

at the edge of the forest was necessarily a short one. Steinwehr being now exposed from flank and rear, having held his place for over an hour, drew off his small remnants, and all moved rapidly through openings and woods, through low ground and swamps, the two miles to the first high land south of Hooker's headquarters. Dilger sturdily kept along the plank-road, firing constantly as he retired. The Confederate masses rushed after us in the forest and along all paths and roads with triumphant shouts and redoubled firing, and so secured much plunder and many prisoners.

It was after sundown and growing dark when I met General Hiram G. Berry, as I was ascending the high ground above named.

"Well, General, where now?" he asked.

"You take the right of this road and I will take the left and try to defend it," I replied.

Our batteries, with numerous others, were on the crest facing to the rear, and as soon as Steinwehr's troops had cleared the way they began a terrible cannonade and continued it into the night. They fired into the forest, now replete with Confederates, all disorganized in their exciting chase, and every effort of the enemy to advance in that direction in face of the fire was effectually barred by the artillery and supporting troops.

Stonewall Jackson fell that evening from bullet-wounds, in the forest in front of Berry's position. And on the forenoon of the next day, 3d, the gallant General Berry here met his death. It was here that officers of the

Eleventh Corps, though mortified by defeat, successfully rallied the scattered brigades and divisions, and, after shielding the batteries, went eventually during the night to replace the men of the Fifth Corps and thereafter defend the left of the general line.

Twenty-three years ago in my report to General Hooker I wrote the following:

"Now, as to the causes of this disaster to my corps: 1st. Though constantly threatened and apprised of the moving of the enemy, yet the woods were so dense that he was able to mass a large force, whose exact whereabouts neither patrols, reconnaissances, nor scouts ascertained. He succeeded in forming a column opposite to and outflanking my right.

"2d. By the panic produced by the enemy's reverse fire, regiments and artillery were thrown suddenly upon those in position.

"3d. The absence of General Barlow's brigade, which I had previously located in reserve and *en échelon* with Colonel von Gilsa's, so as to cover his right flank. This was the only general reserve I had."

Stonewall Jackson was victorious. Even his enemies praise him; but, providentially for us, it was the last battle which he waged against the American Union. For, in bold planning, in energy of execution which he had the power to diffuse, in indefatigable activity and moral ascendancy, Jackson stood head and shoulders above his confrères, and after his death General Lee could not replace him.

O. O. Howard.

SEDGWICK'S ASSAULT AT FREDERICKSBURG.*



CAMP KITCHEN.

FROM our encampment on the Stafford Heights, the bright camp-fires of the enemy and the scenes of the terrible encounters under Burnside were daily presented to our sight from December until the

following April. During this period, with the exception of a futile movement on the right known as the "Mud March," the army remained quiet. The pickets stationed on either

bank of the Rappahannock were within hailing distance of each other, and dress and faces could be easily distinguished. By the comity which prevailed there was no firing from either side. One could ride or walk down to the banks of the river with perfect security. Sometimes "Johnnie Reb," as he was called, would rig up a little raft, and loading it with tobacco, start it with sails and rudder set for the other shore. When the precious freight was unloaded, the craft, generously burdened with coffee and salt, would be headed by "Yank" in an opposite direction, where it would be received with loud expressions of thanks. In this and other ways the asperities of the war were mollified. As time rolled on and the weather improved, arrangements were made for an advance. The men were well clothed, rested, and

* See articles on the first battle of Fredericksburg, in the August CENTURY, for pictures of Marye's Heights,

the stone wall, and the plain over which the Sixth Corps charged.—EDITOR.

eager to move again to test the fortunes of war.

Of the several plans of attack, Hooker determined to march around the enemy's left flank to Chancellorsville, leaving a portion of the army at Fredericksburg to conceal the real movement. The army struck camp on the 27th of April, and on the 30th Hooker established his headquarters at Chancellorsville. The same evening, in general orders, he said, "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." Hooker forgot the injunction of Ahab to Benhadad. "Tell him," he said, "let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off."

While the right wing was concentrating at Chancellorsville, the corps of Sedgwick and Reynolds, after considerable opposition, crossed the Rappahannock on pontoon bridges below Fredericksburg, and by the evening of the 30th were deployed on the wide plain where Franklin's Left Grand Division had fought in the previous battle. Sickles's corps was in supporting distance. The position of Lee's army remained unchanged until the 29th, when Lee was informed that large bodies of Federals were moving towards Chancellorsville. It was the first information he had received of Hooker's movement on his left, and it is said he was incensed at the delay of the communication. At midnight Anderson's division of Lee's army hurriedly moved from Fredericksburg, and intrenched about four or five miles from Hooker's headquarters.

In an address of Fitzhugh Lee delivered to the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia he stated: "General Robert E. Lee said that Jackson had first preferred to attack Sedgwick's corps in the plain at Fredericksburg; that Lee told him he felt it was as impracticable as at the first battle of Fredericksburg; it was hard to get at the enemy and harder to get away, on account of the artillery on the north banks, if we drove them into the river; but, said he to Jackson, 'If you think it can be done, I will give you orders for it.' Jackson then asked to be allowed to examine the grounds, and did so during the afternoon, and at night came to Lee and said he thought he (Lee) was right; it would be inexpedient to attack them. 'Move, then,' said Lee, 'at dawn to-morrow up to Anderson.'"

Sickles's and Reynolds's corps having subsequently been ordered to Chancellorsville by Hooker, Sedgwick was left alone below Fredericksburg with about 22,000 men, the Sixth

Corps being by several thousand the largest in the army.

During the evening of the 2d of May Hooker sent word to Sedgwick "to take up his line on the Chancellorsville road and attack and destroy any forces he met." He also added that "he (Sedgwick) would probably fall upon the rear of Lee's forces, and between them they would use Lee up." If Hooker thought an insignificant force was in Sedgwick's front, the engagement soon to take place showed how mistaken he was. Sedgwick received the order about eleven o'clock at night. He at once advanced his command to the Bowling Green road and then marched by the right flank towards Fredericksburg. Newton's division was in the advance. The night was dark and the road made darker by the foliage of the trees on either side. The progress was necessarily slow. Frequent short halts were made while the skirmishers were feeling their way. Once when the halt was prolonged and nothing broke the deep silence of the night except an occasional shot followed by the never-to-be-forgotten *ping* of the minie-ball, General Newton, who was riding with the third or fourth regiment from the advance, called out: "Is any of my staff here?" Those present promptly responded, and I was directed to "ride ahead and tell Colonel Shaler to brush away the enemy's pickets." The road was filled with soldiers, some lying down, others resting on their guns, but a passage was quickly cleared. At Hazel Run Colonel Shaler and Colonel Hamblin were found standing together. Here the enemy made a determined resistance. Their pickets were but a few yards distant. On the other side of the creek the road made a sharp ascent and curved to the right. In a subdued tone Colonel Shaler said: "Colonel Hamblin, you have heard the order from General Newton?" At once Colonel Hamblin left. In a moment there was the noise of hurrying feet, the troops quickly disappeared in the dark; a shout, a bright, sudden flash, a roll of musketry followed, and the road was open.

It was the gray of morning when the advance reached the rear and left of Fredericksburg. A negro who came into the lines reported the heights occupied and that the enemy were cutting the canal to flood the roads. To ascertain whether this was true, another delay was caused. No one in the command was acquainted with the topography of the country, and the advance was compelled to move with great caution through the streets and in the outskirts of the town. As the morning dawned, Marye's Heights, the scene of the fierce attacks under Burnside in the previous December, were presented to

our sight. Several regiments were speedily moved along the open ground in the rear of the town towards the heights, and this movement discovered the enemy in force behind the famous stone wall at the base of the hill. Lee had left Early with his division and Barksdale's brigade, a force of about ten thousand men, to hold Fredericksburg. They were protected by strong works and supported by well-served artillery. It was at once felt that a desperate encounter was to follow, and the recollections of the previous disaster were by no means inspiring.

It was Sunday morning, and the weather was beautiful. The town was perfectly quiet, many of the inhabitants had fled, not a person was to be seen on the streets, and the windows and blinds of the houses were closed. The marks of the fierce cannonade to which

the Plank and Telegraph roads, and were supported by a line of infantry from the Light Brigade on the left, commanded by Colonel Burnham. The right column, under Colonel Spear, was composed of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania and the Forty-third New York. These two regiments belonged to the Light Brigade. This column was supported by the Sixty-seventh New York and Eighty-second Pennsylvania, under Colonel Shaler. The left column consisted of the Seventh Massachusetts and Thirty-sixth New York, under Colonel Johns. The line of battle, commanded by Colonel Burnham, was



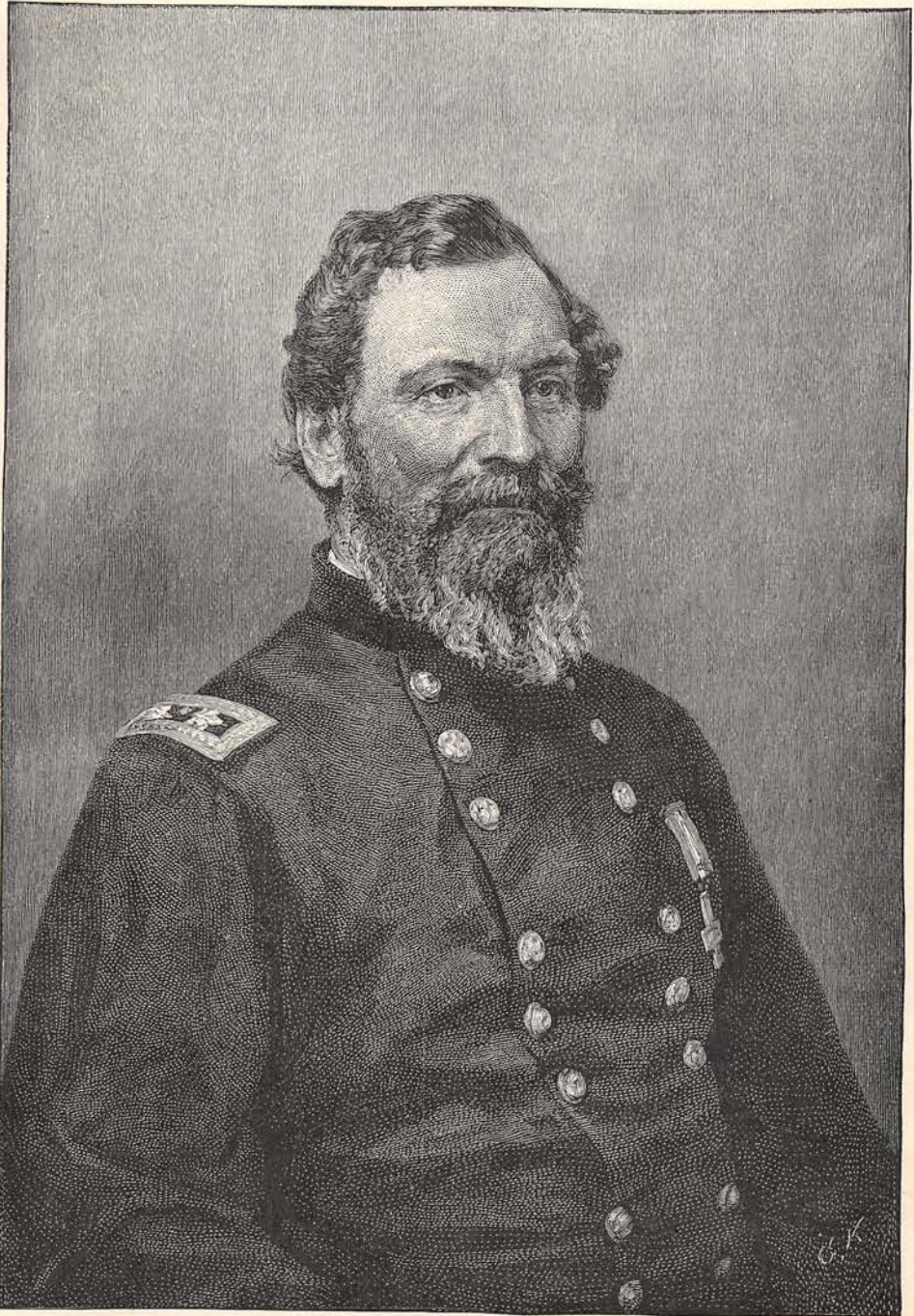
CAPTURE OF A GUN OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY, ON MARYE'S HEIGHTS.

the place had previously been exposed were everywhere visible.

As soon as practicable and as secretly as possible, Sedgwick prepared to attack the heights. Gibbon, of the Second Corps, who had been left on the north bank, crossed shortly after Sedgwick had captured the town and moved to the right, but his advance was stopped by the canal in front, over which it was impossible to lay bridges in face of the fire from the artillery and infantry on the hill. Sedgwick says, "Nothing remained but to carry the works by direct assault." The attack on Marye's Heights was made under direction of Newton. Two columns, each marching by fours, were formed on

composed of the Fifth Wisconsin (acting as skirmishers), the Sixth Maine, Thirty-first New York (these three regiments also belonging to the Light Brigade), and the Twenty-third Pennsylvania. Howe's division was posted south of Hazel Run, and cooperated handsomely, capturing five guns.

The order to advance was given at eleven o'clock. Sedgwick and Newton with the deepest interest watched the attack from the garden of a brick residence situated on the outskirts of the town and to the left of the Telegraph road, which commanded a full view of the assault. The movements of the enemy showed that they were actively preparing to receive the attack, but the men behind the stone wall were concealed from view. As the left column emerged from the town and was passing near Sedgwick and Newton, the enemy's battery opened, and a portion of a bursting shell struck and killed Major Faxon of the Thirty-sixth New York while mounted and riding with his command, and wounded several



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SEDGWICK, KILLED AT SPOTSVLVANIA IN THE "WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN," MAY 9TH, 1864.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BRADY.)

others. There was an exclamation of horror and a momentary scattering of the rear of the column, but the men quickly closed up and pressed on. Colonel Spear, commanding the right column, was killed at about the same time. Both columns and line, in light marching order, advanced at double-quick without firing a shot. The enemy kept up an incessant artil-

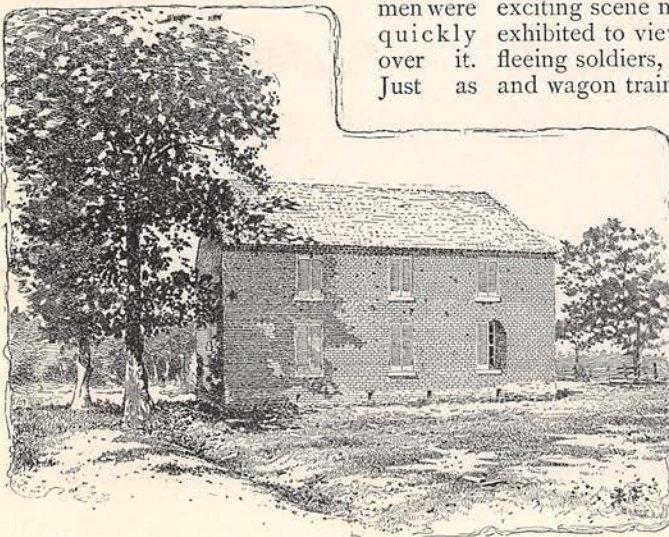
lery fire, and the noise was deafening. Their musketry fire was reserved until our men were within easy range. Then a murderous storm of shot from the stone wall and grape and canister from the hill burst upon the columns and line. For a moment the head of the left column was checked and broken. The column on the right was also broken. Colonel Burnham's line of blue on the green field paused as if to recover breath and slightly wavered. Sedgwick and Newton looked on with unconcealed anxiety, and turned to one another, but remained silent. The suspense was intense. Was it to be a victory or a defeat. Was the place a second time to be a "slaughter-pen"? Was the Sixth Corps to be driven into the river? Staff-officers waving their swords and hurraing to the men dashed down the Telegraph road. A blinding rain of shot pierced the air. It was more than human nature could face. The head of the column as it reached the lowest part of the decline near a fork in the road seemed to melt away. Many fell; others bending low to the earth hurriedly sought shelter from the undulations of ground and the fences and the two or three wooden structures along the road. Out of four hundred comprising the Seventh Massachusetts, one hundred and fifty were killed and wounded. Colonel Johns, commanding, was severely wounded. Then, as if moved by a sudden impulse and nerved for a supreme effort, both columns and the line in the field simultaneously sprang forward. The stone wall was gained

and the men were quickly over it. Just as

my horse was jumping through a partial opening one of the enemy, standing slightly to the left and about a horse's length from me, raised his gun and fired. The excitement of the hour must have unnerved his hand, for the ball *zipped* harmlessly by to my right. In a second a bayonet was thrust into his breast by one of our men on my left. Along the wall a hand-to-hand fight took place, and the bayonet and the butt of the musket were freely used. The brilliant and successful charge occupied perhaps ten or fifteen minutes, and immediately after the wall was carried the enemy became panic-stricken. In the flight they threw away guns, knapsacks, pistols, swords, and everything that impeded their speed. One thousand prisoners were taken, besides several battle-flags and pieces of artillery. The commander of a Louisiana battery handed his saber to Colonel Allen of the Fifth Wisconsin. This regiment out of five hundred men lost one hundred and twenty-three, and the Sixth Maine out of about the same number lost one hundred and sixty-seven in killed and wounded. Over six hundred were killed and wounded in the direct assault upon the heights, and the loss to the corps on the entire front was about one thousand.

General G. K. Warren, who had arrived that morning with instructions from headquarters, in his telegram to Hooker, said, "The heights were carried splendidly at eleven A. M. by Newton." Upon reaching the summit of the sharp hill, after passing through the extensive and well wooded grounds of the Marye residence, an exciting scene met the eye. A single glance exhibited to view the broad plateau alive with fleeing soldiers, riderless horses, and artillery and wagon trains on a gallop. The writer hurried back to Sedgwick, who

was giving directions for Brooks and Howe to come up, and suggested that it was a rare opportunity for the use of cavalry. With evident regret Sedgwick replied that he did not have a cavalryman. The carrying of the heights had completely divided the enemy's forces, throwing either flank with much confusion on opposite roads, and it seemed as though a regiment of cavalry might have captured not only many prisoners, guns, ammunition, and wagons, but also cleared the way for the corps almost as far as the immediate rear of Lee's



SALEM CHURCH. (FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.)

The view is from the Plank-road. On the left is what remains of the Confederate trenches. The bricks on the four sides of the church are spotted with bullet marks, and especially on the line of the upper windows towards the road, showing that many Union soldiers aimed high. This church was a refuge for many Fredericksburg families during Burnside's battle.—EDITOR.

army at Chancellorsville.

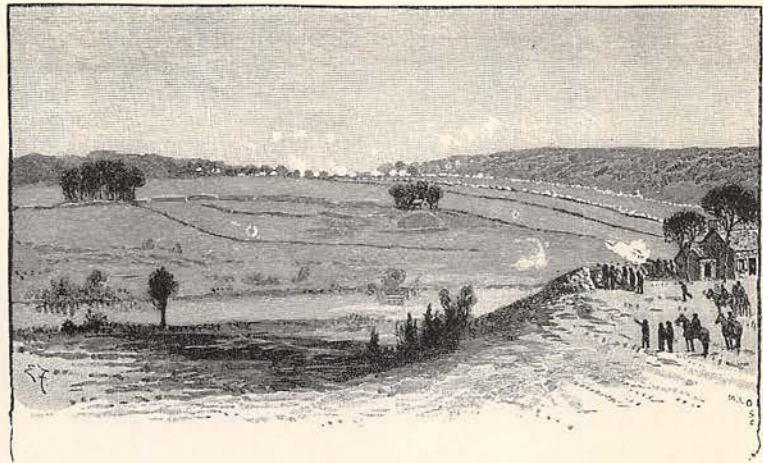
Newton's division, exhausted by the night march, the weight of several days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, and by the heat, fatigue, and excitement of battle, were allowed to halt for a short time. Many were soon asleep, while others made coffee and partook of their first meal that day.

Brooks's division soon came up from below Hazel Run

and took the advance. Newton and Howe followed. The enemy in the mean time had united their forces, and delayed the rapid advance by frequent stands, retiring successively from hill to hill, and opening with artillery. Ravines running at right angles to the main road and the rolling character of country were favorable for impeding the pursuit, which was continued for three or four miles until we reached Salem Church, an unpretentious red-brick structure situated on a ridge covered with dense woods and undergrowth, and to-day it bears many scars of the contest waged around it.

At this point the enemy were in position with four fresh brigades withdrawn from Hooker's front, and prepared to contest any further advance. Lee had met with such complete success in his attack upon Hooker that he felt he could well spare these troops and not suffer. Brooks on the left of the road and Newton on the right quickly formed their commands and made several gallant assaults. The fight was very severe in the thick woods, and for a time with varying success. The crest of the woods and a little school-house near the church were gained, and once it was thought they could be held, but the enemy, in superior numbers, pressed on, and the ground and the church were left in their possession. The contest did not last long, but nearly fifteen hundred brave men were killed and wounded. Bartlett's brigade of four regiments, numbering less than fifteen hundred, lost five hundred and eighty officers and men. That night the soldiers slept on their arms. Sedgwick and Newton passed the anxious hours at the junction of the Plank and Banks's Ford roads.

It was understood throughout the Sixth



THE ATTACK ON SEDGWICK AT BANKS'S FORD, MONDAY EVENING, MAY 4TH, AS SEEN FROM THE SAND-BAG BATTERY NEAR PALMOUTH. (BY EDWIN FORBES, AFTER HIS SKETCH MADE AT THE TIME.)

Corps that as soon as it was engaged with the enemy Hooker would immediately attack in his front, and prevent any reënforcements from being sent against Sedgwick. All during that Sabbath day and the next the sound of Hooker's guns were eagerly listened for. No sound would have been more welcome. But after ten o'clock Sunday morning the axe and spade were used more at Chancellorsville than the guns. The feeling became widely prevalent that the Sixth Corps would be compelled to take care of itself. At first it was cautiously whispered that Hooker had failed, and soon the worst was surmised, and it was concluded that no help could be expected from him. The dash, promptness, and confidence which had characterized Hooker as a division and corps commander were gone.

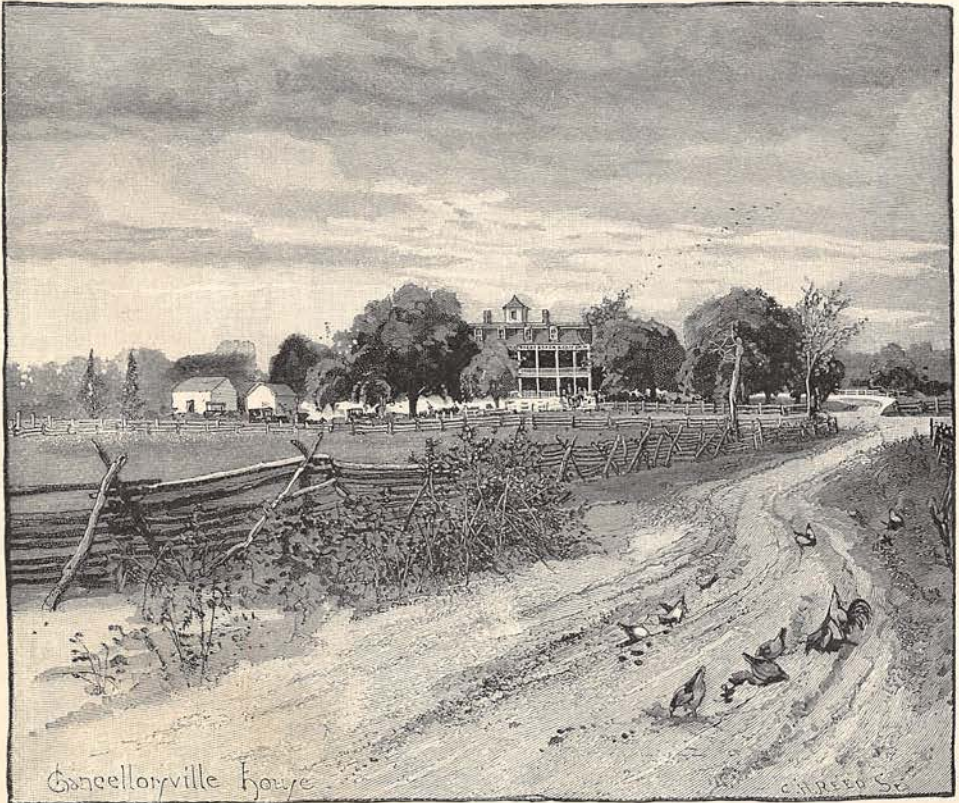
Lee that night withdrew his troops, flushed with their brilliant success, from the front of Hooker, with the exception of Jackson's corps, and marched against Sedgwick. Still Hooker remained inactive; with a force greatly in excess of the enemy in his front, he made no effort to relieve Sedgwick from his perilous position. Works were thrown up by the enemy along the Salem Church ridge, and they extended their right until Marye's Heights and the town of Fredericksburg, won the morning before at so great a sacrifice, were again in their possession.

Sedgwick's position, as finally established, was in the shape of a horseshoe, both flanks resting on the river and covering Banks's ford. His line of battle was between five and six miles in length. Frequent attempts were made, during Monday morning, to communicate with Banks's ford and to direct the laying of pontoon bridges, but for some time roving bodies of the enemy's cavalry, concealed

by the dense woods, frustrated this. The late Colonel Farrar, then on the staff of General Sedgwick, while carrying a message for this purpose, was captured by the enemy and taken to Richmond. The 4th of May dragged along wearily, skirmishing continued all day, the weather was hot, Sedgwick's position was most critical and the keenest anxiety was felt. Lee was in our front with a force much larger

General Benham, in charge of the pontoons at that place.

At six o'clock in the evening the enemy attacked our extreme left with the design of cutting off the corps from Banks's ford. Howe not only maintained his position until night-fall, but also made several counter-charges, capturing several hundred prisoners. The whole corps then successfully fell back to



CHANCELLORSVILLE HOUSE OF TO-DAY.

This picture is from a photograph taken at a reunion of Union and Confederate officers and soldiers in May, 1884. The original house (see page 751) was set on fire by Confederate shells on Sunday, May 3d, shortly after General Hooker was injured while standing on the porch.—EDITOR.

than Sedgwick's then available command of about eighteen thousand men, and an attack was momentarily expected, but fortunately Lee consumed the whole day in establishing his lines. The greatest vigilance and activity were exercised by our men in throwing up rifle-pits. Hooker sent word to Sedgwick to look well to the safety of his corps, and fall back either upon Fredericksburg or recross at Banks's ford; he also added that he could do nothing to relieve him. Sedgwick accordingly intrusted Newton with the arrangements for the withdrawal. Newton quickly made himself acquainted with the roads leading to Banks's ford and succeeded in establishing communication with

Banks's ford, and the long and painful suspense of the day was over. The picket line in front and on the left of Salem ridge was withdrawn in person by General Russell. I had been directed to assist him. That sterling soldier, dismounted, moved along the line, saying, "Quietly, men, quietly; don't make any noise"; but the jingle of the canteens and other unavoidable sounds on the evening air discovered the movement to the vigilant enemy, and they followed closely, yelling and firing until the double-quick step brought us to our main column on the march about a mile distant. Several of the enemy's scouts penetrated almost to the pontoon bridges at the ford

and threw up rockets to mark our position. Immediately the enemy's artillery responded to the signal, shelling both troops and bridges, but with little injury. During the night Sedgwick's corps recrossed the river and took position to meet the enemy, should they, as expected at the time, cross to the north side to renew their attack, or attempt to destroy our depots for supplies near Fredericksburg.

According to Sedgwick the losses of the Sixth Corps in killed, wounded, and captured were 4925 [revised tables, 4,610]. The corps

captured five battle-flags and fifteen pieces of artillery, nine of which were brought off, the others falling into the hands of the enemy upon the subsequent reoccupation of Fredericksburg. 1400 prisoners were also taken, including many officers of rank.

The Sixth Corps was fortunate in having for its commander John Sedgwick, a true soldier and patriot, who in appearance and character was not unlike General George H. Thomas.

Huntington W. Jackson.

ESTIMATE OF FORCES AND LOSSES IN THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN.

ABSTRACT from the return of the Army of the Potomac for April 30, 1863:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.
Provost Guard.....	1,868	95	254	2,217
Artillery Reserve ..	320	..	1,290	1,610
First Corps.....	15,782	65	1,061	16,908
Second Corps.....	15,907	9	977	16,893
Third Corps.....	17,568	..	1,153	18,721
Fifth Corps.....	14,867	..	857	15,724
Sixth Corps.....	22,427	104	1,136	23,667
Eleventh Corps.....	12,170	50	757	12,977
Twelfth Corps.....	12,929	..	521	13,450
Cavalry Corps.....	..	11,079	462	11,541
Aggregate ..	113,838	11,402	8,468	133,708

Exclusive of the provost guard (reported above) and the engineers (not entered on the return among the number available for line of battle), the Union army, in round numbers, consisted of about 130,000 effectives, with 404 pieces of artillery.

Abstract from the return of the Army of Northern Virginia for March 31, 1863 (there is no return for April in the possession of the Government):

Anderson's Division.....	7,665
McLaws's Division.....	7,984
Jackson's Corps.....	33,333
Stuart's Cavalry.....	6,509
Reserve Artillery.....	1,621
Total of all arms.....	57,112

To this should fairly be added the increase during the month of April, a period of "rest and recruiting," of perhaps 3000, and perhaps 1500 for the reserve artillery of Jackson's corps, which is not accounted for on the return, as shown by a note thereon.

This would give a total of 61,612, from which should be deducted Hampton's brigade of Stuart's cavalry, which we estimate at 1600, and which had been sent to the interior to recruit. These estimates make about 60,000 as the effective force under General Lee, with about 170 pieces of artillery. (Hood's and Pickett's divisions and Dearing's and Henry's artillery battalions were absent with General Longstreet in south-eastern Virginia.)

UNION ARMY.	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Total.
General Headq'rs....	..	1	..	1
First Corps.....	27	218	54	299
Second Corps.....	149	1,042	732	1,923
Third Corps.....	378	2,645	1,096	4,119
Fifth Corps.....	69	472	159	700
Sixth Corps.....	487	2,638	1,485	4,610
Eleventh Corps.....	217	1,221	974	2,412
Twelfth Corps.....	261	1,442	1,121	2,824
Engineers.....	1	6	1	8
Cavalry Corps.....	17	75	297	389
Aggregate.....	1,606	9,760	5,919	17,285

CONFEDERATE ARMY.	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Total.
McLaws's Division....	217	1,278	394	1,889
Anderson's Division....	186	1,049	210	1,445
Artillery Reserve.....	9	43	21	73
Jackson's Headq'rs....	2	3	..	5
A. P. Hill's Division....	412	2,171	279	2,862
D. H. Hill's Div. (Rodes)	397	1,866	713	2,976
Early's Division.....	136	838	500	1,474
Trimble's Div. (Colston)	272	1,596	100	1,968
Corps Artillery.....	26	124	26	176
Stuart's Control.....	5	13	12	30
Aggregate.....	1,662	8,981	2,255	12,898

The above statements of losses during the Chancellorsville campaign, beginning April 27, and ending May 11, 1863, are compiled from the Official Records.—EDITOR.

CHANCELLORSVILLE REVISITED BY GENERAL HOOKER.

IN October, 1876, I accompanied General Hooker to the battle-fields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Antietam, fields on which he had borne conspicuous parts. It was the first and only occasion on which he visited them after the battles. Previously he had placed in my hands his official papers and memoranda for the preparation of a history of the Battle of Chancellorsville, at the same time requesting me to make this journey with him,

that I might have the advantage of a thorough knowledge of the field, and of his interpretation of the manner in which the battle was fought. At this period he was partially paralyzed, from the injury received in the Chancellorsville battle, and he could move only with great difficulty by the aid of his valet.

Some Southern ladies were on the boat which carried us down the Potomac, and the merits of the Confederate generals were, in