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NHL 4-27-84

Form 10-900

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Name

historic ~~BATTLE OF~~ BALL'S BLUFF Battlefield AND ~~BALL'S BLUFF~~ NATIONAL CEMETERY NHL 4-27-84

and/or common needs card & folder

2. Location

street & number BALL'S BLUFF ___ not for publication

city, town LEESBURG vic. X vicinity of congressional district 10

state VIRGINIA code county LOUDOUN code

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use	
X district	___ public	X occupied	X agriculture	___ museum
___ building(s)	___ private	___ unoccupied	___ commercial	___ park
___ structure	X both	___ work in progress	___ educational	___ private residence
___ site	**Public Acquisition**	**Accessible**	___ entertainment	___ religious
___ object	___ in process	X yes: restricted	X government	___ scientific
	___ being considered	___ yes: unrestricted	___ industrial	___ transportation
		___ no	___ military	___ other:

4. Owner of Property

name SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

street & number

city, town ___ vicinity of state

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

street & number

city, town state

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title VA HISTORIC SITES SURVEY has this property been determined eligible? X yes ___ no

date JUNE 23, 1980 X federal ___ state ___ county ___ local

depository for survey records VA HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

city, town WASHINGTON state D.C.

7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one
X excellent	___ deteriorated	___ unaltered	X original site
___ good	___ ruins	X altered	___ moved date February 4, 1984
___ fair	___ unexposed		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

I. The Battlefield

The core-area of the battleground, proposed for designation as a National Historic Landmark, has been altered very little since October 1861. There has been no change to the topography. The Potomac River divided by Harrison's Island, except during floods, flows serenely at the foot of Ball's Bluff. Between the edge of the river and the foot of the bluff is the gently slooping bench where Cols. Charles Devens and Milton Cogswell vainly sought to rally their men after they had been routed from their chosen position atop the bluff. Downstream and upstream from the beachhead area deep hollows, through which intermittent streams course, define the Ball's Bluff area, and present as formidable barrier to the hiker of today as to the Civil War soldier.

Ball's Bluff rises abruptly from the shelf to a height of 300 feet, the mean elevation of the river being 190 feet above sea level and the shelf next the bluff 225 feet. The trace of the 1861 cart track (cow path) can be identified as it snakes its way up the bluff and westward toward its intersection with the road from Smartt's Mill to Edwards Ferry.

Atop the bluff, as well as on the high ground on the far side of the hollows defining the bluff to the north and south, the only intrusions are the national cemetery, its parking area, the Baker and Hatcher monuments, the cemetery road, and a fence dividing the Culbertson and Beus property. The area, as far as 1,000 feet west of the cemetery, is open woods. Between the edge of the bluff and the river there is, during the growing season, a thick understory.

The vegetative cover in 1861 was similar, except for the 8-10-acre trapezoidal-shaped field at the top of the bluff and north of the cart track. The national cemetery is sited near the southeast corner of this field, which is no longer cleared.

On the ridge, 2,600 feet west of the bluff, stands the much altered house occupied by Mrs. Samuel T. Jackson in 1861. In this area the first skirmishing took place. This area has been encroached upon by 20th century improvements that have so comprised its integrity that it is not recommended for inclusion within the National Historic Landmark.

II. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery

The Ball's Bluff National Cemetery was established by the War Department in December 1865, as the final resting place of 54 Union soldiers (53 unknown and 1 known) killed at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, and is situated "among the rugged and precipitious river hills" of Loudoun County.

8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below			
___ prehistoric	___ archeology-prehistoric	___ community planning	___ landscape architecture	___ religion
___ 1400–1499	___ archeology-historic	___ conservation	___ law	___ science
___ 1500–1599	___ agriculture	___ economics	___ literature	___ sculpture
___ 1600–1699	___ architecture	___ education	X military	___ social/ humanitarian
___ 1700–1799	___ art	___ engineering	___ music	___ theater
X 1800–1899	___ commerce	___ exploration/settlement	___ philosophy	___ transportation
___ 1900–	___ communications	___ industry	X politics/government	___ other (specify)
		___ invention		

Specific dates October 21, 1861 **Builder/Architect**

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

The battle of Ball's Bluff (October 21, 1861) is of national significance because, as the latest in a series of Union defeats, it raised serious questions in Congress as to how the Civil War was to be conducted and as to the loyality of certain of the army's senior officers, particularly those known to be West Pointers and active Democrats. These concerns led Congress to establish the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, whose membership was packed with Radicals. The Committee throughout much of the war exercised its investigative and quasi-judicial power in such a manner as to have a major role in the advancement or destruction of certain senior officers' careers. The Committee provided the congressional leadership for the Radicals who saw the war as a revolution and not merely a struggle to restore the Union.

The Committee's investigation of the Ball's Bluff battle and the injury to Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone's reputation, as John G. Randall has written, was an early, if not the first, example of the

> injustice of placing inquisitorial powers in the hands of a legislative committee whose mere inquiry may produce the most serious damage to a man's name but whose proceedings lack the fairness, impartiality, and publicity of a proper trial such as would be conducted by a judicial or even a military tribunal.[1]

The Committee was omnipresent and "investigated" the administration of all the generals who commanded the Army of the Potomac. In addition to Ball's Bluff and First Manassas, the Committee zeroed in on Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and the Petersburg Crater. Testimony was also taken on western campaigns. Civil affairs pertaining to the military establishment were investigated, as well as certain phases of the Confederates' conduct of the war, particularly the Fort Pillow massacre.

In the course of its work, the Committee questioned many generals and other officers. In some cases the Committee white-washed individuals and in others they politized the investigation. Their investigations, however, were revealing in many instances and provide excellent material for historical appraisal and research.[2]

The national significance of the Ball's Bluff disaster is accordingly in the political rather than the military sector. It was the battle that served as the catalyst in rallying congressional support for establishment of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. By so doing, Congress expanded its investigative powers, as well as its quasi-judicial activities and its intrusions into executive

9. Major Bibliographical References

SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of nominated property 76 acres

Quadrangle name Waterford

Quadrangle scale 7.5

UMT References

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A	18	281590	4334665	B			
C	18	281760	4333970	D			
E	18	281280	4333860	F			
G	18	280880	4334150	H			

Verbal boundary description and justification

SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

List all states and counties for properties overlapping state or county boundaries

state	code	county	code
state	code	county	code

11. Form Prepared By

name/title EDWIN C. BEARSS

organization HISTORY DIVISION, NPS date FEBRUARY 8, 1984

street & number 1100 L STREET, NW telephone (202)343-8163

city or town WASHINGTON state D.C.

12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:

___ national ___ state ___ local

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

State Historic Preservation Officer signature

title date

For NPS use only

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register

date

Keeper of the National Register

Attest: date

Chief of Registration

Item No. 4

1. Veterans Administration (6 acres)
   810 Vermont Avenue, NW
   Washington, DC 20420

2. Cecil Culbertson (11.11 acres)
   4712 Antioch Road
   Haymarket, Virginia 22069

3. Beus N.V. Corporation (58.95 acres)
   Attention: Mr. Thomas Nalls
   50-G Edwards Ferry Road
   Leesburg, Virginia 22075

Item No. 5

1. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery
810 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20240
Attention: Mr. Paul Bannai
Director of Memorial Affairs
Veterans Administration

2 & 3. Clerk of Court
Loudoun County
Leesburg, Virginia 22075

The earliest surveyed map locating the national cemetery was prepared in early March 1876 by William Gaul, an employee of the Quartermaster General's Department. Mr. Gaul reported that the cemetery was "about 3 miles and 1/2 mile from Leesburg." He found that it contained "eight perches of land" and was enclosed by a wall, with an iron gate in the south face. He noted that the

> wall and gate...[are] constructed upon the same plan as those at the Alexandria Cemetery. The cement in the coping of the walls of the Cemetery has been washed out and should be repaired....
>
> The Cemetery ... is located on the side of a gently sloping hill and therefore the drainage is perfect.

The 25 gravesites for the 54 bodies were arranged in a circle "beginning at a point about 6 feet to the right of the entrance and terminating at a point about 6 feet from the left of the entrance."

Along the inner side of the wall was a "luxureant growth of hedge bushes encircling" the enclosure, except fronting the gate.

Mr. Gaul found that the cemetery was 450 feet from the Potomac and one and one-half miles from the nearest established road -- the Leesburg-Point of Rocks Pike.

In 1907 the United States constructed a fenced 1.3-mile approach road, connecting the national cemetery with the Leesburg-Point of Rock Turnpike (today's U.S. 15). The right-of-way for the approach road was 30 feet in width.

The right-of-way was acquired by the United States by donation under authority of an act of Congress, approved by President Theodore Roosevelt on June 12, 1906.

Except for the tree-lined gravel approach road, the appearance of the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery has not changed in more than 100 years. Today, as in 1875, the cemetery is enclosed by a 4-foot red sandstone rubble wall, 48 by 48 feet. A concrete walk 2 feet 11 inches by 10 feet leads to a wrought iron gate in the center of the wall, the only entrance to the cemetery. There are 25 graves which contain the remains of 53 unknown and 1 known (James Allen, 15th Massachusetts Infantry). The graves, marked with appropriate headstones, are arranged in a semicircle within the wall.

The soil consists of 8 inches of top soil with underlying slate. There are no shrubs or trees within the cemetery enclosure. The access road from its intersection with U.S. 15 to the cemetery, is surfaced with crush stone. A wire fence bounds the access road.

Ball's Bluff National Cemetery is the second smallest National Cemetery in the Veterans Administration Cemeterial System and has remained virtually unchanged over the years. This cemetery is one of the few national cemeteries that does not fly an American flag. Because of vandalism the flagstaff was removed. There are no buildings located on the VA's acreage.

III. Other Monuments

A. Clinton Hatcher Gravesite

On the Beus property, 103 feet from the northwest corner of the cemetery enclosure is a granite marker inscribed:

Clinton Hatcher
1840-1861
Co. F, 8th Va. Regt.
C. S. A.
Fell Bravely
Defending his
Native State

There is no available information as to when or by whom this marker was erected.

B. Site of Col. Edward D. Baker's Death

The site where Colonel Baker received his mortal wound, also located on the Beus tract, is identified by a standard government marker inscribed:

Edward D. Baker
Col.
71st Pa. Inf.
Killed here in the
battle of Ball's Bluff, Va.
Oct. 21, 1861

This stone was erected by Congress in the early 1890s. Baker is buried in the National Cemetery at San Francisco's Presidio.

matters. Two of the nation's most history-conscious political leaders -- Woodrow Wilson and Harry S Truman -- had negative views of the Committee. When a similar committee was proposed during World War I, Wilson, recalling the "ominous precedent" of the Civil War committee, emphatically opposed, remarking that the joint Committee had been "the cause of constant and distressing harassment and rendered Mr. Lincoln's task all but impossible."[3]

Mr. Truman stated that, in launching his special Senate committee to investigate the defense effort in 1941, he "studied the Civil War Committee's record and determined to avoid the same error."[4]

I. THE BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF -- A NARRATIVE

A. General McClellan Calls for a "Slight Demonstration"

It was all quiet along the Potomac as the weeks following the Union defeat at First Manassas on July 21, 1861, and the appointment of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan to command of the Union army shielding Washington stretched into months. Although McClellan organized a mighty host, he, much to the dismay of the Lincoln administration, made no move to seize boldly the initiative and attack the much smaller Confederate army under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston concentrated in and around Centreville, 25 miles southwest of the White House. To make matters more embarrassing, Rebel cannons emplaced at Evansport blockaded the Potomac River, cutting off the water approach to the nation's capital.

General McClellan, to quiet his critics, during the third week of October called for a forced reconnaissance by two of his three divisions guarding the line of the Potomac upstream from Great Falls against the Confederate brigade led by hard fighting and hard drinking Col. Nathan B. "Shanks" Evans based on Leesburg and charged with watching the local fords. Consequently, on October 19, 1861, McClellan had Brig. Gen. George A. McCall and his division of Pennsylvania Reserves, posted at Langley, advance to Dranesville, 15 miles southeast of Leesburg. On the 20th McClellan telegraphed Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, whose division guarded the line of the Potomac from Edwards Ferry to Harpers Ferry to keep a sharp watch toward Leesburg and see it McCall's advance compelled the Rebels to evacuate the town. McClellan then added rather vaguely, "Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them." The slight demonstration led to the battle of Ball's Bluff.[5]

General Stone -- a West Point graduate of the class of 1845, Mexican War veteran, and officer whose loyalty, prudence, and vigilance had insured the security of Washington in the days immediately after the secession of Virginia and at the time of the Baltimore riots -- commanded a three-brigade division headquartered at Poolesville, Maryland. The plan for the "slight demonstration" hurried sketched

out by General Stone called for Brig. Gen Willis O. Gorman's brigade to cross the Potomac at Edwards Ferry, three miles downstream from Ball's Bluff, and feint an attack on the Leesburg Confederates. Col. Charles Devens, commanding a battalion each from the 15th and 20th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments, was to send a patrol across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff to make a pre-dawn reconnaissance toward Leesburg. Covered by the patrol, Devens would then make his major crossing of the Potomac at Smartt's Mill Ford, three-quarters of a mile upstream from Ball's Bluff. Their left flank enveloped by the advance of Devens' column, the Confederates would have only two options -- either evacuate Leesburg or face destruction in a fight with an overwhelming force of Federals.[6]

General Stone's plans for the forced reconnaissance were undermined before they were implemented by the return to its Langley camps of McCall's column from the position it had secured at Dranesville threatening the flank of the Leesburg Confederates. To compound this development, the Confederates through the capture of a courier on the 20th had been alerted to this movement. General McClellan had sent a message to Stone's Poolesville headquarters telling of McCall's activities, but it was not received by General Stone.[7]

B. Captain Philbrick's Patrol Misfires

To begin the "slight demonstration," Colonel Devens sent Capt. Charles Philbrick of Company H, 15th Massachusetts, and a score of men across the Potomac. The patrol had taken position on Harrison's Island, about midway between Edwards and Conrad's Ferries. The island, some three miles in length, divided the Potomac.

Philbrick's patrol left the island in small boats on the evening of the 20th and paddled the 150 feet to the Virginia shore. They were to scout the area toward Leesburg and determine the whereabouts of the Rebel camps. After ascending Ball's Bluff, Philbrick and his men took a cart track leading toward Leesburg. About three-quarters of a mile inland, the soldiers saw what in the dim moonlight seemed to be a Confederate encampment.[8]

C. General Stone Changes a "Slight Demonstration" to a Forced Reconnaissance

Captain Philbrick's report about the unguarded enemy camp reached General Stone about midnight. Stone, having thus far carried out McClellan's orders, went a step further. He directed Colonel Devens of the 15th Massachusetts to cross the Potomac from Harrison's Island to the Virginia side with a battalion of his regiment. He would then march inland and destroy the camp pinpointed by Philbrick's patrol. This accomplished, Devens would reconnoitered the area and, depending on the situation, either return to the river or take up a strong position and call for reinforcements. The battalion of the 20th Massachusetts (known as the Harvard Regiment because so many of its men had attended that institution) was to continue

its occupation of Harrison's Island with four companies, while a fifth was to cross over and secure Ball's Bluff to cover Devens' retrograde "in case he had to fall back."

Col. Edward Baker (whose brigade was camped near Poolesville) was ordered to send the 1st California (71st Pennsylvania) to Conrads Ferry, to be there at daybreak, and to have the remainder of his brigade ready to march after an early breakfast.[9]

Colonel Devens' battalion numbered 300-strong, and there were only three small boats, capable of transporting 10 men each, so it took nearly four hours to reach the river's right bank. Scrambing ashore, the soldiers passed down the river bank about 60 rods by a trace discovered by the scouts and then ascended the 110-foot bluff by a path "about as steep as a man could climb up and carry his musket." The troops halted and rested in an open field surrounded by woods. Here they were joined by Col. William R. Lee and a company of the 20th Massachusetts.[10]

At daybreak Devens' battalion marched westward via the cart track for three-quarters of a mile to where Captain Philbrick had seen the presumed "enemy camp." Devens discovered that Philbrick had been "deceived by a line of trees on the brow of the slope" that, in an uncertain light, had been mistaken for tents. After posting his men in the woods, Devens, Philbrick, and several scouts advanced to where they saw Leesburg. The only sign of the enemy was four tents. Devens then rejoined his battalion, assumed a defensive position in the woods, and sent a messenger -- Quartermaster Church Howe -- to communicate with General Stone who had established his command post at Edwards Ferry. Howe explained to the general what had happened and that Devens could hold his ground until reinforced.[11]

D. Devens' Battalion Clashes with Duff's Pickets

The Confederates had been alerted during the night to Devens' crossing. Company H, 17th Mississippi, Capt. William L. Duff commanding, was posted near Smartt's Mill. Awakened by the noise made by the Federals in their downstream crossing, Duff roused his company. Duff, realizing that a Union thrust inland from Ball's Bluff would cut him off from Evans' brigade, recalled his people. The Confederates evacuated the area and, hastening southward, took position in a field west of the intersection of the cart track and the Conrads Ferry-Leesburg road. Here, about 7 a.m., the first clash took place, when Colonel Devens sent two companies to drive back the Confederate skirmishers that had appeared and were threatening his right. After some brisk fighting both sides pulled back to regroup. Colonel Devens then returned to the bluff and, after discussing the situation with Colonel Lee of the 20th Massachusetts, resumed his position in the woods near Mrs. Samuel T. Jackson's house.[12] He looked at his watch -- it was 8 o' clock.

E. General Stone and Colonel Evans Send Reinforcements

Lieutenant Howe now rejoined Colonel Devens, having been gone 90 minutes. He told Devens that: (a) he was to remain where he was; (b) he was to be reinforced; (c) Lt. Col George H. Ward with the second battalion of the 15th Massachusetts was to occupy Smartt's Mill; and (d) 10 cavalry scouts would join him for reconnoitering farther to the front. The mounted scouts, although they crossed the river, did not ride inland. Howe also told Devens that a flatboat had been lifted from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal into the river and the crossing of reinforcements could be expedited.[13]

Colonel Devens told Quartermaster Howe to retrace his steps and tell General Stone that there had been a fight and that Devens had thrown out skirmishers to the brow of the hill to his front and was holding his ground. Here he would await the arrival of reinforcements.[14]

As he was recrossing the river, Lieutenant Howe encountered Colonel Ward hurrying forward with the other five companies of the 15th Massachusetts. Howe told Ward of the skirmish and that Devens needed help. So instead of crossing from Harrison's Island to Smartt's Mill, as planned, and coming down on the flank of the Confederates confronting Devens' battalion, Ward's battalion reached the south bank of the Potomac at Ball's Bluff thus crowding more men into a narrow bridgehead with a sleep bluff to their rear.[15]

Captain Duff had first alerted Colonel Evans that a battalion-size Union force had crossed the Potomac at Ball's Bluff and then that, after a sharp skirmish, both sides had pulled back to regroup and assess the situation. Evans had taken position with most of his brigade near Edwards Ferry to resist the crossing of the Potomac at that point by Gorman's brigade. In response to Duff's second message, Evans called for Lt. Col. W. H. Jenifer of the cavalry and sent him with an infantry-cavalry combat team to reinforce and take command of Duff's Confederates then observing the Ball's Bluff Federals.[16]

Then, as the noon hour approached, Colonel Evans, satisfied that Gorman's crossing of the Potomac at Edwards Ferry was a feint, ordered Col. Eppa Hunton to reinforce Jenifer's combat team and drive the Yankees into the river. Colonel Hunton and the 400 men of his 8th Virginia Infantry reached the area near Mrs. Jackson's about noon.[17]

F. Enter Colonel Baker

Meanwhile, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, General Stone, as events unfolded, made a bad decision that was to cost a number of men their lives and coincidentally destroy his military career insofar as the United States Army was concerned.

Colonel Baker, having reached Conrads Ferry with the 1st California at an early hour, had joined General Stone at Edwards Ferry. Stone, after explaining the situation to Baker, had ordered Baker to Harrison's Island. To support the Ball's Bluff demonstration, Stone authorized Baker to call upon his brigade, as well as the 42d New York, the 19th and 20th Massachusetts, a section each of Bunting's and Vaughan's batteries, together with French's mountain howitzers.[18]

News of the clash between Devens' battalion and Duff's Mississippians caused General Stone to write Colonel Baker at 11:50 a.m.:

> In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California regiment of your brigade, or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens on the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion, assuming command on arrival.[19]

Baker, a close personal friend of President Lincoln, Mexican War veteran, and a U.S. Senator from Oregon, had reached Harrision's Island some three hours earlier. Upon landing on the island, Baker oversaw the crossing of the river by the other units of his command, instead of going to the front and personally assessing the situation.[20]

Quartermaster Howe had rejoined Colonel Devens near the Jackson place at 10 o'clock and had told Devens that Colonel Baker was en route across the river with reinforcements and to take personal command. By 11 a.m. Colonel Ward reported to Devens with the second battalion, 15th Massachusetts. The arrival of these soldiers, doubling Devens' strength, came none to soon, because at noon the pickets warned that Colonel Jenifer was deploying his combat team to assail the Union left.

G. The Confederates Win Round One

At 12:30 the attack came. Rebel infantry, taking advantage of the woods, advanced against the Union left, while Jenifer's cavalry harassed Devens' skirmishers posted in the fields west of the Jackson house and on either side of the Smartt's Mill-Edwards Ferry road. Strengthened by Hunton's 8th Virginia, Jenifer's infantry carried the fight to the Yankees. Colonel Devens called for help but none came. His situation became desperate as the Confederates employed their superior numbers (700 vs. 600) to turn his left flank. Devens, to prepare for retreat, retired his battle line about "60 paces into an open space in the wood," and recalled his skirmishers.[21]

H. Colonel Baker Chooses a Poor Position

While the fight near the Jackson house raged and then ebbed, Colonel Baker assembled a force atop Ball's Bluff. These units included five additional companies of the 20th Massachusetts, two 6-pounder mountain howitzers manned by Company I, 1st U.S.

Artillery, and a 12-pounder James rifle served by Company B, 1st Rhode Island Artillery. The latter piece had to be broken down and hauled to the top of the bluff. Colonel Baker climbed the bluff at 2:15, and was soon followed by the 1st California and one company of the 42d New York, known as the Tammany Regiment.

Colonel Devens, leaving Colonal Ward in charge of the 15th Massachusetts' battle line, returned to the bluff to be congratulated by Baker "upon the splendid manner in which your regiment behaved this morning." Turning to Colonel Lee of the 20th Massachusetts, Baker remarked, "I congratulate you upon the prospect of a battle."[22]

Colonel Baker, after being briefed by Devens, determined to hold a shallow bridge-head covering the Ball's Bluff crossing, rather than the commanding ground farther inland. It was early in the war before soldiers had learned from bitter experience that a rifle-musket could kill or main a person at ranges in excess of 500 yards, and Baker's attention was drawn to the field near the edge of the bluff. "Trapezoidal in form," the 8-to 10-acre field provided cleared ground for the Union artillery to emplace their guns, while enabling most of the infantry to position themselves in the woods that enclosed the field on the east and north.

To implement Baker's decision, Devens recalled his regiment. Returning to the bluff, the men of the 15th Massachusetts found the soldiers of the 1st California posted near the top of the bluff. The 15th Massachusetts filed into position to the right of the 1st California, their battle line in the open woods forming the field's north boundary and perpendicular to the 1st California. The mountain howitzers where in advance of the angle formed by the two regiments and the brass James rifle on the left, in front of the 1st California. The 20th Massachusetts was fragmented -- one company in the woods on the right of the 15th Massachusetts, five companies on the left of the 15th Massachusetts, and one company in the woods on the left of 1st California.

A deep hollow, debouching into the Potomac downstream from the bluff trail, paralleled the cart track. On the far side of the hollow was a wooded ridge. Although Colonel Baker's attention was called to the ridge and he was urged to occupy that ground, which commanded the field where the artillery was emplaced, he failed to heed this advice. In addition, Baker had aligned his right in such a manner that the companies there could not fire to the front if the center of his battle line advanced. The Union reserves were posted so they would be exposed to the fire of Rebel sharpshooters hidden in the woods.[23]

I. <u>The Confederates Savage the Union Artillery</u>

Hunton's 8th Virginia and Jenifer's combat team trailed the 15th Massachusetts as it retired into the shallow perimeter. The Virginians took cover southwest of the field, and then opened fire with their long-range rifle-muskets concentrating on

the Yankee artillerists. This phase of the fight was short, deadly, and onesided. Col. Milton Cogswell of the 42d New York, while awaiting the arrival of his regiment, took charge of the cannon. He recalled, "Soon ... nearly all the artillerymen had been shot and the pieces were worked for a time by Colonel Baker ..., a few other officers and myself."[24]

Capt. William L. Bartlett of the 20th Massachusetts remembered that the James rifle was "not discharged more than eight times. The gunners were shot down in the first of the engagement."[25] Colonel Hunton of the 8th Virginia agreed with the assessment of the Union officers. He wrote, "at the first fire from my regiment nearly every man of the enemy's cannon was shot down."[26]

J. Colonel Evans Gains the Bulge

To add to the Federals' embarrassment, Confederate reinforcements were hurrying to the sound of the guns. Colonel Evans at 2:30, satisfied that Gorman's Edwards Ferry crossing of the Potomac was not an immediate threat, ordered the 18th Mississippi, Col. Erasmus R. Burt commanding, to Ball's Bluff. The Mississippians marched rapidly, and at 3 o'clock the column, advancing via the cart track, reached the edge of the field. The firing that had been heavy had all but ceased, the soldiers of the 8th Virginia having used up most of their ammunition silencing the Union artillery and keeping its supporting infantry pinned down. Colonel Burt saw the Union cannon on the far side of the field and, without waiting to deploy from column into line, charged toward the two howitzers. As the Mississippians surged from the woods, they came under a heavy small-arms fire from the Yankee soldiers posted in the edge of the timber to their front and flank. Colonel Burt and a number of his men fell dead or wounded, and the Mississippians recoiled. During this fight, Lt. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., of the 20th Massachusetts was struck by two minie balls. He was evacuated from the field unconscious. Lt. Col. Thomas M. Griffin, succeeding to command of the 18th Mississippi, occupied the high ground on the far side of the hollow, downstream from the Ball's Bluff crossing. By doing so, he boldly interposed his regiment between Colonel Baker's command and Gorman's Edwards Ferry bridgehead.[27]

More Confederates were coming. At 3 p.m. Colonel Evans called up the 17th Mississippi from its position near Edwards Ferry. The regiment marched two miles in 20 minutes, and, on reaching Ball's Bluff, Col. Winfield S. Featherston deployed his 17th Mississippi in the 200-yard interval that separated the left of the 18th Mississippi from the right of the 8th Virginia. Colonel Evans had forged the last link in an iron perimeter confronting the shallow bridgehead. From right to left, the Confederates were posted -- 18th Mississippi, 17th Mississippi, 8th Virginia, and Jenifer's combat team (the infantry on the right and the cavalry on the left).[28]

K. Colonel Baker Dies and a Battle Becomes a Debacle

While the Confederates employed their interior lines to heavily reinforce their force at Ball's Bluff, Union troops continued to trickle across the Potomac and into the enclave. But they were too few and too late. Union efforts to secure the ground commanding their left were rebuffed, when their officers, first Colonel Baker and then Colonel Cogswell, frittered their strength in piecemeal attacks -- the first by a company of the 1st California and the second by two companies of the 42d New York.

About 5 p.m. Colonel Baker, as he moved from the right of his line, passing in front of his skirmishers, was killed by Rebel sharpshooters. As Baker dropped, there was a wild melee for possession of his body. The Yanks prevailed and the corpse was sent back across the Potomac. This placed Colonel Cogswell, as senior officer present, in command of the brigade. Conferring with Colonels Devens and Lee, Cogswell vetoed their suggesting that the brigade escape from the trap in which Baker had thrust it by recrossing the river. Cogswell, satisfied that this was suicidal, called for a sortie to cut their way through to Edwards Ferry. Orders were given to form the brigade into "column of attack, faced to the left."

The sortie was spearheaded by two companies of the 42d New York, supported by a battalion of the 1st California. Wheeling to the left, the grim Federals sought to sweep across the hollow and brush the 18th Mississippi aside, thereby opening the escape route downstream to Edwards Ferry. The counterattack was repulsed by the Mississippians, when the 15th and 20th Massachusetts failed to promptly come up. As the troops formed for the breakout, a Rebel officer -- Lt. Charles B. Wildman -- appeared in front of the New Yorkers and beckoned them forward. The New Yorkers responded to this gesture with wild oaths and charged. They were followed by the Californians. The 15th Massachusetts also started forward but was recalled by Colonel Devens who was awaiting an order from Cogswell before committing his men. The result was predictable -- the New Yorkers and Californians were "received by a shower of bullets" and hurled back by the 18th Mississippi.

The Federals pulled back and reformed in the edge of the woods -- the steep bluff and river to their rear. They had little time to brace themselves or readjust their battle lines, because Colonel Evans, sensing that a crisis in the fight had arrived, called for his "entire force to charge" and drive the enemy into the river. The Confederates pressed ahead. The 17th Mississippi and 8th Virginia, as they entered the field, came under heavy small-arms fire from the Union battle line posted in the woods and understory on the far side. After getting off several volleys, the Federals abandoned their position and, scrambling down the steep bluff, sought to reform on the narrow shelf between the bluff and river. Two more companies of the 42d New York had landed from the flatboat and Colonel Cogswell ordered them to ascend the bluff to cover the retreat. This was a futile maneuver and added to the confusion.[29]

The Confederates in their advance to the bluff captured the three Union cannon -- the 17th Mississipi taking possession of the James rifle and the 8th Virginia the two mountain howitzers. From their commanding position on the bluff, the Rebels fired into the milling mass below.[30] Colonel Devens deployed some of his men as skirmishers near the river and returned the Confederates' volleys. To add to the Federals' discomfiture, the flatboat swamped as a number of frightened men rushed abroad. Colonel Cogswell was captured as he led a sortie against the 18th Mississippi which had crossed the hollow and stabbed into the left flank of the disordered mass of humanity. Colonel Devens shouted for his men to throw their weapons into the river and "to escape as they could." Devens, assisted by three of his men, swam the river.

Posted on Harrison's Island was the 19th Massachusetts, and Col. Edward Hincks and his men "commenced making rafts, and shoved them into the river, at the upper end of th island, so that they might drift against the Virginia shore, so that our soldiers might get them." This help was too late. By 8 p.m. most of the soldiers who had been hemmed in and driven to the river's edge had been accounted for -- 553 had surrendered and were being marched off to Leesburg under guard; 161, most of whom had drowned in attempting to reach Harrison's Island, were missing; 49 had been killed; and 158, most of whom fell into Confederate hands, were wounded. As late as mid-November, bodies of Union soldiers were being recovered from the Potomac. The body of a private in the artillery, his testament containing a lock of hair in his pocket, was pulled from the river at Fort Washington. Confederate losses in this one-sided battle were: 33 killed, 115 wounded, and 1 missing.[31]

II. THE BALL'S BLUFF FIGHT AND THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

A. Ball's Bluff as a Catalyst

The Ball's Bluff disaster cast a pall of gloom across the North to be followed by a cry of outrage. At the War Department, there were tears shed by President Lincoln, when he learned of the death of his friend "Ned" Baker for whom he had named his second son.[32] Among the gravely wounded was future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Writing his mother from a hospital, Holmes reported that the 20th Massachusetts had been cut up, "Only 8 officers out of 22 got home unhurt, I was hit in the beginning of the fight."[33]

News of the Ball's Bluff debacle caused the Boston Post to shriek, "Worse than a crime -- a blunder!" Brig. Gen. George G. Meade deemed the battle, "A bungle from beginning to end." Stung deeply by this latest military disaster, many in the North echoed New York Congressman Roscoe Conkling's demand for "the name of the person culpable." The scapegoat could not be Colonel Baker, who had died a hero; nor was it to be General McClellan, whose vague initial orders for the forced reconnaissance were subsequently criticized.[34]

B. Congress Establishes a Joint Committee

The second session of the 37th Congress convened in Washington on Monday, December 2, 1861. Most of the members were troubled by Union defeats at First Manassas in July and in early August at Wilson's Creek, shocked by the Ball's Bluff disaster in mid-October that had cost the life of one of their colleagues, and exasperated by the failure of General McClellan to carry boldly the war to the Confederate army in Northern Virginia. There were expressions of discontent about how the Lincoln administration was prosecuting the war. Slavery, too, was becoming more and more an issue.

Adversity made Congress grimly determined. The power of the North must be brought to bear relentlessly. Many Democrats no less than Republicans were whole-hearted in that resolve. If, after nearly eight months of armed Rebellion, there had been little progress toward its suppression, Congress itself would take a hand.

Hardly had the members of the House of Representatives settled in their seats before Republican Conkling introduced a resolution calling for inquiry into the Ball's Bluff imbroglio, which was promptly adopted. A few days later in the Senate, Republican Zachariah Chandler of Michigan proposed a resolution to investigate not only Ball's Bluff but also Manassas. Extending amendments were proferred, including one to inquire generally into the "causes of the disasters that have attended the public arms."

After considerable debate, a concurrent resolution was proposed calling for an inquiry "into the conduct of the present war" by a select committee of the 37th Congress, to consist of three Senators and four Representatives. The committee was to have "power to send for persons and papers." The Senate adopted the proposal and the House agreed. Thus was established the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Because historians in the 120 years since have portrayed that committee as an instrument of the Radical Republician faction in the Congress, it is well to note that the resolution was adopted in the Senate by a vote of 33 to 3 and on going to the House on December 10, was adopted unanimously, without debate.

In the Senate debate a couple of alleged precedents were cited for such a congressional inquiry. The precedents, however, were weak. The truth is that nothing of the sort had been done before. In the six score of years since, we have become accustomed to sweeping congressional investigations. In 1861 the idea was novel.[35]

Motivating Congress were two things. In the first place there was a deep discontent and impatience at the fumbling by the Northern military and the lack of aggressive action. In the second place there was a keen sense of responsibility on the part of

Congress to see that the funds it appropriated and the other legislation it adopted were administered properly.

The committee as constitued consisted of three senators (two Republicans and one Democratic) appointed by Vice President Hannibal Hamlin (Ben F. Wade of Ohio, Zackariah Chandler of Michigan, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee) and four representatives (three Republicans and one Democratic) named by Speaker of the House (D. W. Gooch of Massachusetts, George Washington Julian of Indiana, John Covade of Pennsylvania, and Moses F. Odell of New York).

C. A Historian's View

John G. Randall, whose The Civil War and Reconstruction is a standard college text on this era, has described the committee and its members in harsh terms:

> Underlying the activities of the committee, which consisted almost entirely of men who had never been in the army, was an assumption of superiority toward the trained soldier, an impatience to force battles and "get results," and a ruthless determination to bring the power of publicity to bear upon generals who were deemed lacking in zeal or responsible for errors. There was a distinctly partisan tinge to the committee's work. Not only did its members resent the importance given to Democratic generals; they labored to promote one flank of the Republican party, and that the flank opposed to Lincoln and his administration. The committee traveled extensively, summoned numerous witnesses, filled huge volumes with its hearings and reports, investigated Union disasters, and "considered themselves ... a sort of Aulic Council clothed with authority to supervise the plans of commanders in the field, to make military suggestions, and to dictate military appointments."[36]

D. The Committee Focuses on General Stone and Ball's Bluff

The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, in view of public demands for a scapegoat, promptly began an ex parte investigation of the Ball's Bluff debacle. They employed means common to similar bodies. Willing witnesses were found and questioned; there was no cross-examination; the accused was not confronted by the witnesses nor told their names. The Committee listened to amazing stories of General Stone's alleged disloyality, his treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and learned of supposed meetings with unnamed Confederate officers. The "evidence" was kept secret. Stone was not allowed to know the charges against him nor the identity of the witnesses; and the atmosphere of the proceedings indicated that the legislative investigators had prejudged the evidence against the general. The Committee's "trial" or inquiry never reached any conclusions, but Chairman Wade

kept the Secretary of War (first Simon Cameron and then his successor Edwin M. Stanton) informed that the testimony before the Committee was of such a character that some explanation by General Stone has required.[37]

Accordingly on January 28, 1862, Secretary Stanton ordered General McClellan to place General Stone under arrest. On doing so, Stanton told McClellan that he was taking this action "at the solicitation of the Committee."[38]

General McClellan asked that Stone have another day before the Committee. The Committee assented and General Stone was called to the city, and, on the last day of January, was for a second time examined. Meanwhile, the execution of the arrest order was informally suspended at the request of General McClellan, who had told the Secretary that he did not see how any charges could be drawn on the testimony to date.[39]

E. General Stone Becomes the Scapegoat

The Committee told Stone that it had heard testimony that: (a) appeared to impeach his conduct at Ball's Bluff; (b) showed he had had "undue intercourse with the enemy, both by letter and by personal intercourse with their officers"; and (c) he had permitted the foe "to erect formidable fortifications and batteries within reach of his guns," which could have been prevented. These statements were made in general terms and the witnesses purposely not identified, so they could not be "called to account by their commanding general for statements made before a committee of Congress."

General Stone then made for the Committee's benefit an explanation of his conduct in general terms. Chairman Wade then informed Secretary Stanton that the testimony on the points to which Stone's attention had been called was conflicting. The Committee made no recommendation as to resolution of the situation.

Then, on February 9, General Stone was arrested and whisked away to Fort Lafayette, in New York Harbor, where he was imprisoned. When called before the Committee on the last day of February, General McClellan testified that some ten days or two weeks before Stone's arrest, Secretary Stanton had given McClellan an order to arrest Stone because Stanton had been informed by members of the Committee that Stone was "guilty of conduct not consistent with loyality."[40]

On the day before Stone's arrest (February 8), the presumed smoking gun had been supplied. A refugee from Leesburg entered Union lines with a vague story of mysterious flags of truce and of the high esteem the Confederate leaders had for their friend Stone. McClellan was placed in a quandary -- either he had to share the refugee's story with Secretary Stanton or withhold it. He opted for the latter. When shown the refugee's statement, Stanton ordered Stone's arrest and imprisonment.[41]

On February 10 Secretary of State William H. Seward asked the Committee for its evidence against Stone. At the Committee's direction Senators Wade and Chandler showed the evidence to Seward, who took them to see President Lincoln. There the Committee's stenographer read "such portions of the testimony, as was called for, and there was time to read."[42]

Charges were never filed against General Stone, despite his demands therefor. By early spring his shabby treatment was causing considerable concern in Congress, and the Senate asked the President for a report. On May 1 Lincoln replied that: (a) the arrest had been made under his "general authority"; (b) the evidence required "proceeding to be had against him"; (c) charges would be filed "in due season"; and, (d) a trial would be held "without unnecessary delay."[43] This did not happen.

General Stone was held at first Fort Lafayette and then Fort Hamilton, in close and solitary confinement, until August 16, when he was released. His release had been secured under an act of Congress, approved by President Lincoln on July 17, 1862, forbidding the detention of any officer or soldier more than 30 days without charges.

It should be noted that Stone had been held for 30 days before the law was allowed to operate in his behalf. Moreover, the Articles of War, the fundamental law for governing the Army, contained essentially the same provision as the act of July 17, the only essential difference being that the law lengthened the period for preferring charges from 8 to 30 days.[44]

Not only were no charges preferred against General Stone but no acknowledgment of error was made. In February 1863, more than one year after he was arrested in the dead of night, General Stone again appeared before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War to provide additional testimony in his behalf. Again there was no cross-examination of witnesses.[45]

In the course of its investigation of the Ball's Bluff Affair, the Committee believed that the evidence it had gathered provided "probable cause" for arrest. It, however, had acted properly in turning over the evidence to the Chief Executive. Consequently, blame for the arrest and imprisonment of Stone was the responsibility of the President, not the Committee.[46]

In May 1863, at the request of Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, Stone was ordered to report to him. Stone reached Louisiana in June and, soon after the surrender of Port Hudson, Banks named him chief-of-staff. He served in this capacity until April 4, 1864, when he was deprived of his brigadier general's commission and ordered to "report by letter" as colonel of the 14th U.S. Infantry. On September 16, 1864, Stone, disgusted and dismayed by the "strain of the unmerited suffering he had so long endured" resigned. He left the country and served as

Chief-of-Staff to the Khedive of Egypt from 1871 to 1883. Later, he was engineer for construction of the foundation for the Statue of Liberty. Stone died in New York City on January 27, 1887.[47]

ENDNOTES

1. John G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston, 1953), p. 370.

2. William W. Pierson, Jr., "The Committee on the Conduct of the War," American Historical Review, Vol. XXIII, pp. 550-76.

3. Ray S. Baker, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, 8 Vols. (New York, 1939), Vol. VII, pp. 185-86, 202-03, 251-52.

4. Harry S Truman, Memoirs--Years of Decision, 2 Vols. (New York, 1955), Vol I, p. 168.

5. Richard B. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arretof General Stone," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 4 Vols. (New York, 1884-87), Vol. II, pp. 123-24; The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. V, 220; cited hereinafter as O.R.

6. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 293-94.

7. Andrew E. Ford, The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusett Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War (Clinton, 1893), p. 74; Joseph D. Patch, The Battle of Ball's Bluff (Leesburg, 1958), pp. 53-54. On the evening of the 19th General Evans, apprised of the occupation of Dranesville by McCall's division, had posted his brigade on the north side of Goose Creek. Here the brigade, except for the force commanded by Capt. William L. Duff picketing the Potomac crossings from Smartt's Mill to Conrads Ferry, remained until the morning of the 21st.

8. Ford, Story of the 15th Massachusetts, p. 68.

9. Ibid, p. 68; Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," II, p. 125; O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 293-94, 308-9.

10. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," II, p. 125; Ford, Story of the 15th Massachusetts, pp. 69-70; Allison Lockwood, "Disaster at Ball's Bluff," American History Illustrated, Vol. XVI, No. 10, February 1982, p. 40.

11. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, p. 125.

12. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 263-64.

13. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, p. 125.

14. O.R. Ser. I, Vol. V, 309.

15. Ford, Story of the 15th Massachusetts, p. 78; John Divine, Loudoun County and the Civil War (Leesburg, 1961), p. 25.

16. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 349, 368. Jenifer's combat team included four companies of infantry from the 13th, 17th, and 18th Mississippi and three companies of Virginia cavalry. On the morning of the 21st, Colonel Evans, taking cognizance of the Union activities at Edwards Ferry and the information regarding McCall's withdrawal from Dranesville, abandoned his position covering Goose Creek and returned with his brigade to Fort Evans.

17. Ibid., 349, 367.

18. Ibid., 294-95.

19. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, p. 127.

20. Ibid.; O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 296, 309-310.

21. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 310, 349, 364, 367, 369.

22. Ibid., 310, 321; Divine, Loudoun County in the Civil War, p. 26; Lockwood, "Disaster at Ball's Bluff," p. 41.

23. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 310, 321; Robert H. Bailey, Forward to Richmond (Alexandria, 1983), p. 45.

24. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 321, 367, 369-70.

25. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," II, pp. 128-29.

26. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 367.

27. Ibid., 349, 365.

28. Ibid., 349, 358, 361.

29. Ibid., 310, 319, 321-22, 327-28, 349, 358, 359, 347; Bailey, Forward to Richmond, p. 47.

30. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. V, 310, 319-20, 322.

31. Ibid.; Lockwood, "Disaster at Ball's Bluff," pp. 36, 45.

32. Lockwood, "Diaster at Ball's Bluff," p. 45.

33. Patch, Battle of Ball's Bluff, p. 17.

34. Bailey, Forward to Richmond, p. 36.

35. Howard C. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at Scholars' Appraisals," paper given before the Chicago Civil War Round Table. January 9, 1981, files History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

36. Randall, Civil War and Reconstruction, pp. 368-69.

37. Ibid., 369-70; Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Serial 1153, pp. 17-18; Howard C. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at the Record," Lincoln Herald, Vol. 80, No. 1, p. 5.

38. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, p. 133.

39. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at the Record," p. 5; Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, pp. 133-34.

40. Report on Committee on Conduct of the War, Serial 1153, p. 18.

41. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone," Vol. II, p. 134; Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Serial 1153, p. 18.

42. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at the Record," p. 6; Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Serial 1153, p. 82.

43. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at the Record," p. 6; Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2d Sess. p. 1742; James D. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents (New York, 1897), Vol. VI, pp. 74-5.

44. Irwin, "Ball's Bluff and the Arrest of General Stones," Vol. II, p. 123.

45. Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War, Serial 1153, pp. 486-502.

46. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War -- A Look at the Record," p. 6; Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2d Sess., p. 1740.

47. Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Blue: Lives of Union Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1964), pp. 480-1.

ORDER OF BATTLE

Battle of Ball's Bluff -- October 21, 1861

Union Forces -- Col. Edward D. Baker (killed);
Col. Milton Cogswell (wounded and captured)

	Killed	Wounded	Missing
15th Massachusetts Infantry, Col. Charles Devens	14	61	227
20th Massachusetts Infantry (Companies A, C, D, E, G, H, and I), Col. William R. Lee (captured)	15	44	135
1st California (71st Pennsylvania) Infantry, Lt. Col. Issac Wistar (wounded)	13	40	228
42d New York Infantry (Companies A, C, E, H, and K), Col. M. Cogswell	7	6	120
Company B, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery (1 gun), Lt. W. M. Bramhall (wounded)		5	4
Company I, 1st U.S. Artillery (2 guns), Lt. Frank S. French			
Total	49	158	714

Union Force at Edwards Ferry -- Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Willis A. Gorman

7th Michigan Infantry

1st Minnesota Infantry

Confederate Forces -- Col. Nathan G. Evans

13th Mississippi Infantry, Col. W. Barksdale	4	2	1
17th Mississippi Infantry, Col. W. S. Featherston	2	9	0

18th Mississippi Infantry, Col. E. Burk, (mortally wounded), Lt. Col. T. M. Griffin	23	62	0
8th Virginia Infantry, Col. E. Hunton	11	40	1
Ball's, Mead's, and Adams' Companies of Virginia Cavalry, Col. W. H. Jenifer			
Total	40	113	2

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Verbal Boundary Description

Beginning at a point on the bank of the Potomac 600 feet downstream from the mouth of the intermittent stream dischanging into the river southeast of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield National Cemetery; then west 1635 feet to point C; then northwest 750 feet to a point on the cemetery road; then north 587.46 feet to a point on the Culbertson-Beus fence line; then northeast with the subject fence line 555 feet; then northeast 635 feet; then east 800 feet to the Potomac River; and then downstream to the point of beginning. The ground encompassed embraces the area where the battle raged and climaxed.