for the first time—found their battalion all alone as far as they could see on either flank. The attack did not come off. The runaways

"Gen. J. D. Cox, "Campaigns of Civil War."
slipped back to their places and no harm was done. Something must be allowed, of course, to their very recent re-formation and the fact that some of their so-called regiments represented almost as many different organizations as they comprised individuals.

The ball opened on the 7th of March, 1865. There was a general advance, especially of Palmer's division towards Kinston *vict* Jackson's Mills on South West Creek. There was little during this day but a not very active artillery duel and a gradual pushing of the rebel skirmish line till both lines were at or near the Creek. Just before dark the 2nd regiments ordered into position on the extreme right. Both sides settled down to a quiet night with a very short distance intervening.

8th March, '65. Rebel wagon-trains could be seen in motion. Men, not unnaturally, recollecting how easily they gained ground yesterday, supposed this was a general retreat of the rebels. The events of the day fairly disabused them of the idea. The Confederates were in sufficient force and proposed to whip Palmer, in the process breaking up the right wing of our line of battle, and then easily driving back, perhaps capturing, the whole column. On the left of the division front, largely by the remissness of the cavalry outposts allowed the rebels to throw a large force undetected on our left rear. Col. Upham's brigade was surprised and, spite of the brilliant and stubborn defence of the 27th Mass., captured.

At the same time there was a sharp attack all along the line. Most of the regimental loss was incurred in the party of skirmishers as they were driven back to the regiment. Partly by stress of this attack and partly to meet the force which had overwhelmed Upham, the line was withdrawn to the British road. The orderly, carrying the order for this movement, failed to reach the 23rd which was separated
from the line by intervening swamp. When the order to withdraw finally reached Col. Raymond, he had not yet been informed of the mishaps and change along the line and, strongly impressed with the value of his position as commanding of a bridge across the Creek and the road to Kinston, sent word to Gen. Harland commanding the brigade, that he could hold his position alone but, if neither reinforcements nor fresh ammunition reached him in an hour, he would fall back as ordered. About this time, Lt. Col. Sprague of the 2nd Mass. Art'y came up with a battalion of his regiment under command of Major W. A. Amory. They held the place together for some time and then fell back to the main line which they found in expectation of attack by the enemy in force.

An interesting light was thrown upon these occurrences by one of those post bellum chats which, throwing light from both sides, make a battle more intelligible. Certain rebel officers, who had been in command opposite to the 23rd that day, meeting Col. Raymond, insisted that they had whipped him. To his rejoinder—that he didn't know it—they said that was just the thing that puzzled them and that his obstinate holding on to his exposed position made them fear some trick and prevented them from an attack which, they claimed, they had sufficient force to make easily successful.

The same day, the 23rd was moved to the left of the division line to meet an attack, which was easily repulsed and then back to its place at the right where it remained, until the rebel force, having been repulsed with great loss, from their attack, in force, on the left of our army, had crept away to escape being caught between us and the column coming up from Wilmington. We all went, unhindered, into Kinston.

At Kinston the regiment was posted at the site of the
burnt bridge, destroyed by the rebels in their flight, to guard stores which had accumulated there and the pontoon-bridge which was soon in place.

CASUALTIES AT KINSTON, MARCH, '65.

### KILLED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pulsifer, David F.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Nathaniel W.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clark, Michael</td>
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### WOUNDED

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doble, Frank M.</td>
<td>Lieut.</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, Leverett</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morey, B. F.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snapp, Phil. J.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons, John D.</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, William W.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrest, John</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crosby, John F.</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Joseph C</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassett, Burgess</td>
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### TEMPORARILY ATTACHED.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boyles, Luther</td>
<td>12th Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desbin, Charles F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Charles T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WOUNDED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McVay, J. E.</td>
<td>12th Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quick, Geo. W.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, Israel</td>
<td>9th Iowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, C. J.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahoney, Michael</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redding, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Neal, William</td>
<td>48th Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shehan, William</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Charles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


During the battle Dr. Whittier was operatio- suro-eou
CHAPLAIN LEWIS L. RECORD.
in chief and, as such, established and controlled the field-
hospital near the rail-road a little distance to the rear of
our lines.

After a few days, Dr. Whittier succeeded Dr. Wood in
the charge of the Lenoir General Hospital. It occupied
the Episcopal and Methodist Churches, the Odd FelloAv's
Hall, Riddle's carriage-shop and the Pavilion Hotel. With
accommodations for about five hundred, the patients, at
one time, nearly reached seven hundred.

Dr. Whittier writes me as follows.

"This hospital, "Lenoir General," as it was called, was a big affair. After
the first two weeks we got it down to about two hundred and fifty. I was
allowed live assistant-surgeons as helpers and we had
very hard service for awhile, but finally got it down to good Avorking-
order; feeding our men on the best that could be obtained not only
from the government but from the citizens and sutlers.

By judgment and care in issuing, or rather in making my requisi­
tions, I was enabled to save a large credit to the hospital-fund; sav­
ing, on an average, about fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars a
month. With this money I could and did buy all the delicacies and
substantials that I wanted: such as milk, cheese at fifty cents a pound
and preserves at one dollar and a half a pound. I remember one pur­
chase of ninety pounds of butter at one dollar and a quarter a pound,
but I did not care. I was determined the brave boys, when they got
sick, should have the best that I could get for them, and I guess any
and all that were with nie in the hospital will remember the surprise
that they expressed when I issued butter and cheese to them. One
fellow remarked that if it had come to that, that if we were going to
issue cheese, preserves and butter he would be d — d if he would stay
and if he had got to eat butter and cheese he would go to his regi­
ment. I felt that although I need not save any hospital-fund or even
supply any delicacies yet it could be done and it belonged to the boys
and I preferred to have them have it to its being turned over to the
government."

25 Mch., '65. Our chaplain, LEWIS L. RECORD, Avho
had a severe attack of yelloAv fever and had never entirely
recovered, went home on sick leave. He Avas mustered
out on the 15th of May on the general order giving honorable discharge to all officers disabled at home. His earnestness in the cause and faithful discharge of his duties had secured for him, in the regiment, the high estimate which his sincerity and moral courage had earned in his profession. He was born in Minot (now Auburn, Me.), 1 Sept., 1816. He was graduated at Bowdoin college in 1845. He married in September of that year. He was first settled in Houlton, Me., and there lost his first wife. His other pastorates were at N. Scituate, and Annisquam Mass. He married again in '52. Ill health prevented him from continuing preaching for a time after the war, but in April, '70, he was settled, over the Universalist Society, at Marlborough, N. H., where he continued his labors till within three months of his death on 7 Dec. '72.

Little of interest occurred unless I record the alarm of March 28th. Communication with Gen. Sherman had been established; the larger part of our forces had gone on to join his army; a garrison, rather small to man all the works of Kinston, remained; the "innumerable caravan" of six-mule teams had filed, for days together, across the bridge and followed the column in order to haul supplies from the end of the rail to the troops; the rail was working to its full capacity; long trains of platform cars passed daily with nothing but huge piles of boxes of "hard tack" when, one day the cavalry brought positive information that a heavy column of rebel cavalry was approaching to attack Kinston. We were all out from before daylight but no enemy appeared.

It was during these early Kinston days, while Surgeon S. C. Whittier had charge of the Post Hospital, that your historian had the 23rd put under his surgical care and rode daily to the camp at the bridge to receive assurance, gen-
generally, from Hospital St. Avard Booth that nothing had occurred out of the ordinary routine.

30 April, '65. The 23rd was ordered to New Berne.

3 May. "The Colonel Comd'g directs that you" (Lieut. Col. Raymond) "will remove your regiment to Camp Distribution beyond Fort Totten which you will take charge of, relieving Capt. J. H. Nutting of the 27th Mass. Vol. Infy, whose small command is insufficient to control the number of men in that camp. These men will be sent away as fast as possible."^^

"We soon restored order and in a few days all the men were sent away but a handful of colored troops."^"^ ^

A few days after, some trouble in New Berne was the occasion of the 23rd being sent back to New Berne for duty on the Provost Guard, of which Col. Raymond was to take command. Having their choice whether to occupy barracks or a camp, they preferred the latter and pitched it just inside the works and a little to the right of Fort Totten. The officers of the guard were furnished horses by the Q. S. I. Dept. Guard mounting took place on the open square or Broad between Middle and Hancock, one of the burnt districts of 1862.

15 June. Orders were received to make out mustering-out rolls. 25 June, 65. The regiment was mustered out by Capt. J D. Parker, 2nd. Mass. Art'y, Act'g M'g officer. They took the steamer Gen. Meigs at Morehead City for New York, from there by steamer to New Haven then by rail to Boston where they were ordered to Readville where they remained till July 12th, when they received their final discharge and payment, and were disbanded as an organization.

so Orders from Head-quarters Defences of New Berne,
s' Notes of Col. Raymond.
Col. Raymond, in "Massachusetts in the Civil War, for 1865" p. 354, says: "In closing my narrative of the regiment, I cannot refrain from speaking a few words in commendation of both men and officers during the time I had the honor to command them. Their excellent conduct while in camp or garrison, their coolness and bravery under fire, their vigilance and fidelity at all times displayed, entitle them to the highest praise, and has won for them the approbation of all who have been in command over them. Rest assured that the Twenty Third Regiment as an organization, never brought discredit upon their native State, and I shall count it the greatest honor of my life that I have been privileged to command them."

TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT ASSOCIATION.

26 Sept., 1871. Certain "resident members of the late 23rd Regiment" published a card in The Salem Gazette calling attention to the proposed Regimental Reunion to be held on the following Thursday the 28th. An unexpectedly large number attended the meeting and formed "The 23rd Regiment Association." They elected Surgeon George Derby, President; a long list of Vice Presidents; Henry B. Peirce, Adjutant; W. H. Beckerman, Q. M, and Treasurer and Wesley C. Sawyer, Chaplain.

After Dr. Derby's death. Col. Kurtz was elected President each year during his life and, since his decease. Col. Raymond has been chosen to that office. II. B. Peirce
has filled the post of Adjutant from the beginning and Wm. L. Welch has been elected Q. M. and Treasurer, since the third year. Meetings have been held annually. In Salem five times, in Beverly and Marblehead twice each, in New Bedford, Gloucester, Boston, Lynn and Newburyport, once each.

Attendance has, naturally, varied with the location and ease of access and has averaged about 125.

THE END.
The Roster,


The alphabetical form of the roster is, so far as the writer knows, a novelty in military histories.

In the ordinary form, which retains the distinctions of rank and is based upon the forms of military organization, one must know nearly all that the roster can teach merely to find a name.

As the years go by and the number, already small, of those who know that a given name is on the list and in what part to seek for it, diminishes, the chief use of a roster will be to determine whether a name can be found at all. For this purpose the ordinary form compels a search through not less than twelve lists. In this roster the name will be found with all the readiness with which one finds a word in the dictionary, and when reached will give all the military life of the individual and reference to more extended notices in the text. Those, however, who desire it, will find the roll of the original organization with lists of recruits, next following the roster.

It is a matter of regret that the roster is necessarily so incomplete. The committee sent circulars to more than four hundred survivors. Less than one-third answered. Recourse was then had to the files at the State House and a copy was made, by an experienced hand, of all that could be found there. This list, modified by the returned circulars and other best obtainable authority, is before you.

It was soon evident that no exact date of discharge could be found in many cases. Sometimes four dates were given for one fact. All, therefore, who did not reenlist, are entered as discharged at expiration of term of service, and all, who seemed to have been on duty up to that time, as discharged at end of war.

The recapitulation (see p. 255) differs much from that in the "Record of Massachusetts Volunteers." In that the total of 1710 is reached, apparently, by counting the reenlisted twice and the promoted for each rank. Some names appear four times. My total, 1380, includes all the individuals found, and might with fairness, be reduced by some
fifty names of faint-hearted volunteers, of bounty-jumping deserters or of rejected men who did no duty whatever.

"Dead otherwise" includes cases of drowning, suicide, etc.

"Discharged for promotion" includes those only who were promoted in other organizations. Forty-eight others were commissioned, though not all mustered, in the 23rd.

"Discharged otherwise" contains, besides the band, mostly, men who were on detached duty or in hospital when the war ended and were discharged by order.

"Deserted." A large part of these never really joined the regiment in the field.

"Transferred." Mostly to the Veteran Reserve Corps.

"Unknown." 28 of these are merely names on the rolls. The others have by some chance, no record of their muster out.

"Reenlisted." Some into other organizations.

Beside the ordinary abbreviations of titles, etc., the following are used in this Roster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>Acting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andville</td>
<td>Andersonville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appd.</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrd. Ch.</td>
<td>Arrowfield Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bd.</td>
<td>Buried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bchdr. Ck.</td>
<td>Batchelder's Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bevly.</td>
<td>Beverly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. H.</td>
<td>Cold Harbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co.</td>
<td>Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commd.</td>
<td>Commissioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpr.</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordr.</td>
<td>Cordwainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detchd.</td>
<td>Detached</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detld.</td>
<td>Detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disch.</td>
<td>Discharged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnvrs.</td>
<td>Danvers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnvrspt.</td>
<td>Danversport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dys. Bff.</td>
<td>Drury's Bluff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrd.</td>
<td>Enrolled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm.</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for dis.</td>
<td>for disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glouc.</td>
<td>Gloucester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lpsh.</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>Mariner</td>
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<tr>
<td>3Lard.</td>
<td>Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mhead.</td>
<td>Marblehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mus.</td>
<td>Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Bdfd.</td>
<td>New Bedford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nbpt.</td>
<td>Newburyport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Bne.</td>
<td>New Berne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. W. D.</td>
<td>Order War Dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plymh.</td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pbg.</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beend.</td>
<td>Reenlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bej.</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Res.</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bke.</td>
<td>Roanoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
<td>Transferred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd.</td>
<td>Wounds or wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whall.</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


THE ROSTER. 259


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Civilian Occupation</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Enlistment Date</th>
<th>Discharge Date</th>
<th>Cause of Discharge</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corp. Oct., '64</td>
<td>Serg. 9 Nov., '04</td>
<td>Commd. 2nd Lt. July, '05</td>
<td>Disch. end of war</td>
<td>Shoe-cutter, Bevly.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Forage Master from Nov. '63 till disch. exp. of term.
Sept., '64. See pp. 123, 196, 199.
Aug., '62.
Sing. Enrd. 21 Sept., '61. Reend. Wd. C. H. Corp. 1 Sept.,
See p. 219.
Carney, Dennis. Co. G. Bevly. Farm. b. in Roxbury, '20. Enrd. 1 
18 June, '62. Reend. 1st Serg. 3 Dec, '63. Disch. end of 
war.
'61. Ambul. Corps.,'64. Disch. exp. of serv.
town.
21 Sept., '63 to V- R. C.
Disch. end. of war.
See p. 230.
'61. Died 4 Sept. '63. N. Bne.
'62. Disch. exp. of serv.
No. 1541. See p. 69.


Chateauvoire, Peter. On des. roll of Co. H.


THE ROSTER.


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THE ROSTER.


Sept., '61. A'd. N. Bn'e. Disch. for dis. 28 May, '63. See p
69.

01. Div. Teamster, '64. Disch. exp. of serv.


Dollard, Robert. 3rd Serg. Co. E, b. 14 Mch., '42, Fall River, Mass
Sept., '64. "The last prom, for great personal bravery, coolness
and ability, until he fell severely Avounded near the enemy's mail
line." W'd. at New Market Heights. Disch. end of war. Pensioi
$20. Solicitor. Sc^otland, Bon Homme Co., Dakota. See pp. 29
30, 125-02.

Donagan, Maurice. Unassd. 35. Melrose. Labor. Sing. Enrd. t

Donovan, Dennis. Co. C, 18, b. Cork Co. Manchester. Farm. Sing
p. 128.


'65. Disch. end of war.


Oct., '61. Died 4 June,'63, Carolina City, N. C. Bd. N. Bn'e. No,
1726.

Disch. exp. of serv.

21 Sept., '01. 2nd Lt. 6 May, '02. 1st Lt. 29 Dec, '02. Res. 13
Dec, '03. Ag. Adj., 21 Feb., '63.

Driver, George H. S. Co. F, b. at Salem, 4 Feb., '42. Dnvrs. Clerk.
Sing. U. D. C. Enrd. 7 Oct., '61. Detld. Commy. on High­
lander. Disch. for dis. 28 Sept., '62.

See pp. 39, 105, 139.

See p. 127.


Disch. as Serg. end of war.


THE ROSTER. 281


THE ROSTER.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Co/Corp</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Enrld. Date</th>
<th>Discharge Date</th>
<th>Reason for Discharge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gunnison, John H.</td>
<td>G, 43</td>
<td></td>
<td>Topsfield Farm</td>
<td>22 Sept., '01</td>
<td>5 Sept., '62</td>
<td>for dis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, Alfred J.</td>
<td>Mus G, 26</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bevly. Cordr. Mard.</td>
<td>20 Sept., '61</td>
<td></td>
<td>Co. tailor, '64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Mard. Enrd. 7 Aug., '02. RegL Bugler, 24 Mch., '63. Trans. to
V R. C, 29 Feb., '64. Disch. exp. ofserv.
Kent, AVilliam L. 1st Lt., Co. H, b. Portland, Me., 9 June, '35. Bos­
A. A. I. G. Heckman's Brig., Jan. '03. Of F. & D. of N. Bne, Mch.,
'63. A. C. M. Dist. of Va., July, '03. A. A. A. G. of 1st Brig.,
18th Army Corps, 3 June, '04. Of 1st Div. 18th Corp. 20 June, '64.
AAD. Fort Harrison, 30 Sept., '64. Disch. by reason of wd., 24
Keyes, Sumner W Co. H.
exp. ofserv. Pens. §i,. See p. 128.
Disch. exp. ofserv.
Eurd. 16 Sept., '01. Disch. for dis. 15 Apl., '02.
Aug. '01. Disch. for dis. 20 May, '02.
'61.
King, Rufus. Drummer, Co. F, b. 13 Oct., '47 at Bath, INe. Somer­
Oct., '03. Died, Nov., '84.
Libby, 6 Aug., '64. See p. 195.
235.
Oct., '61. Disch. for dis. 8 Sept., '02.
Kittredge, George W 18, unassd. Bevly. Enrd. 10 Feb., '64. Rej,
21 Feb., '64.

THE ROSTER.


La Point, Samuel. 23. Unassd. S. Dnvrs. Enrd. 5 July, '64.


THE ROSTER.


M

'61. Suicide, 16 April, '02. Bd. N. Bne. No. 1538. See pp. 40, 
80.
'61. Disch. for dis. 4 Mch., '62.
p. 197.
01. Disch. exp. of serv.
Oct., '01. Disch. dishon., 2 Dec, '01.
Enrd. 15 Feb., '05. Disch. end of war.
128.


THE ROSTER.


Matthews, David AÀ' Co. H.


Boston.


THE ROSTER.


Pearson, E. H., see Rounds, Co. A.


Pratt, Henry M. Co. H, Boston.


Putnam, Edward B.  Co. F, b. 23 Jan y, '46, Dnvrs.  S. Dnvrs. Print­
Reend.  Disch. end of war.
Disch. for dis. 8 Sept., '02.

Q

196.
Disch. end of war.
Disch. for dis. 14 Jan'y, '03.
Disch. exp. of serv.

Disch. for dis. 19 Nov., '63.
Disch. exp. of serv.
Disch. exp. of serv.
Enrd. 20 Sept., '61.  Reend.  Corp. 1 Jan., '65.  Disch. end of
war.
Mard., three sons.  New Haven, Conn.
Aug., '61.
sick Sept., '04.  See p. 196.
Bff. and C. H. A Maj. 20 June, '64.  Lt. Col. 29 Aug., '64.  AVd.


1st Lt. 40th AI. A' I. Capt. 9 June, '63. Disch. for dis. 25 Jan'y, '04.
Ryan, James. Co. B, 43. Trans, to V R. C.
S


THE ROSTER.


Shute, see Chute.


Stickney, AVUliam F. Co. C. Enrd. 12 Feb., '64. Rej. 21 Feb., '04.


'01. Disch. for dis. 16 Aug., '02. d. 5 Alch., '85.
Enrd. 30 July, '62. Reend. Corp. 1 Alay, '04. Serg. 1 Sept., '64.
1st Serg., 3 Oct., '64. Commd. 1st Lt., 14 Oct., '04. Disch. as 1st
Serg. end of war.
'01. Disch. for dis. 16 Aug., '02. d. 5 Alch., '85.
'61. Disch. for dis. 8 Sept., '62.
1st Lt. in AVild's Brig. 1st N. C. C. T.
G, 8th M. V M. 3 mos. serv. Enrd. 1 Sept., '61. 1st Lt., 8 Oct.,
Disch. exp. of serv.
'01. Disch. for dis. 1 Sept., '02.
July, '02. Disch. for dis. 7 May, '03.
'04. Disch. 4 June, '04 at C. H. for appt. as 2nd Lt.
'02. Disch. for dis. 11 Alay, '03.


Trask, Joseph E. Unass., 18. Salem. Enrd. 25 Jan., '64. Rej. 27 
Jan., '64.
20 Sept., '01. KUled, Pbg., 16 Aug.,'64. See p. 228.
Trowt, Andrew D. Co. F, b. 16 June, '42. Wenham. Farm. Sing.
of serv.
Enrd. 28 Oct., '61. Reend. Corp. 30 Mch., '64. Serg. 24 Oct.,
'64. Disch. end of war. See p. 40.
Disch. fordis. 5 Sept., '63. Reend. 15Feb., '64. ("Died 18 Sept.,
'64, So. Dnvr. Mass.," Rec.)
'63. Disch. end of war.

XJ

'01. Disch. exp. ofserv.
'61. Guard Cout. Cainp, N. Bne., '64. Disch. exp. ofserv.


THE ROSTER.


THE ROSTER.


'84. Was rep. to Gen. Court, '70. Wid. two chn. See pp. 8, 209,
234.

p. 105.

'62. Disch. for dis. 26 Mch. '63.


120.

Wright, Dennison A. Band. 2nd Cl. Mus. 20. Lowell. Inst. mak.


'61.

'61.

Disch. exp. of serv.
THE ROLLS

A LIST of THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS, OF THE TWENTY-THIRD MASS.

VOL. INK. WITH THE JOHN RANK, AND OF THIS RECRUITS.

FIELD.

COLONEL.  LT. COLONEL.  MAJOR.

STAFF.

SURGEON.  CHAPLAIN.  ASST. SURGEON.

ADJUTANT.
John G. Chambers.

QUARTER MASTER.
J. A. Goldthwait.

NON COMMISSIONED STAFF

SERGEANT MAJOR.  Q. HIASTFJ; SERGT.  COAIARISSARY SERGT.

FROM CIVIL LIFE OR OTHER REGIAIBNTS.

SURGEON.  CHAPLAIN.  ASST. SURGEON.
S. C. AVhittier.  L. L. Record.  Jacob Roberts.

ASST. SURGEON.
E. C. Cummings.

HOSP. STEAVARD.
J. M. Tourtelotte.

BAND.

SECOND LEADER.
M. Wood.

LEADER.
II. C. Brown.

FIRST CLASS.

SECOND CLASS.

THIRD CLASS.
COMPANY A.

CAPTAIN.
E. A. P. Brewster.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.
C. S. Emmerton.

SECOND LIEUTENANT.
G. A. Fisher.

SERGEANTS.
J. R. Lakeman.
J. P. Uoss.
AA' H. Winslow
E. T. Osgood.
F. W. Smith.

CORPORALS.
W. A. Andrews.
T. E. Bott.
C. W. Brooks.
I. II. Edgett.
AV T. Fowler.
E. A. Hall.
A. P. Smith.
J. L. AVaterman.

MUSICIANS.
L. M. Ingalls, dr.
T. C. Taylor, f.

AVA<i>ON</i>ert.
B. F. Durgin.

PRIVATES.
C. II. Adams.
H. n. Allen.
G. A. Armstrong.
E. Blake.
J. BlakL.
E. C. Blossom.
If. N. Bradstreet.
A. Brown.
K. AV Brown.
G. A. Brown.
A. B. Bry. ant.
G. AV. Bnffuni.
N. AV. Oliaplun.

AV A. Chaplin.
F. II. Clynes.
J. H. Cole.
C. II. Collins.
E. A. Collhis.
W. P. Conant.
E. O. Conner.
AV C. Cummings.
B. F. Dehuid.
J. G. Denny.
J. T. Dodge.
X. Druhan.
J. G. Estee.
H. B. Evans.
AV. ir. Felch.
J. G. Floyd.
J. L. Foss.
B. M. Fuller.
F. A. Galletly.
C. L. Getchell.
E. E. Getchell.
J. A. Gillespie.
B. F. Goldthwait.
AV A. Gove.
E. H. Grant.
G. AV. Grant.
C. H. Gray.
F. H. Gunnison.
G. C. Hardy.
G. S. Higley.
G. R. Hodgdon.
AV. H. P. Howard.
J. AV. Kelly.
T. B. Kelly.
M. A. Kent.
M. Kimball.
A. P. Kneeland.
S. Knowlton.
C. A. Littlefield.
C. S. Magoua.
J. Jloses.
J. E. Ialoses.
C. II. O'Hare.
E. AV. Page.
J. A. Paine.
Preston Parker.
S. J. T'arks, Jr.
J. L. Pierce.
L. Poor.
E. S. Reed.
J. II. KielKU-ds.

AV H. Richardson.
E. H. Rounds.
C. F. Schultz.
F. Seaver.
T. Shanesy.
C. B. Shaw.
J. A. Shaw.
J. E. Smith.
L. Smith.
AV E. Spurr.
AV. S. Stirling.
A. J. Talbot.
J. Fpton.

II. AV Verry.
F. A'iiinannah.
AV L. AVelch.
M. C. We-t.
J. L. AAHitney.
G. G. AVilkins.

RECRUITS.
N. A. Fuller.
T. Foley.
J. AV Ge.aney.
J. Nichols.
D. M. Pollock.
A. F. Ci-essey.
T. E. Linnehnn.

II. H. Richardson.
A. X. Tyler.
AV. II. Aluipliy.
W. AVeber.
A. Kimball.
F. M. Richer.
G. AV. Collins.
J. H. Stillman.
D. F. Pulsifer.
A. K. Austin.
C. F. Smith.
G. A. Copeland.
A. Slillm.Tn.
J. Page, Jr.
E. P. Dodge.
R. C. Alonroo.
.1. N'. Kinsman.
C. T. Peirce.
J. Kelly.
W. AV. Cl.irk.
J. McSihauo.
COMPANY B

CAPTAIN.
K. A'. Martin.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.
T. Russell.

SECOND LIEUTENANT.
J. Goodwin, Jr.

SERGEANTS.
G. H. Morse.
G. H. Bhss.
W. AV. Dutither.
AV O. Norcross.
W. H. Atkins.

CORPORALS.
AV Terhune.
L. Girdler.
W. T. Christi.in.
J. L. Newton.
AV D. Hammond.
F. A. Potter.
D. Fuller.
J. B. Knowland.

MUSICIANS.
C. E. Roundey, dr.
H. Story, flf.

WAGONER.
T. Martin, Jr.

PRIA'ATES.
T. Atkins.
G. O. Barker.
J. F. Bates.
AV D. Bates.
W. B. Bessom, 1st.
AA. B. Bessom, 2nd.
D. F. Brown.
J. H. Brown.
R. Brnrlill.
J. G. C.lildwell.
G. A. Call.
R. Carey.
R. Caswell.
L. S. Chamberlain.
H. J. Chenniel.
S.O. Chenniel.
L. H. Curtis.
H. Cuthbertson.
J. N. Davis.
P Donovan.
G. Duntley.
S. W Eastey.
J. G. Estes.
L. F. Estey.
AV S. Euslis.
Al. Fairfield.
AV L. Fairfield.
P. Finton.
T. Flynn.
J. P. Frost.
D. Fuller.
S. H. Glass.
M. P. Graves.
S. Hampson.
J. AV. Jones.
D. Lane.
11. D. Larr.abee.
T. McSweeney.
H. C. Mears.
C. H. Merrill.
J. Millea.
P. B. Jillett.
P. M. Millett.
J. Monahan.
P. Morgan.
G. T. Morrill.
M. Murray.
J. Needham.
F. Nickett.
T. Paine.
C. P. Peabody.
AA W. Peabody.
B. Pedrick.
L. B. Pemberton.
B. C. Pope.
G. Prince.
C. H. Putnam.
P. Quinn.
A. Ramsdell.
J. n. Ramsdell.
W. H. Ray.
D. N. Reed.
J. H. Riley.
J. Ryan.
AV Salkins.
H. T. Saunders.
C. H. Sawyer.
AV C. Senter.
J. Shapine.
J. Shaw.
J. Smith.
T. Stanley.
P. H. Strong.
T. Swasey, Jr.
B. Swetland.
F. F. Swett.
C. W. Taylor.
J. B. Ward.
H. A. AVilliams.
T. J. AVilliams.
J.AVinford.
T. AVormstead.

RECRUITS.
J. H. Glass.
B. F. Nimblet.
H. W. Spear.
R. H. Green.
L. Ayers.
N. B. Giles.
G. A. Luscomb.
D. Q. Allen.
A. O. Chamberlain.
J. E. Cromett.
T. J. Caswell.
E. U. Graves.
T. J. Peach, Jr.
A. A. Higgins.
J. J. Dennis.
J.AV Collyer.
C.B. Goss.
J. Phillips.
A. M. Chute.
F. Merritt.
J. Komeo.
**COMPANY C,**

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<th>CAPTAIN</th>
<th>A. Center.</th>
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<tr>
<td>FIRST LIEUTENANT</td>
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<td>A. F. Stickney.</td>
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</table>


COMPANY D

CAPTAIN.
C. Hovrland.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.
S. C. Hart.

SECOND LIEUTENANT.
A. Lang.

SERGEANTS.
I. C. Hart.
W. D. Keith.
E. T. Jenney.
AV. G. Davis.
AV. D. Alder.

CORPORALS.
J. F. Roberts.
R. L. Hillman.
J. B. Bowman.
J. A. Bullard.
A. Almy.
C. A. Davis.
A. C. Smith.
G. S. Doten.

JUStCRlANS.
G. G. Coffin.

AVAGONER.
Z. Barstow.

PRIVATES.
E. P Allen.
A. W. Ashley.
J. Battles.
T. S. Besse.
O. W. Briggs.
W. D. Budlong.
L. D. Bumpus.
R. A. Bumpus.
C. T. Burgess.
J. Cambridge.

W. Carpenter.
C. Cavanagh.
W. C. Chamberlain.
F. P. Clark.
P. K. Clark.
L. H. Coble.
E. P Cowing.
T. S. Dean.
P. V Eldridge.
I. C. Fisher.
W. H. Fisher.
C. H. Gibson.
J. L. Glines.
N. H. Green.
L. Harlow.
L. B. Haskins.
P. S. Hatch.
D. L. Hathaway.
A. H. Hillman.
J. H. Hood.
C. Howard.
W. G. Howard.
C. Howland.
E. F. Jennings.
AV. H. H. Jennings.
S. Johnson.
H. C. Kingman.
P. Lacy.
N. J. Lake.
H. B. Leach.
D. Leary.
F. C. Luce.
G. B. Macomber.
P. Macomber.
J. N. Mitchell.
A. Morse.
F. AV. Murdock.
T. O'Neal.
P. Ormond.
I. S. Peckham.
S. Pierce.
C. Pohl.
W. A. Potter.
B. Rail.
J. Rasmussen.
A. Reynolds.
W. Reynolds.
M. Sawyer.
C. H. Sears.
H. F. Sherman.
B. Spencer.

W. B. Spooner.
B. Sprague.
N. H. Stevens.
J. B. Taber.
C. L. Thompson.
B. O. Tillson.
G. W. Topham.
J. B. Tripp.
W. H. Tripp.
C. F. Tuckwell.
S. W Turner.
J. D. A'oughan.
A. C. Vincent.
L. AV.ashbiirn.
N. A' AA'eaver.
I. H. Wilcox.
H. K. AVing.
J. A. AVing.
J. H. Wyer.

RECRUITS.
G. W. Booth.
J. AV. Diniels.
T. Entwistle.
O. W. Booth.
E. AV. Hewitt.
B. F. Kinsley.
J. S. Patch.
H. S. Sweet.
J. F. Crosby.
C. Chase.
AV. A. Hand.
C. P. Peirce.
F. A. Winn.
M. Sullivan.
J. C. Bolles.
J. Watkins.
J. H. French.
A. P. Jenney.
D. B. Bacon.
J. S. Southwick.
S. McLaughlin.
T. Allen.
G. Brown.
C. F. Fisher.
W. H. Hartwell.
T. M. Keith.
O. Pitts.
J. Ryan.
A. J. Tozier.
CAPTAIN.
W. B. Alexander.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.
O. Rogers.

SECOND LIEUTENANT.
T. B. Atwood.

SERGEANTS.
J. R. Drew.
C. L. French.
E. Dollard.
J. D. Terry.
D. W. Burbank.

CORPORALS.
W. S. Burbank.
F. E. Davis.
J. S. Lucas.
H. J. Lauman.
J. M. Sewall.
J. C. Standish.
W. Soule.
J. D. Sanborn.

MUSICIANS.
E. C. Hart.
F. McMahon.

WAGONER.
A. Benson.

PRIVATE.
G. Atwell.
C. H. Atwood.
T. C. Atwood.
W. T. Atwood.
I. P. Bagnall.
G. Bailey.
H. D. Baker.
H. C. Bartlett.
AV Bartlett.
E. Bassett.
G. Benson.
L. S. Bonney.

COMPANY E,
J. A. Bowen.
E. B. Braley.
J. R. Braley.
H. Bryant.
A. S. Burbank.
J. K. Burgess.
J. Bui-ns.
J. E. Burt.
E. S. Carnes.
A. T. Caswell.
T. Chandler.
W. Chubbuck.
J. L. Churchill.
W. E. Churchill.
G. H. Dunham.
L. W. Eldred.
B. F. Fuller.
T. S. Fuller.
G. Feid.
W. H. Finney.
W. Gibbs.
H. Gould.
S. AV. Holmes.
H. Howe.
R. S. Hunt.
M. Kennally.
P. Koran.
0. W. Lapham.
C. I. Leavitt.
N. Lee.
C. H. Long.
M. F. Maxim.
E. A. Maxim.
C. M. Maxim.
J. B. May.
S. Mehrunin.
J. W. Page.
D. H. Paulding.
G. O. Paulding.
B. F. Pearson.
H. B. Peirce.
I. H. Perkins.
N. B. Perry.
W. T. Pierce.
C. F. Pinkham.
N. Pratt.
E. A. Pratt.
J. Pratt.
H. Pratt.
J. B. Ryder.
T. S. Saunders.
W. H. Searles.
A. T. Sears.
D. Sewall.
E. Smith.
J. AV Southworth.
T. Southworth.
E. L. Stetson.
J. Stetson.
C. C. Stevens.
E. Stevens.
J. H. Stillman.
G. W. Swift.
W. E. Swift.
J. Taylor.
B. Thayer.
J. S. Towle.
B. Wesgate.

RECRUITS.
G. E. Blaisdell.
AV. IL Coarser.
M. Atwood.
G. Briggs.
S. Falcke.
C. Sullivan.
D. AA'ells.
S. A. Brnrham.
W. Parsons.
T. S. Atwood.
J. Cook.
H. A. Raymond.
N. Bowen.
E. L. Cole.
AV. D. Cole.
L. Cook.
F. Millard.
S. D. Nichols.
B. H. Smith.
H. N. Sears.
O. E. Gould.
G. F. Stetson.
J. Quinlan.
B. P. Leavitt.
J. H. Cox.
II. F. Perkins.
E. L. Richardson.
A. Bradford.
H. H. Iladley.
G. A. Staples.
COMPANY F.

CAPTAIN.
G. M. Whipple.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.
C. H. Bates.

SECOND LIEUTENANT.
G. R. Emmerton.

SERGEANTS.
R. P. Wheeler.
P. T. Derby.
C. H. Hayward.
P. M. Fowler.
F. H. Lee.

CORPORALS.
D. Carlton.
J. G. S. Carlton.
C. A. Davis.
J. A. Emmerton.
G. S. Mansfield.
J. Nagel.
L. L. Robbins.
H. F. A. Vaters.

MUSICIANS.
A. Gardner.
R. King.

AA'AGONER.
S. A. Tarbox.

PRIA'ATES.
H. H. Almy.
R. B. Arnold.
B. F. Arrington.
J. Arrington, Jr.
A. V. Austin.
S. Barnard, Jr.
G. H. Batchelder.
P. Becker.
S. H. Brooks.
E. L. Brown.
D. A. V. Burchstead.
F. S. Caird.
W. F. Chappie.
C. P. Clark.
J. Cook.
W. S. Cook.
J. M. Crocker.
E. Cummins.
W. F. Daniels.
F. S. Dodge.
C. M. Dow.
G. H. S. Driver.
J. S. Dudley.
C. E. Edgerly.
L. F. Emilio.
J. O. Emmersou.
J. H. Farley.
C. Field.
A. V. F. Fischer.
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J. Gray.
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O. H. Saunders.
J. C. Scriggins.
B. E. Shaw.
S. S. Southward.
G. B. Stoue.
W. H. Swaney.
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A. E. Tebbetts.
R. H. Thomas.
I. A. Thompson.
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A. H. Townsend.
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H. E. Valentine.
J. Waldron.
D. B. A. Valls.
J. E. A. Whittredge.
S. A. Winchester.
R. E. A. Volcott.
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G. Newell.
E. B. Putnam.
J. Thornton.
A. Bauer.
F. R. Bunker.
G. W. Dudley.
A. C. Ellis.
A. D. Trott.
P. Derby.
G. A. Dodge.
G. O. Hinckley.
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A. P. McDuffie.
C. C. Morse.
B. E. Wadleigh.
P. J. Snapp.
E. P. Grosvenor.
I. Winchester.
C. Dudley.
J. W. Dodge.
A. Twissell.
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A. A. Wilson.
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P. Flynn.
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SECOND LIEUTENANT.
D. W. Hammond.

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C. Friend, 2nd.
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C. G. Fernald.
A. W. Ferguson.
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T. Gavin.
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0. P. AV. Williams.
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C. Wilson.
T. Berry.
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G. E. Burns.

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W W Shiittuck.
J. Sherburne.
G. Smith.
Z. H. Smith.
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C H. Thompson.
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W Welch.
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C. H. Wheeler.
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G. AVilley.
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AV. Elliot.
D. Fletcher.
A. Gay.
A. Griffin.
E. AV Hodgkins.
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F. Fisher.
J. Hinchliff.
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ir. B. Lord.
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W. H. Pierce.
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AA Chapman.

WAGONER.
J. E. Barry.

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E. Ames.
C. Annable.
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B. F. Belcher.
L. Bennet.
J. H. Boutelle.
J. Brigham.
H. S. Buck.
J. Cailend.
T. Carpenter.
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C H. Hill.
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B. Mackin.
J. Mahoney.
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L. J. A. Mooy.
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M. Paren.
E. B. Piper.
S. N. Piper.
J. Pitcher.
0. Prince.
J. Procter.
E. Richardson.
I. N. Eoberts.
S. Sawyer.
S. B. Sawyer.
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D. G. Shepard.
D. Sillers.
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J. Taylor.
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G. W Williams.
S.C. Williams.
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J. Cassidy.
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J. Nagle.
D. O’Conner.
J. Quinn.
J. M. Eowley.
J. J. Simpson.
J. Allen.
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H. P. Baker.
P. Flood.
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G. Heywood.
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J. Cobbett.
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C A. Evans.
B. M. Kenny.
O. W. Kennison.
J. D. Stowell.
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E. Clinton.
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C W. Fish.  F. H. Merrill.  C. AVilliams.
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