



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

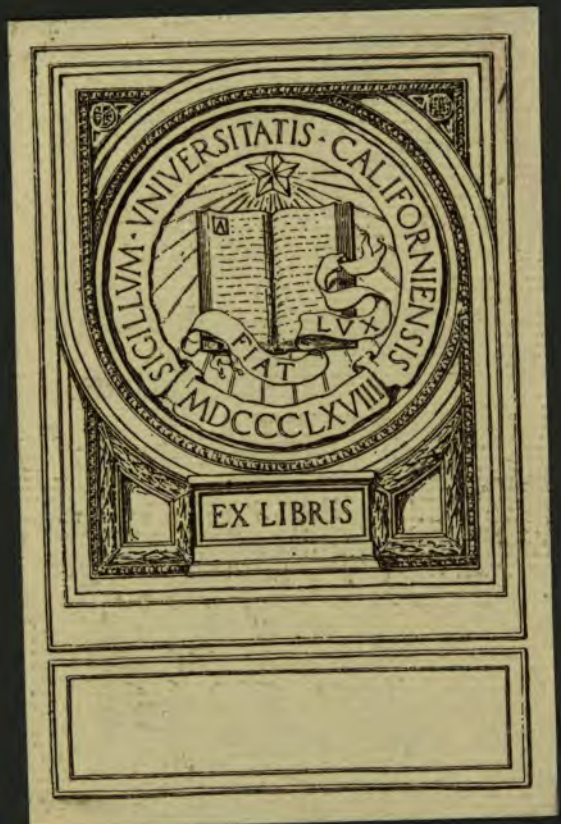
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

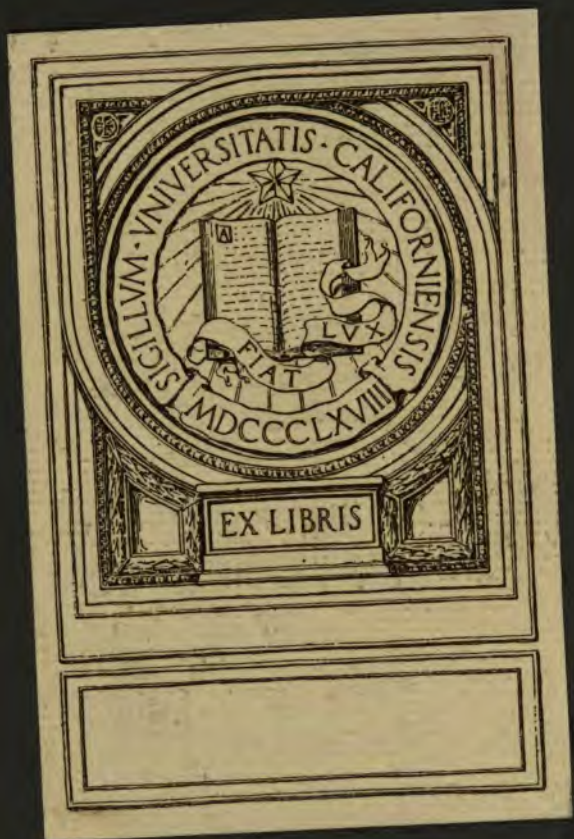
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



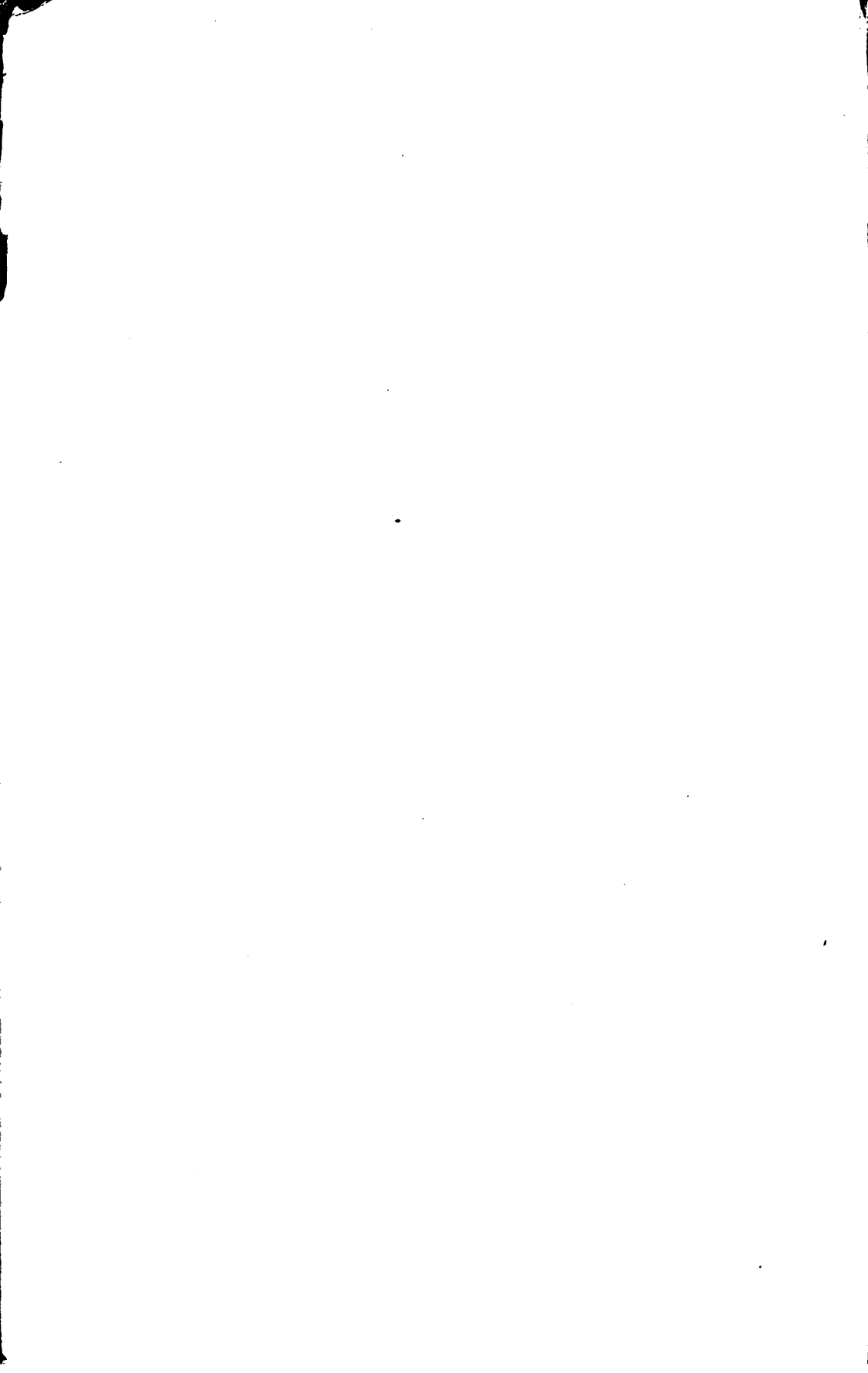
EX LIBRIS





EX LIBRIS



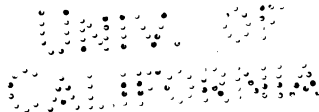


NUMBERS AND LOSSES
IN THE CIVIL WAR
IN AMERICA
1861-65

BY

THOMAS L. LIVERMORE

*Member of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, and
during the war, Major and Brevet Colonel of the 5th New
Hampshire Volunteers and Colonel of the 18th
New Hampshire Volunteers*



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1900

E491
L5

TO WHOM
ATTENTION

A S C

PREFACE

THIS volume has grown from an essay which was read before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, February 23, 1897. Later research and study have led to changing many of the figures given in that essay. This is notably true of the numbers given for the strength of the armies engaged in the different battles. In the essay the number of those "present for duty" was used, but here, for reasons given in their place, the number of "effectives" is taken. This will explain, and excuse the author for, discrepancies between citations made by others from the former essay and the figures here given.

The articles "Military Training," in the Journal of the Military Service Institution of July, 1893, and "General Thomas in the Record," in volume x. of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, were written before the studies for this volume were begun; and while, for the comparisons made in those articles, their figures do not need much if any amendment, they must give place to those given in this volume as an exact statement of numbers and losses.

The author cannot hope that he has found everything in the 129 volumes of War Records that should be considered in a work like this, and it is hardly probable that he has entirely avoided errors in transcribing so many figures and making so many calculations, but he

trusts that the citation of volume and page for every number given will result in the correction of any that exist by those who use this work.

The author earnestly hopes for criticism and amendment of what he has written, wherever they seem to be due, and especially by the survivors of those who were actors, on both sides, in the great events upon which this work touches.

T. L. L.

Boston, June 1, 1900.

ABBREVIATIONS.

W. R. — War Records. The volumes are cited by the "serial" numbers which from volume xxxi. are printed on the backs. It will facilitate reference for the reader to number prior volumes in the same manner.

M. and D. — Messages and Documents of the War Department, 1865-66.

Reg. Losses. — Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, by William F. Fox.

Va. Camp. — The Virginia Campaigns of 1864 and 1865, by Andrew A. Humphreys.

M. H. M. — Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.

Van Horne. — History of the Army of the Cumberland, by Thomas B. Van Horne.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES
IN THE
CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

TOTAL NUMBER IN THE UNION ARMY.

THE enlistments in the Union army during the War of the Rebellion numbered 2,898,304.¹ This number includes about 230,000 militia and "emergency men," who served for short terms, and some part of whom were not mustered into the United States service.

The term of service (expiring by the terms of enlistment or by the close of the war), under 1,580,000 of these enlistments, was from two weeks to fourteen months.

The number of individuals under arms was considerably less than the number of enlistments, because of repeated enlistment by individuals. It is probable that many of the 200,000 men who served for short terms in 1861 and 1862 enlisted again. Over 200,000 men reenlisted in the veteran regiments, the Veteran Reserve Corps and Hancock's Veteran Corps.²

TOTAL NUMBER IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

It is most disappointing that the mass of records which have been published by the War Department

¹ See post, p. 50.

² M. and D., Part III. 58-93.

contains no summary of the number who were under arms on the Confederate side. General Cooper, the adjutant-general of the Confederate army, stated soon after the war that no such summary existed.¹ The officials of the War Records Office, because of the incomplete and fragmentary character of the data in their possession, have never attempted to fix the number. As far as the writer has been able to learn, neither of the Confederate States kept a record of the number of men furnished to the Confederate service, and the statistics which can be obtained from the state authorities are far from complete.

ESTIMATES OF CONFEDERATE WRITERS.

The total number of men in the Confederate armies has been estimated at 600,000 to 700,000 by General Marcus J. Wright,² and at about 600,000 by General Early,³ Alexander H. Stephens,⁴ and Dr. Joseph Jones,⁵ surgeon-general of the United Confederate Veterans; but, excepting the last-named, neither of these writers gives the source of his figures, and, as will appear below, the largest of these estimates is too low. It is a part of human nature which persuades the losers in war to believe that the result must have come from a great disparity in numbers. The sustained conflict and terrible loss of four years of war placed the reputation

¹ So. Hist. Society Papers, vii. 290.

² So. Hist. Society Papers, xix. 254.

³ So. Hist. Society Papers, ii. 20.

⁴ The War between the States, ii. 630.

⁵ So. Hist. Society Papers, vii. 289. Pamphlet entitled United Confederate Veterans, published at New Orleans, 1892, in files of M. H. M., p. 6.

of Southern valor so high that exaggerated statements of numbers cannot further exalt it in the estimation of the world. To prove that the estimated ratio of four to one between the two armies is not founded in fact does not diminish that reputation. The result of the war depended much upon the superiority of the North in material resources. This outweighed many men. On the other hand, it would not disparage Northern courage to establish a large disproportion in numbers, in view of the defensive attitude of the South, and the necessity of invading and occupying a constantly enlarging territory which was forced upon the Northern army. This required many more men than mere battles upon equal terms would have required.

Dr. Jones, in arriving at the estimate above mentioned, takes the following statistics of casualties in the Confederate army, furnished by General Cooper: —

Killed in battle, 1861-65	53,973
Wounded, 1861-65	194,026
Captured, 1861-65	202,283

and the following from the returns of the Confederate field and general hospitals for 1861-62: —

Killed	19,897
Deaths in field hospitals from wounds . . .	1,623
Deaths in general hospitals from wounds . . .	2,618
Deaths in field hospitals from disease . . .	14,597
Deaths in general hospitals from disease . . .	16,741
	<hr/>
	35,579
	<hr/>
	55,476
 Total wounded	 72,713
Prisoners	51,072
Discharged	16,940

4 *NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR*

He assumes that the mortality from wounds and disease in 1863-64 equaled that in 1861-62, that 100,000 deserted or were discharged, and that 20,000 died in Northern prisons, and states that "at the close of the war, the available active force in the field numbered scarcely 100,000 men;" and from all these figures he calculates the number serving in the Confederate army during the war at 600,000, as follows:—

Grand total deaths from battle, wounds, and disease	200,000
Losses of Confederate army in prisoners during the war, on account of the policy of non-exchange adopted and enforced by the United States	. . 200,000
Losses of the Confederate army from discharges and desertions during the years 1861-65	. . . . . 100,000
Available active force in the field at close of war	. 100,000
	600,000

This estimate does not conform to the statistics cited by Dr. Jones. The mortality from wounds and disease in 1861-62, as shown by the citation from the hospital returns, was 35,579, and assuming, as Dr. Jones does, that the mortality from the same cause was the same in 1863-64 as in 1861-62, we arrive at a total of 71,158; and adding the 53,973 killed in battle given by General Cooper, the total deaths would appear to be 125,131, instead of 200,000, as stated by Dr. Jones. Against the 100,000 desertions and discharges estimated by him, the hospital returns as cited give only 16,940 discharges and no desertions. On the other hand, to Dr. Jones's estimate of 100,000 in the field at the close of the war it would be necessary to add those borne on the rolls as absent from the field to arrive at the total number in the army at the close of the war.

ESTIMATE BASED ON CONFEDERATE MUSTER-ROLLS
IN UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.

There is exact and indisputable evidence upon which the numbers, as estimated by Dr. Jones and the other writers above mentioned, must be greatly enlarged. In the United States War Department there are Confederate muster-rolls¹ which record the casualties of a considerable portion of the Confederate regiments for periods which average about two years. A tabulation of the losses there recorded shows —

Killed in action	52,954
Died of wounds	21,570
Died of disease	59,297
Deserted	104,428
Discharged	57,762
	<hr/>
Total	296,011
From which perhaps there should be deducted } for deserters, who were returned to the ranks ² }	21,056
	<hr/>
Leaving	274,955

Colonel Fox, in his “Regimental Losses,” says: “A summing-up of the casualties at each battle and minor engagement, using official reports only, and in their absence accepting Confederate estimates, indicates that 94,000 men were killed or mortally wounded during the war.” And referring to the tabulation from the Confederate muster-rolls above referred to, he says: “If the Confederate rolls could have been completed and then revised,— as has been done with the rolls of the Union regiments,— the number of killed as shown above (74,524) would be largely increased. As it is,

¹ M. and D., Part III. 141.
² M. and D., Part III. 139.

the extent of such increase must remain a matter of conjecture." And he adds that the number of killed in the Union army, obtained by a similar tabulation of its muster-rolls, was afterwards increased 15,000 by "final statements" and affidavits filed at the Pension Bureau. In this revision all who died of wounds were included, whereas, in the reports of battles, only those who died on the field were usually reported among the killed and mortally wounded, and the large numbers of wounded who afterwards died of their wounds in the hospitals were reported as wounded. Many reported at the close of the action as missing were in fact killed in action.¹

In view of the absence of Confederate reports of actions where large losses must have occurred, notably in 1864 and 1865, any summing-up of the casualties from the reports must necessarily be incomplete, and the number (94,000) arrived at by Colonel Fox can be accepted only as a minimum.

There is one measure which indicates that this number must be too small. Mr. Kirkley, the statistician of the War Department, states that in the Union army, excluding the missing in action, 67,058 were killed, and 43,012 died of wounds.² The same ratio would give 33,952 as the number who died of wounds, to the 52,934 returned on the Confederate muster-rolls as killed in action. The total of 86,886 killed and died of wounds, thus reached, must be much below the full number, in view of the fact that the returns cover an

¹ Reg. Losses, 22, 47, 554.

² Reg. Losses, 24. The earlier statement of the War Department (M. and D., Part III. 72-80) is superseded by this statement.

average of only about two years, and include only 20 regiments of the 61 regiments and 38 battalions from Alabama.¹

The Confederate muster-rolls show that Dr. Jones's estimate of desertions and discharges is too small by 40,873 at least; and his estimate of 100,000 as the available force in the field at the close of the war is proved to be too small by the record of 174,223² who then surrendered. A further addition of about 270,000 must be made for those on the rolls who did not then surrender.³ Dr. Jones's estimate of 200,000 as the loss in prisoners is too large. Only 63,442 remained in prison at the end of the war; ⁴ 1955 had enlisted in the United States service,⁴ and probably not over 40,000 died in prison.⁵

Corrected as above suggested, Dr. Jones's estimate would stand as follows:—

Killed in action ⁶	94,000
Died of disease	59,297
Loss in prisoners, about	105,000
Loss by desertion	83,372
Loss by discharge ⁶	57,762
On rolls January 1, 1865 (less 63,442 prisoners) ⁷ .	381,761
	<hr/>
	781,192

As this total of 781,192 includes, for discharges and desertions, only those recorded in the incomplete muster-rolls above referred to, it cannot be accepted as adequate. It is also to be remarked that 59,297 is,

¹ Post, p. 29.

² M. and D., Part I. 45.

³ Post, p. 46.

⁴ M. and D., Part I. 45.

⁵ Reg. Losses, 50 and note.

⁶ Ante, p. 5.

⁷ Post, p. 46.

in all probability, too small a number for the deaths by disease. There were 249,458 deaths¹ from disease and accident in the Union army, or 152 to a thousand men serving three years, computed below.² The same ratio would have resulted in 164,000 deaths from the same causes, to a thousand men serving three years in the Confederate armies, as estimated below.³ It is reasonable to assume that the ratio of deaths from disease and accident was at least as great in the Confederate as in the Union army.

The above estimate of the numbers in the Confederate army, thus increased to 885,000, would still want the desertions and discharges not recorded, and many men in the militia and irregular or temporary organizations which had served for varying terms, but which were not borne on muster-rolls above mentioned, or the returns of the armies at the close of the war.

Dr. Jones makes the following surprising statement:⁴ "During the period of nineteen months, January, 1862, July, 1863, inclusive, over one million cases of wounds and disease were entered upon the Confederate field reports, and over four hundred thousand cases of wounds upon the hospital reports. The number of cases of wounds and disease treated in the Confederate field and general hospitals were, however, greater during the following twenty-two months ending April, 1865. It is safe to affirm, therefore, that more than three million cases of wounds and disease were cared for by the officers of the Medical Corps of the Con-

¹ Reg. Losses, 527.

² Page 50.

³ Page 48.

⁴ United Confederate Veterans, 5, 6; So. Hist. Society Papers, xx. 114.

federate army during the Civil War of 1861-1865. The figures, of course, do not indicate that the Confederacy had in the field an army approaching three millions and a half. On the contrary, the Confederate forces engaged during the war 1861-1865 did not exceed 600,000. Each Confederate soldier was, on an average, disabled for greater or less periods by wounds and sickness about six times during the war."

In the Union army, 318,187 were wounded (of these 43,012 died of wounds), and 67,058 were killed on the field.¹ The same ratio applied to 800,000, the least number which is deduced from Dr. Jones's statement for the wounded during the war, would give 168,000 as the number who died on the field, and 108,000 who died of wounds,—a total of 276,000. This is too large a number to be adopted without a critical examination of the Confederate hospital returns referred to. The writer has tried without success to learn where they might be found.

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE QUESTION OF NUMBERS.

The method used above is not the only one which may be employed to arrive at the numbers in the Confederate army. The census of 1860 affords a very reliable basis for an estimate, when taken in connection with the acts of the Confederate Congress for enrolling the military population of the Confederate States, and the records of the measures taken for the enforcement of these acts. Statistics of numbers, more or less complete, have been gathered and published by a

¹ Reg. Losses, 47.

number of the Southern States, which are of value. Lists of the organizations in the Confederate service have been prepared by several compilers, to which the statistics of the strength of organizations contained in the War Records may be applied, and the returns of the armies in the field contained in the War Records afford the best evidence of the number of men in service from time to time. It is the purpose of this essay to present the conclusions drawn from all these sources. Sometimes the strength of bodies of troops whose numbers are not stated separately in the War Records is estimated. It is believed that the basis for such estimates has always been broad enough, and the methods of estimating conservative enough, to exclude serious error; but such errors as may have resulted probably can be corrected by consulting the original returns in the War Records Office.

ESTIMATE BASED ON THE CENSUS OF 1860.

Substantially the whole military population of the Confederate States was placed under arms in the War of the Rebellion.

For about a year after the outbreak of hostilities, volunteering was relied on to fill the Confederate ranks. The earlier regiments were enlisted for twelve months, but the men in these regiments generally reenlisted under an act of the Confederate Congress of December 11, 1861; and before the terms of these earlier regiments had expired, the act of April 16, 1862, authorized the President to call and place in service for three years all white men resident in the Confederate States between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five

who were not legally exempt from military service, and also required all such persons who were then in the service to remain in service for three years, but it permitted those exempt from military service to serve as substitutes for those not exempt. President Davis, April 28, 1862, promulgated regulations for placing in the service all men to whom this act applied,¹ and April 30 the secretary of war announced in general orders that all such men were to be "enrolled for military service."² This law and the proceedings under it placed every man in the Confederacy who came within the definition of the law at once in the service, unlike the draft laws of the United States, which placed no one in service until selected by draft.

After the approval of this act of April 16, 1862, no law was passed for raising troops by volunteering from those liable to military service. An act approved September 27, 1862, enlarged the conscription to include all white males, not exempt, between eighteen and forty-five years of age.³

The Confederate authorities were very soon under pressure to thoroughly enforce the conscription laws. February 11, 1863, General Lee wrote to the secretary of war: "By the returns of last month forwarded to the department to-day, you will perceive that our strength is not much increased by the arrival of conscripts: only four hundred and twenty-one are reported to have joined by enlistment, and two hundred and eighty-seven have returned from desertion, making an aggregate of seven hundred and sixty-eight; whereas our loss by death, discharges, and desertion amounts to

¹ 127 W. R., 1094.

² 127 W. R., 1104.

³ M. and D., Part III. 121; 128 W. R., 160.

eighteen hundred and seventy-eight. Now is the time to gather all our strength, and prepare for the struggle which must take place in the next three months. I beg you to use every means in your power to fill up our ranks."¹

Again, November 29, 1863, General Lee wrote to President Davis: "I think it a matter of the first importance that our armies now in the field shall be retained in service, and recruited by wise and effective legislation. This cannot be done too soon. The law should not be open to the charge of partiality, and I do not know how this can be accomplished without embracing the whole population capable of bearing arms, with the most limited exceptions, avoiding anything that would look like a distinction of classes."² And again, January 25, 1864, he wrote³ to the secretary of war, protesting against raising further companies of artillery and cavalry and organizations promising service near home which might allure men from the infantry, and said: "Already such organizations have in a good degree absorbed those men upon whom we relied to swell our reduced ranks for the coming campaign, and the consequences, in my judgment, involve the question of our ability to keep the field against the largely recruited armies of the enemy. Unless every man who belongs to the army be retained, and all fit for effective service be sent to it promptly so as to increase materially its present strength, we must rely for deliverance from our enemies upon other means than our arms. I trust that the truth of this assertion may be realized in time."

¹ M. and D., Part III. 121 ; 108 W. R., 680.

² 49 W. R., 853.

³ 60 W. R., 1120.

In response to such demands as these, the Confederate Congress went to extremes in the following acts: —

An act of December 28, 1863,¹ prohibited conscripts from sending substitutes. An Act of January 5, 1864,¹ canceled the exemptions previously granted to persons liable to duty who had furnished substitutes. An act of February 17, 1864,² repealed all previous grants of exemption on whatever ground, and established a new and narrower list of exemptions, but gave the power to the Secretary of War under the President to exempt or detail such other persons as he might be satisfied ought to be exempted on account of public necessity.

This act also declared "that, from and after the passage of this act, all white men residents of the Confederate States, between the ages of seventeen and fifty, shall be in the military service of the Confederate States for the war." Under this act all within its scope were made a part of the army without the necessity of any proclamation, notice, enrollment, or other action by the authorities. It remained only for the military authorities to sweep the body of recruits thus created into the ranks. The thoroughness with which they performed this duty is indicated by the correspondence which is set out below.

April 30, 1864, the superintendent of the Confederate Bureau of Conscription, in reporting the work of his bureau from January 1, 1864, said: ³ "This report

¹ M. and D., 1865-66, Part III. 122; 129 W. R., 11, 12.

² M. and D., 1865-66, Part III. 121; 129 W. R., 178.

³ M. and D., 1865-66, Part III. 122; 129 W. R., 354.

indicates but a very meagre portion of the work which has been performed. The results are the scanty gleanings from an almost unlimited and nearly exhausted field of labor, every inch of which has to be searched, analyzed, and classified, in every relation to the great problem of recruiting and maintaining the armies. No attribute which pertains to society or civil economy but has been subjected to the scrutiny and action of this bureau and its agencies. With the incompetent means under its control, all has been done which could be effected by zeal and diligence. The results indicate this grave consideration for the government that fresh material for the armies can no longer be estimated as an element of future calculation for their increase, and that necessity demands the invention of devices for keeping in the ranks the men now borne on the rolls. The stern revocation of all details, an appeal to the patriotism of the States claiming large numbers of able-bodied men, and the accretions by age, are now almost the only unexhausted sources of supply. For conscription from the general population, the functions of this bureau may cease with the termination of the year 1864. . . . The functions of conscription are now narrowed down to a system of delicate gleaning from the population of the country, involving the most laborious, patient, cautious, and intelligent investigation into the relations of every man to the public defense. There are but few left whose appropriate duties in these relations have not been defined, and it thence becomes the province of the conscription agents to weigh and determine whether those relations may not be disturbed for the purpose of sending more men into the field and

distributing them for the general service." Further along he speaks of certain selected officers "who were the practiced and trained soldiers and judges on whom I relied to sustain me in my hard duty of wringing from the wasted population the scanty remnant of men, and at the same time to preserve, as far as our military need would permit, the enfeebled productive energies of the country."

August 23, 1864, General Lee wrote to the Secretary of War: "Unless some measures can be devised to replace our losses, the consequences may be disastrous. I think that there must be more men in the country liable to military duty than the small numbers of recruits received would seem to indicate. . . . Our numbers are daily decreasing, and the time has arrived, in my opinion, when no man should be excused from service except for the purpose of doing work absolutely necessary for the support of the army. If we had here a few thousand men more to hold the stronger parts of our lines where an attack is least likely to be made, it would enable us to employ with good effect our veteran troops. Without some increase of strength, I cannot see how we are to escape the natural military consequences of the enemy's numerical superiority."¹

September 2, 1864, he wrote to the President:² "I beg leave to call your attention to the importance of immediate and vigorous measures to increase the strength of our armies, and to some suggestions as to the mode of doing it. The necessity is now great, and will soon be augmented by the results of the coming draft in the United States. As matters now stand, we have no

¹ 88 W. R., 1199.

² 88 W. R., 1228.

troops disposable to meet movements of the enemy or strike when opportunity presents, without taking them from the trenches and exposing some important point. The enemy's position enables him to move his troops to the right or left without our knowledge, until he has reached the point at which he aims, and we are then compelled to hurry our men to meet him, incurring the risk of being too late to check his progress, and the additional risk of the advantage he may derive from their absence. This was fully illustrated in the late demonstration north of James River, which called troops from our lines here, who, if present, might have prevented the occupation of the Weldon Railroad. These rapid and distant movements also fatigue and exhaust our men, greatly impairing their efficiency in battle. It is not necessary, however, to enumerate all the reasons for recruiting our ranks. The necessity is as well known to your Excellency as to myself, and as much the object of your solicitude. The means of obtaining men for field duty, as far as I can see, are only three." These means he specifies as follows: 1st. Replacing all able-bodied white men employed as cooks, mechanics, and laborers with negroes, and sending them to the ranks. 2d. A rigid inspection of the rolls of exempted and detailed men, and placing all in the army who would not be entitled to discharge from the army. 3d. Calling out the entire reserve force (i. e. those below and above military age), who, he says, "can render great service in connection with regular troops by taking their places in trenches, forts, etc., and leaving them free for active operations;" and he adds: "In my opinion the necessity for them will never be more

urgent or their services of greater value than now ; and I entertain the same views as to the importance of immediately bringing into the regular service every man liable to military duty."

September 26 he wrote¹ to General Bragg, then the commander of the Confederate armies : " I cannot impress upon you too strongly the imperious necessity of getting all our men subject to military duty to the field. We should have them with the armies now. . . . I get no additions. The men coming in do not supply the vacancies caused by sickness, desertions, and other casualties. If things thus continue, the most serious consequences must result. . . . If I had negroes to replace the teamsters, cooks, and hospital attendants, I could increase each division many hundred men. Unless they are sent to me rapidly, it may be too late."

October 4, 1864, he wrote to the Secretary of War,² again urging the employment of negroes, and as follows : " The men at home on various pretexts must be brought out and be put in the army at once, unless we would see the enemy reap the great moral and material advantages of a successful issue of his most costly campaign. I know it will produce suffering, but that must be endured, as all people engaged in a struggle like ours have done before. If we can get out our entire arms-bearing population in Virginia and North Carolina, and relieve all detailed men with negroes, we may be able, with the blessing of God, to keep the enemy in check to the beginning of winter."

October 5 the Secretary of War, in reply,³ advised

¹ 88 W. R., 1292.

² 89 W. R., 1134.

³ 89 W. R., 1135.

him that orders had been issued to carry out his requests, including the employment of all free negroes between eighteen and fifty and some 14,000 slaves. October 10 General Lee also wrote¹ that he thought that a reëxamination of all the men exempted because of physical disability would secure some recruits, and he added: "From all the information I get, Grant's army is being heavily reinforced, and additions are being made daily. He expects to accumulate a force by which he can extend beyond our right and left, when I fear it will be impossible to keep him out of Richmond."

In February, 1865, the superintendent of the Bureau of Conscriptions reported to the Secretary of War in detail by classes the number of persons exempt from conscription by physical disability or by law, or detailed in each State east of the Mississippi, the total of which (including 4612 detailed in government bureaus and departments) was 87,863.² The minuteness of this report makes it impossible to believe that any considerable number who were not exempt from military service escaped the search of the Bureau of Conscription, and, taken in connection with the urgency shown in the legislation and correspondence above set out, it warrants the assertion that, in that part of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi, substantially every male white from seventeen to fifty was swept into the ranks of the Confederate army, excepting the 87,665 exempts, and those who were in hiding or had joined the Union army. The proclamation of the governor of North Carolina, December 20, 1864, calling out all men who

¹ 89 W. R., 1144. ² M. and D., Part III. 130-138; 129 W. R., 1099.

were able to stand behind breastworks and fire a musket,¹ is confirmatory of this. Those joining the Union army were, with unimportant exceptions, all from Tennessee. There were thirty regiments, numbering 31,092, from this State.² These were offset by thirty regiments, nine battalions, and eleven batteries from the border States, regularly enrolled in the Confederate army,³ besides the militia and temporary organizations.⁴

In the States west of the Mississippi the general in command of the department called for volunteers not subject to conscription, for local defense and special service, in September, 1863,⁵ and issued orders, May 27, 1864,⁶ for enrolling all persons liable to military duty, and for the assignment of conscripts to the different organizations. Colonel Stone's list, hereafter referred to,⁷ attributes 46 regiments, 21 battalions, and 22 companies (equal to 58 regiments) to Arkansas, and 71 regiments, 12 battalions, and 53 companies (equal to 83 regiments) to Texas.⁸ The United States census for 1860 gives Arkansas 65,231 and Texas 92,145 male whites between 18 and 45 years of age, a total of 157,376, which is increased to 180,000 by the addi-

¹ 89 W. R., 1284.

² Reg. Losses, 523.

³ Reg. Losses, 553.

⁴ Colonel Stone's list, referred to hereafter (p. 29), attributes 37 regiments to Missouri and 20 to Kentucky. The writer's list (post, p. 43) includes 45 for Missouri and 42 for Kentucky, counting 2 battalions as a regiment.

⁵ 33 W. R., 996.

⁶ 64 W. R., 632.

⁷ Page 29.

⁸ The writer's list (post, p. 43) gives 50 regiments and 25 battalions to Alabama, and 64 regiments and 11 battalions to Texas.

tions and deductions named below.¹ This is about 1280 to the regiment, or 50 less than the minimum that can be accepted as the average strength of the Confederate regiments.² These figures leave no reason to doubt that conscription west of the Mississippi was effective in persuading or forcing the whole military population into the service, whether in regular or irregular organizations. A piece of evidence strongly tending to prove that the Confederacy drew the last available white man who could be found into the army is afforded in the measures which were taken to put negroes, both slaves and free, into service. March 13, 1865, an act of the Confederate Congress authorizing this³ was approved by the President; and March 15 orders were issued for raising companies of negro soldiers,⁴ and active measures for a general recruitment of negroes were carried on down to April, 1865, the day before Five Forks.⁵

We are now led to the question, how many male whites were there in the Confederacy subject to the conscript laws, and we turn to the United States census for 1860.

**MILITARY POPULATION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES
BY THE CENSUS OF 1860.**

The acts of the Confederate Congress of April 16 and September 16, 1862, were interpreted to include youths of 18 and men of 45, and the act of February 17, 1864, likewise was interpreted to include the ex-

¹ Page 22.

² 96 W. R., 1318.

³ 97 W. R., 1348, 1356, 1370.

⁴ See post, p. 39.

⁵ 96 W. R., 1318.

tremes of 17 and 50.¹ The two first-named acts, therefore, included all shown by the United States census of 1860 (Part XVIII.) from 18 to 45 inclusive, as follows:—

Alabama	99,967
Arkansas	65,231
Florida	15,739
Georgia	111,005
Louisiana	83,456
Mississippi	70,295
North Carolina	115,369
South Carolina	55,046
Tennessee	159,353
Texas	92,145
Virginia (ex. West Virginia)	116,869
	984,475

All who were from 13 to 16 inclusive, in 1860, became by 1864 liable to conscription under these acts. Their number may be computed as equal to $\frac{4}{10}$ of the number shown by the census of 1860 to be from 10 to 19 inclusive, or, in round numbers, at 265,000. Besides those who were from 18 to 45, all who were 46 in 1860 became subject to conscription in 1864. The number who were 46 may be computed as equal to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the number shown by the census to be from 40 to 49 inclusive, or, in round numbers, at 20,000.

We thus arrive at 1,269,000, in round numbers, as the total number living in 1861 who came within the terms of the conscription acts. As will be shown later, 350,000 were in the army in January, 1862. From the remaining 919,000 a deduction is to be made for the natural death rate of one per cent. per annum, which,

¹ M. and D., Part III. 130-138; 127 W. R., 1095, 1105; 129 W. R., 1102, 1109.

upon the assumption that the average delay in bringing the conscripts into the ranks was eighteen months, should be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the end of 1860, equal to 23,000 in round numbers. The exempts for all causes and of details east of the Mississippi were 87,863.¹ The number west of the Mississippi may be computed, in the same proportion to the military population, at 17,000. The total of these deductions is 127,863. The remainder out of 1,269,000 is, in round numbers, 1,141,000 men. Besides this number were those composing the Senior and Junior Reserves, the militia, and other organizations, not a part of the regularly enrolled force, composed mainly of persons over or under the conscript age and of exempts. The number included in these organizations cannot be ascertained with certainty. The male whites from 10 to 12 years and from 47 to 56 years, in 1860, may be estimated from the census at 300,000. This number, reduced by 4 per cent. for natural deaths, added to the exempts and details stated above at 110,863 would give about 400,000 as the maximum number which could be drawn into these irregular organizations. In view of this maximum, and of the physical disabilities attendant upon the extreme ages included in this number, the estimate of 98,000 as the number embraced in the irregular organizations contained below² is possibly not far from correct. This number added to 1,141,000, the number above estimated as regularly enrolled, would give 1,234,000 as the total number who took up arms. Those who escaped service in North Carolina and Tennessee³ may

¹ M. and D., Part III. 130 et seq.

² Page 36.

³ Post, pp. 23, 24.

be offset against those who joined the Confederate army from the border States.¹

ESTIMATES OF CONFEDERATE STATE OFFICIALS COMPARED WITH THE ABOVE ESTIMATE FROM THE CENSUS.

The above estimate of 1,141,000 as the number within the military age — from 17 to 50 — is 116 per cent. of the 984,475 given by the census of 1860 as between 18 and 45. Statistics and estimates given out during and since the war by officials of several States, when compared in the same way with the census of these States for 1860, tend to confirm the above conclusion that substantially the entire military population of the Confederate States not exempted by law were enrolled in the army

The roster of North Carolina troops, made up since the war, gives the names of 104,498 men, and the author estimates that missing names would bring the number up to 120,000. The Junior Reserves, numbering 4077, are included in the roster. 116 per cent. of 115,369 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 138,328. This would leave 13,000 not in service. In this number were embraced those unable to bear arms and those who eluded military service. In this State and in Tennessee there were a good many of this latter class who took refuge in the mountains or wilderness, and thereby escaped the officers of the Bureau of Conscription.

The basis for a comparison of the number shown by the census of 1860 with the number under arms for

¹ Ante, p. 19.

the Confederacy is not as well established in the case of Tennessee as in that of North Carolina. 116 per cent. of the number of male whites in Tennessee from 18 to 45¹ is 184,850. Of these 31,092 joined the Union army.² There were in the Confederate army the equivalent, all told, including irregular organizations, of 113 regiments.³ The 93 regiments regularly enrolled⁴ at 1330 to a regiment⁵ would number 123,690, and the other 20 regiments at 617 to a regiment⁶ would number 12,340, which, with the number serving in the Union army, would give a total of 167,122, leaving about 18,000 not accounted for. It is not probable that so many as this avoided service, but the proximity to the border doubtless enabled a greater proportion to escape than the geographical situation allowed in North Carolina. If 1540 were adopted as the average strength of the 93 regiments regularly enrolled,⁷ a total of 186,652 would be reached in place of the above 167,122.

The Adjutant-General's office of South Carolina in 1890 estimated that about 60,000 entered the Confederate service from that State.⁸ 116 per cent. of 55,046 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 63,853.

In the journal of the House of Representatives of Mississippi for 1865 it is stated that that State furnished between 70,000 and 80,000 to the Confederate

¹ Ante, p. 21.

² Post, pp. 29, 43.

³ Post, p. 39.

⁴ Post, p. 37.

⁵ Reg. Losses, 554.

⁶ Reg. Losses, 553.

⁷ Post, p. 36.

⁸ United Confederate Veterans, 33.

army.¹ 116 per cent. of 70,295 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 81,542.

Governor Brown of Georgia, in 1865, wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War that his State had furnished the Confederate service over 100,000 men, besides the Reserve Militia and State Line.² (See 47 W. R., 307-313, and 74 W. R., 970.) 116 per cent. of 111,005 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 128,765.

The Adjutant-General of Florida, in 1891, estimated the number of troops furnished by that State to the Confederate States at about 15,000.³ 116 per cent. of 15,739 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 18,257. The Adjutant-General's estimate probably did not include recruits, for the War Records have mention of 14 regiments regularly in the Confederate army, the original strength of which was probably about 15,000.

The Secretary of State of Louisiana, in his report for 1889,³ gives the total "original enrollment of troops" mustered into the Provisional Confederate States army as 55,820. The term "original enrollment" probably excludes recruits. That it was so intended may be inferred from the fact that, while the State sent at least 38 regiments of infantry,⁴ the Secre-

¹ Letter of Adjutant-General of Mississippi to Hon. H. D. Money, January 25, 1895, in the files of M. H. M.

² Pamphlet entitled "Correspondence between the Secretary of War and Governor Brown," growing out of a requisition made upon the governor for the reserve militia of Georgia, etc. Macon, Georgia. Brighton, Nesbit, Barnes & Moore, State Printers.

³ United Confederate Veterans, 24.

⁴ See Colonel Jones's roster, post, p. 27.

tary of State gives 36,243 as the "total original enrollment of infantry."¹ It is probable also that the Secretary of State does not include irregular organizations and reserves, which were equivalent to 16 regiments.² 116 per cent. of 83,456 between 18 and 45 in that State, as shown by the census, is 96,808.

**ESTIMATE OF THE CONFEDERATE FORCE FROM THE
NUMBER OF REGIMENTS, ETC.**

The War Records do not contain any official roll of all the regiments and lesser organizations in the Confederate army, but there are four lists, which have been compiled from private research, which afford a basis for computing the number of men in the army.

Colonel Charles C. Jones, formerly of the Confederate army, has published a roster,³ in which are named 530 regiments, 15 legions, and 51 battalions of infantry; 125 regiments, 2 legions, 53 battalions, and 1 company of cavalry; and 13 regiments, 21 battalions, and 25 batteries of artillery, as shown by the following table, which has been made from this roster. The total is equivalent to 750 regiments, assuming a regiment to be equal to a legion, to 2 battalions, and to 10 batteries.

¹ United Confederate Veterans, 28.

² Post, p. 29; Reg. Losses, 553.

³ So. Hist. Society Papers, i., ii., iii.

TABLE MADE FROM COLONEL JONES'S ROSTER.

	INFANTRY			CAVALRY			ARTILLERY			
	Regiments	Legions	Battalions	Regiments	Legions	Battalions	Regiments	Battalions	Batteries	
Alabama	57	1		3				6		
Arkansas	34		12	6						
Florida	9		2	2						
Georgia	65	2	22	10		2		4		
Kentucky	11			9		1				
Louisiana	35		6	1			1			
Mississippi	49			6	2	7	1			
Missouri	15			6						
Maryland	1									
North Carolina	58	2	3	6		2	4		3	
South Carolina	35			7		12	3		22	
Tennessee	67		1	12		11				
Texas	22		5	32		14	1			
Virginia	64			19		4	4	11		
Confederate	8	10		6						
Total	530	15	51	125	2	53	1	13	21	25

This roster apparently is confined to organizations regularly enrolled in the army of the Confederacy, and does not include militia, home guards, organizations for local defense, or Senior Reserves or Junior Reserves,¹ which, altogether, constituted a considerable part of the force under arms at one time and another. The author says that this roster was derived in part from papers in private hands, and it is not verified by reference to official records. That it is not complete is shown by several authorities. Dr. Jones, in articles above cited,² gives a list of Confederate organizations which adds to that of Colonel Jones, 5

¹ For instance, it omits 5 regiments and 1 battalion of Junior Reserves, which appear in Moore's roster of North Carolina troops.

² So. Hist. Society Papers, xx. 119. Pamphlet United Confederate Veterans, 8.

regiments, 20 battalions, and omits 1 legion and 25 batteries.

Colonel Fox, in "Regimental Losses," p. 552, says there is a "compilation made from the official rosters of the Confederate armies as they stood at various battles and at various dates covering the entire period of the war," which "shows that the different States kept the following regimental organizations in almost continuous service in the field." This list gives:—

	REGIMENTS	BATTALIONS	BATTERIES
Infantry	529	85	
Cavalry	127	47	
Partisan rangers	8	1	
Heavy artillery	5	6	
Artillery			261
Total	669	139	261

These organizations, the author says, were, "in all, equivalent to 764 regiments of 10 companies each;" and he adds that the list does not include regiments which served for a short time only, or disbanded or consolidated regiments, militia, Junior Reserves, Senior Reserves, home guards, local defense regiments, or separate companies.

In the preparation of this work the writer has noted mention in the War Records¹ prior to November, 1863, of 720 regiments and 206 battalions of infantry and cavalry of the character of those contained in Colonel Fox's list.² With the batteries in Colonel Fox's list these make a total equal to 849 regiments.

¹ Nearly half the War Records referred to were published later than Colonel Fox's work.

² See table, post, p. 55.

The late Colonel Henry Stone¹ kindly placed at the disposal of the writer a list which he had gathered of all Confederate organizations mentioned in the War Records. The following table was made from this list:—

TABLE MADE FROM COLONEL STONE'S LIST.

	INFANTRY				CAVALRY				ARTILLERY		
	Regiments	Legions	Battalions	Companies	Regiments	Legions	Battalions	Companies	Regiments	Battalions	Companies
Alabama . . .	55		18	4	6		18	10		2	17
Arkansas . . .	42		14	2	4		5	4		2	16
Florida . . .	9		1	16	2		3	6		1	15
Georgia . . .	67	3	14	9	7		21				
Kentucky . . .	9				11		1				
Louisiana . . .	33		22		3		13	8	5	3	19
Mississippi . . .	53		21		25	1	4			1	9
Missouri . . .	30				7						
North Carolina . . .	74	1	12	4	6		12	2	2		9
South Carolina . . .	53	3	14	8	7		7	13	3	3	25
Tennessee . . .	78		24		10		11	17		1	35
Texas . . .	35	1	4	14	33		8	15	2		24
Virginia . . .	99	1	19	5	16		40	26	4	12	58
Confederate or Prov. Army . . .	5										
Total . . .	642	9	163	62	137	1	143	101	16	25	227

The 805 regiments and legions, 331 battalions, 163 companies, and 227 batteries in the above table were equal in all to 1009½ regiments, which exceeds the number (849) ascertained as stated above by 160 regiments. Colonel Stone said that possibly some organizations were numbered more than once in his list by reason of change of their title, or of consolidation; yet these instances cannot be many, and the larger number of organizations in his list is probably due, with few excep-

¹ Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.

tions, to the inclusion in it of the militia and other irregular organizations, which are excluded from the other two lists. For instance, there are included in Colonel Stone's list 2 battalions Georgia State Guards, (which were not all that were in service), 5 regiments Mississippi militia, 9 regiments North Carolina militia, and 5 regiments Junior Reserves, 5 regiments "State Troops," and 6 regiments of militia from South Carolina, and 33 regiments Virginia militia, besides 163 companies.

ORIGINAL STRENGTH OF CONFEDERATE REGIMENTS,
AND THE NUMBER OF RECRUITS.

The act of the Confederate Congress of March 6, 1861,¹ provided for 100,000 volunteers for twelve months, and authorized the President to limit the privates in a company, in his discretion, at from 64 to 100. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and musicians would increase each of these limits by 12 or 14. The act of May 10, 1861,² authorized him to receive any company of light artillery with such complement of officers and men as seemed proper to him. Another act of March 6, 1861,¹ provided for the creation of the small regular army of the Confederate States. It prescribed that each regiment should consist of 10 companies, and that each company should number 104 in the infantry and 72 in the cavalry. The act of May 8, 1861,³ provided for volunteers for the war, and for their organization, as provided in the act of March 6. A circular of the Confederate War Department, issued in November, 1861, provided that no company should be accepted

¹ 127 W. R., 126-131.

² 127 W. R., 309.

³ 127 W. R., 302.

with less than 64 privates in the infantry, 60 in the cavalry, and 70 in the artillery,¹ and that a regiment should consist of 10 companies.² A circular of the Secretary of War to the same effect, and allowing existing companies to be raised to 125, was issued February 22, 1862.³ The act of October 11, 1862, provided that a company of infantry should consist of at least 125 rank and file, a company of artillery of at least 150 rank and file, and a company of cavalry of at least 80 rank and file. This act did not go into effect until the formation of new regiments had nearly if not quite ceased, and therefore it would not be safe to adopt these numbers for the strength of the companies when they were enrolled into the service; and the number in a company must be assumed to have been originally between the limits of 64 and 100, as prescribed by the act of March 6, 1861. The War Records do not give the strength of organizations at date of entry in the service, but there are lists of organizations with the total numbers present and absent of five of the chief armies in the early part of 1862, before they were recruited much, if any, but not before they had suffered some loss in campaigning, from which the average strength of companies at that time can be ascertained. They show the following:—

¹ 127 W. R., 765.

² The Confederate Adjutant-General, December 13, 1861, assumed that there were 10 companies to a regiment in all arms. (127 W. R., 823.)

³ 127 W. R., 790.

32 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

1862		Regiments	Battalions	Companies	Total Companies	Strength	Aver. Co.
January	Northern Virginia ¹ . . .	112	3	48	1181	98,050	83
"	Central of Kentucky ² . . .	47	6	12	512	39,548	77
"	1st Div. of Western Dept. ³	27	8	14	324	24,783	76
February	Alabama and West Florida ⁴	20	4	8	228	18,206	79
April 19	Dept. of North Carolina ⁵ .	25	1	28	283	26,433	93
	Total	231	22	108	2528	207,020	81.8

The number of companies is above computed on the basis of 10 to a regiment and legion,⁶ and 5 to a battalion, and, although some battalions had a company more or less than this number, the variation would not probably lower the average.⁷

March 1, 1862, the Confederate Adjutant-General reported the strength of 369 regiments and 89 battalions, two thirds of them twelve months' troops, at 340,250, an average of 823 to the regiment.⁸

It will be seen in the above table that in the Department of North Carolina the average of the company was 93; and even in the Army of Northern Virginia, which had made the Bull Run campaign, it was 83. A return of Beauregard's corps, Army of the Potomac,

¹ Vol. v. pp. 1015, 1029-1031.

² Vol. vii. p. 852.

³ Vol. vii. p. 853.

⁴ Vol. vi. p. 819.

⁵ Vol. ix. pp. 459, 460.

⁶ Hampton's legion originally had 11 companies, Cobb's had 10 companies, and Phillips's had 9 companies. (127 W. R., 304, 788.)

⁷ The 24 battalions in service for the war, December 13, 1861, contained 149 companies, an average of $6\frac{1}{4}$. (127 W. R., 788, 790.)

⁸ 127 W. R., 963.

August 31, 1861,¹ gives an average of 1037 per regiment in the 32 regiments and 1 battalion of that army. June 23, 1862, General Longstreet reported that the Virginia troops in his command, consisting of 23 regiments, 1 battalion, and 17 batteries, numbered 18,993,² equal to about 754 men to the regiment. This was after two campaigns.

Another return shows the strength of regiments in three brigades of the Central Army of Kentucky as 831 in November, 1861,³ and another shows that the average number per regiment in 9 regiments and 4 battalions in Zollicoffer's command in September, 1861, was 957.⁴ The "Roster of the Louisiana Troops mustered into the Provisional Army of the Confederate States," prepared by Colonel Oscar Aroyo, Secretary of State,⁵ shows 36,243 original enlistments in the infantry, 4024 in the artillery, and 10,056 in the cavalry. This gives an average of 906 to the regiment for the 35 regiments and 10 battalions of infantry, and 874 to the regiment for the 2 regiments and 26 batteries of artillery embraced in Colonel Fox's list.⁶ It is evident that 10,056 men could not have been originally enrolled in the two regiments and one battalion of cavalry embraced in Colonel Fox's list, but the average per regiment in the 3 regiments, 13 battalions, and 8 squadrons embraced in Colonel Stone's list⁷ would be 976. In view of the loss from death, discharge, and desertion which had inevitably been suf-

¹ 5 W. R., 824, 825.

² 14 W. R., 614, 615.

³ 4 W. R., 484, 552.

⁴ 4 W. R., 409.

⁵ Cited in *United Confederate Veterans*, 28.

⁶ *Regimental Losses*, 553.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 29.

ferred by the armies embraced in the above table,¹ the most of the organizations composing them having entered the service in 1861, it is evident that the average original strength of the companies was greater than that shown in the table, and, as that table shows that there were few if any companies which originally had only the minimum of 64 privates, it is not extravagant to assume that the average original strength of the regiments in the Confederate army was between 906 (the strength of the Louisiana infantry regiments) and 1037, the strength of the regiments in Beauregard's corps, as stated above, and probably it will not involve serious error to assume it to have been the mean between these numbers, which is 971. Applying this number to the organizations equal to 849 regiments, ascertained as above² to have been regularly enrolled in the service of the Confederate States, we establish the strength of these organizations as 824,379. Probably the muster-rolls on file in the War Department show the original strength of nearly all the organizations regularly enrolled in the Confederate service; and if the above estimate is excessive, it will some time be corrected by the patient labor of some one who shall examine these rolls, and number the names of the men who originally composed the different organizations, but the number of ascertained facts and figures upon which the above estimate is based is probably large enough to insure against any considerable error. Research in the muster-rolls would also probably show very nearly the number of recruits joining the various organizations during the time covered by the rolls. The chief source of information on this subject for the

¹ Page 32.

² Page 28.

writer is the report of the Superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription made in February, 1865,¹ which shows that between April 16, 1862, and the date of that report, the armies were recruited by 81,993 conscripts, and that 72,292 joined the army as volunteers to avoid conscription, and the report adds that this estimate of the number of volunteers is regarded as much too small.² These numbers, added to 824,379 above estimated as the original strength, increase the total number in the army to at least 978,664.

STRENGTH OF IRREGULAR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CONFEDERACY.

To the strength of the regular organizations is to be added the number who served in the militia and other irregular organizations, shown in Colonel Stone's list above referred to, which were the equivalent of 160 regiments.³ There is no standard by which the strength of these organizations can be exactly ascertained, and perhaps the most minute examination of their rolls and returns in the War Department would not enable one to arrive at their numbers with exactness. The orders of one Confederate commander in 1863 for raising volunteers not within the conscript age, for local defense and special service, under the acts of August 21, 1861, and October 13, 1862, fixed the minimum rank and file of an infantry company at 50, and of a cavalry company at 40, and provided that regiments should have at

¹ M. and D., Part III. 127, 128; 129 W. R., 1109, 1110.

² Major Duffield, a Virginia officer, has stated that by order he burnt the conscript records. *The Century*, March, 1892, p. 792.

³ *Ante*, p. 29.

least 10 companies, and battalions at least 5 companies,¹ and another order for the reorganization of the Texas State Troops in 1864 called for companies of not less than 100, or more than 125.² The governor of South Carolina in 1863 fixed the minimum number in a company for local defense or special service at 76, and the maximum at 137, and ordered that the regiments should have 10 companies.³

A return of Carson's Division of Virginia Militia, August 31,⁴ 1861, gave 5488 as the strength of 9 regiments, and Moore's "Roster of North Carolina Troops" gives 4077 as the number who served in 6 regiments and 1 battalion of Junior Reserves from that State. The average of these 15½ regiments was 617. If this were adopted as the standard, the total strength of 98,720 would be arrived at for the 160 irregular regiments, making with the 978,664 above computed,⁵ 1,077,384 as the number serving in the Confederate armies during the war. But this result cannot be accepted as exact, for it does not include any recruits beyond the 154,285 reported as above stated, and computations below tend to show that it is too small.

COMPUTATION OF CONFEDERATE NUMBERS FROM AVERAGE TOTAL STRENGTH OF REGIMENTS DURING THE WAR.

Fortunately there is a record, before cited, of the soldiers of one of the Confederate States, from which the average number of men enrolled in each of a large

¹ 33 W. R., 996. ² 62 W. R., 1087. ³ 47 W. R., 145, 146.

⁴ 5 W. R., 825. ⁵ Page 35.

number of the regularly enrolled Confederate regiments during the war may be computed. Moore's "Roster of North Carolina Troops," a work prepared since the war, with the authority of the State, consists of a list of 104,254 men who served in the 76 regiments, 11 battalions, and 1 battery which were organized in that State for the Confederate service. Owing to incomplete muster-rolls and other causes, the author of this roster was unable to make a complete list, and he states it as his belief, founded upon ascertained facts, that the total number of men furnished by the State equaled 120,000. In this connection, it is to be noted that, as against the equivalent of 81 regiments of infantry, 12 regiments of cavalry, and 3 regiments of artillery in Colonel Stone's list, a total of 96 regiments, this roster embraces only 76 regiments, 11 battalions, and 1 battery, a total of 82 regiments; of which only 1 regiment and 3 battalions are cavalry, and 3 battalions and 1 company are artillery. This difference is accounted for, in part, by the 9 regiments of militia included in Colonel Stone's list, and not embraced in the roster. Deducting the 4321 names credited by the roster to the 6 regiments and 1 battalion of Junior Reserves and the navy from 120,000, we have 115,679 men for the 70 regiments, 10 battalions, and 1 battery in the Confederate service, from which we derive the average of 1540 to the regiment. North Carolina was not conspicuous above the other Southern States for a martial spirit before the War of the Rebellion, and her people were not as a whole fervid in the cause of secession, and there is no reason to suppose that more men were originally enrolled in, or recruited for, the average

regiment from that State than in the other Confederate States.

The following statistics have been given by the authorities of some of the other Confederate States, as before mentioned: —

Florida, 14 regiments.¹ About 15,000; ² average, about 1070. As before stated, this estimate was probably not intended to cover recruits.

Georgia, 94 regiments.¹ Over 100,000; ³ average over 1063.

Mississippi, 65 regiments.¹ Between 70,000 and 80,000; ⁴ average between 1200 and 1230.

South Carolina, 45⁸/₁₀ regiments.¹ About 60,000; ⁵ average, about 1310.

As above pointed out, the statistics for Florida and Georgia are too narrow or too indefinite to establish the average strength of regiments, and those for Mississippi and South Carolina are not complete, and may be used only to estimate a minimum average. The writer has not been able to obtain any information from the records of the remaining Confederate States as to the total number of men enrolled in the Confederate service.

Applying to the 849 regularly enrolled regiments,

¹ Reg. Losses, 553.

² No records extant, except an abstract of the muster-rolls of 13 regiments. Letter of Adjutant-General Lang to Dr. Joseph Jones, August 29, 1891, United Confederate Veterans, 24.

³ Letter of Governor Brown, 1865. Pamphlet. Macon. Cited ante, p. 25.

⁴ House Journal of Mississippi for 1865. (See note, ante, page 25.)

⁵ Letter of Adjutant and Inspector-General Bonham to Dr. Jones, June 12, 1890, in United Confederate Veterans, 33.

ascertained as above,¹ the average of 1540 per regiment derived from the estimate of the author of the North Carolina Roster,² the result is 1,307,460 men regularly enrolled in the Confederate service, as against 1,141,000, the number subject to conscription, estimated from the census.³ If the list of 104,254 names in the North Carolina Roster is adopted instead of the estimate of its author, less 4321 for the 6½ regiments of Junior Reserves, the average of 1330 is obtained, which is near to the average strength of regiments as shown by the figures given above for South Carolina. This would give 1,129,170 as the number of men, all told, regularly enrolled in 849 regiments. Adding to this 98,720 for the strength of the irregular organizations as above computed, we arrive at 1,227,890 as the total number of enlistments opposed to the 2,898,304 enlistments in the Union army during the war, or, if the larger number, 1,307,460, above computed as the number regularly enrolled in the Confederate service, is adopted, the total is 1,406,480. It is possible that this number might be increased by the addition of organizations omitted from the writer's list because they first appear in the War Records after October, 1863, or for other reasons suggested below.⁴ It is hardly probable that there were 1,406,480 enlistments among 1,234,000 men,⁵ excluding men retained in their regiments by reënlistment, in view of the measures which were taken to hold men in the organizations in which they originally entered the service.

¹ Page 28. ² Ante, p. 37. ³ Ante, p. 22. ⁴ Page 54.

⁵ Ante, p. 22.

ESTIMATES BY OTHERS.

An estimate made in the War Records Office¹ has placed the total number in the Confederate service at "over 1,000,000." This estimate is based on 472,000 shown by the Confederate returns to have been in service January 1, 1864, at least 250,000 deaths occurring prior to that date, and discharges and desertions which it is said "would probably increase the number to over 1,000,000."

An estimate of Colonel Casselman, of the Pension Office, from another view published in "The Century" for March, 1892,² places the number at 1,500,000.

RATIO OF ESTIMATES OF CONFEDERATE NUMBERS TO NUMBER OF UNION ENLISTMENTS.

The ratio of the number arrived at in each of the estimates above to the total number of men in the Union army is shown in the following table: —

Estimate of Confederate Numbers	Men in Confederate Army	Enlistments in Union Army ³	Per cent
Marcus J. Wright	600,000 to 700,000	2,898,304 —	20 to 24
Early, Stephens, and Jones . . .	600,000	—	20
Partial estimate ⁴	885,000	—	30
Estimate from the census, about ⁵	1,234,000	—	41
Estimate from the number and average strength of regiments ⁶ .	1,227,890 or 1,406,480	—	41 or 47
Estimate of War Records Office .	1,000,000	—	34
Casselman's estimate	1,500,000	—	50

¹ Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, iv. 768, and letter of Major George B. Davis, December 1, 1894, in files of M. H. M.

² Page 792.

³ Post, p. 50.

⁴ Ante, p. 8.

⁵ Ante, p. 52.

⁶ Ante, p. 39.

RETURNS OF THE ARMIES COMPARED WITH THE FOREGOING ESTIMATES OF NUMBERS.

The ratio of the average strength of the Confederate army to the average strength of the Union army would be the same as the ratio between the total number of men enrolled during the war on the two sides, other things being equal; but in fact the former ratio was less than that between any one of the above estimates of the total number in the Confederate army, excepting Colonel Cassellman's estimate of 1,500,000, and the total enlistments in the Union army.

There is not to be found in the Confederate papers published in the War Records any return of the total present and absent in the Confederate armies at any date.¹ A careful comparison of the several hundred returns published in the War Records has resulted in the following tables of the numbers present and absent on dates at which the published records give the strength of the Union armies. In some cases where returns of the Confederate armies for the specific dates assumed have not been found in the War Records, those of the nearest dates have been used, in the absence of reason to believe that a substantial difference in numbers had arisen in the intervals. In some cases estimates of the numbers present and absent, based on the numbers returned as present or "effective," have been used. As the returns in the War Records do not always include all the organizations in the armies at dates assumed, it is probable that the total numbers

¹ A statement of the total number was rendered by the Adjutant-General to the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, January 3, 1865, but it is missing (96 W. R., 1007).

42 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

reached are below the real numbers. To enable these calculations of numbers to be verified, references are made to the volume and page of the Records containing the returns used. Estimates for January, 1862, '63, '64, '65, which were made in the War Office, substantially confirm these tables.¹

TABLE OF NUMBERS FROM CONFEDERATE RETURNS OF ARMIES, DEPARTMENTS, ETC., JULY, 1861.

Army of Potomac and Shenandoah ^a	33,752 ^a
Army of Peninsula	5,500 ^b
Virginia militia at Winchester	5,488 ^c
North Carolina (4 regiments estimated)	3,000 ^d
South Carolina (2800 deducted for 4 regiments in Army of Potomac)	6,000 ^e
Pensacola	2,300 ^f
Missouri and Arkansas	28,000 ^g
Tennessee (about)	22,000 ^h
Florida (about)	3,000 ⁱ
Texas (about)	3,000 ^j
Total (about)	112,040

^a 2 W. R., 187, 473, 487, 568, 569, 999. ^b 2 W. R., 931. ^c 2 W. R., 473; 5 W. R., 790, 825. ^d 1 W. R., 488. ^e 1 W. R., 265; 2 W. R., 568, 569. ^f 1 W. R., 469. ^g 3 W. R., 613, 608, 617; 4 W. R., 362, 372. ^h 3 W. R., 612. ⁱ 1 W. R., 470-472. ^j 4 W. R., 95, 99, 100.

JANUARY, 1862.

Dept. of Northern Virginia	98,050 ^a
Army of Peninsula (December, '61)	20,683 ^b
District of Norfolk (November 30)	15,143 ^c
^a 5 W. R., 1015. ^b 4 W. R., 716. ^c 4 W. R., 706.	

¹ Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, iv. 768, and letter of Major George B. Davis, December 1, 1894, in files of M. H. M.

² This number includes only those present for duty, and includes Holmes's brigade at Fredericksburg.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 43

Dept. of North Carolina	13,884 ^d
Dept. No. 1 (Louisiana)	10,296 ^e
South Carolina, December (about)	17,000 ^f
Dept. of Georgia (November 10)	8,500 ^g
Dept. of Alabama and West Florida (February 1)	18,206 ^h
Dept. of Middle and East Florida	4,680 ⁱ
Western Dept. (December), less Arkansas	86,861 ^j
Forts Henry and Donelson (January 21)	5,210 ^k
Zollicoffer's command	8,451 ^l
Marshall's command (January 1)	2,160 ^m
Cumberland Gap	2,073 ⁿ
Army of the Northwest, December, '61 (about)	4,500 ^o
Price's command (January 23) Missouri (est.)	4,000 ^p
McCulloch's division (Arkansas)	10,677 ^q
Pike's division (Indian Ter.), February 7	9,000 ^r
Texas (October to January)	12,044 ^s
	351,418 ¹

^d 9 W. R., 424, 425. ^e 6 W. R., 819. ^f 6 W. R., 357, 368. ^g 6 W. R., 314.
^h 6 W. R., 819. ⁱ 6 W. R., 371. ^j 7 W. R., 813, 814. ^k 7 W. R., 843. ^l 7 W. R.,
814. ^m 7 W. R., 815. ⁿ 7 W. R., 843. ^o 5 W. R., 1055. ^p 8 W. R., 739, 740.
^q 8 W. R., 746. ^r 8 W. R., 749. ^s 4 W. R., 166.

APRIL, 1862.

Army of Northern Virginia ²	* 110,000 ^a
Ewell's division (April 16)	8,500 ^b
Valley District, Jackson's division of 3 brigades (May 3)	8,397 ^c
	^a 14 W. R., 484. ^b 18 W. R., 851. ^c 18 W. R., 879.

¹ A compilation from the returns on file for about December, 1861, ex. New Mexico, Missouri, and Indian Territory, shows 326,768 present and absent (127 W. R., 822).

² Number in Acquia District not included, in the absence of returns from this district.

³ Estimated from the return of 55,633 "effectives," at the ratio of 4699 "effectives" in Toombs's division (p. 480), April 30, to the 9325 "present and absent" in the same (1st) division, April 23 (14 W. R., 460).

44 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Norfolk ¹ (Huger's command)	15,143 ^d
Dept. of North Carolina	26,433 ^e
South Carolina and Georgia ²	40,000 ^f
Middle and East Florida (April 30)	4,393 ^g
Alabama and West Florida ³ (April 15)	11,000 ^h
Army of the Mississippi	93,883 ⁱ
Fort Pillow	3,847 ^j
Dept. of East Tennessee	16,199 ^k
Army of the West (May 4)	34,035 ^l
Trans-Miss. Dist. April 15, ex. troops ordered to Memphis, which are included presumably in Army of Miss. (11 W. R., 475), and including 500 on the way from Texas	20,000 ^m
Ind. Ter. (May)	9,565 ⁿ
	401,395 ⁴

^d 4 W. R., 706. ^e 9 W. R., 459. ^f 20 W. R., 498. ^g 20 W. R. 488.
^h 6 W. R., 875, 876. ⁱ 11 W. R., 475. ^j 11 W. R., 476. ^k 11 W. R., 476.
^l 11 W. R., 491. ^m 19 W. R., 818. ⁿ 19 W. R., 831.

March 1, 1862, the Confederate Adjutant-General reported 340,250 from the returns, with an estimate of 20 to 25 regiments additional for regiments not embraced in the returns (127 W. R., 963).

¹ Estimated from return of November 30, 1861, in view of returns for Huger's division of 3 brigades of 15 regiments, besides Ransom's brigade, June 26, 1862 (13 W. R., 504).

² Estimated from returns of 27,687 "effectives," May 11, in the ratio of 4883 "effectives" to 7209 "present and absent" in 2d district of South Carolina, shown in return of April 12 (20 W. R., 482).

³ Estimated from 8360 reported "present."

⁴ There are no returns for Heth's command at Lewisburg, Va., or for the forces in Mississippi, Texas, and part of Missouri and Louisiana, and no number is included for these commands.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 45

JANUARY, 1863.

Army of Northern Virginia, including Valley Dist. and excluding Ransom's division	144,614 ^a
Maryland Brigade, Edenburg, Va.	979 ^b
Dept. of West Virginia	10,143 ^c
Dept. of North Carolina, Richmond, etc. ¹	54,334 ^d
Ransom's division	6,985 ^e
Dept. of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida	27,225 ^f
Mississippi and East Louisiana	73,161 ^g
Army of Tennessee	83,767 ^h
McCown's division	7,934 ⁱ
Van Dorn's division (Jan. 18)	² 11,000 ^j
Dept. of East Tennessee	³ 17,098 ^k
Dist. of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona (Jan. 12)	<u>9,322 ^l</u>
	446,622

^a 40 W. R., 602. ^b 40 W. R., 602. ^c 40 W. R., 608. ^d 26 W. R., 865, 866, 901. ^e 31 W. R., 1075; 26 W. R., 850, 855. ^f 20 W. R., 757. ^g 38 W. R., 611. ^h 35 W. R., 622. ⁱ 35 W. R., 623. ^j 30 W. R., 412, 413. ^k 30 W. R., 475; 35 W. R., 644. ^l 21 W. R., 946.

JANUARY, 1864.

Army of Northern Virginia	91,253 ^a
Dept. of Richmond (ex. Maryland line)	10,518 ^b
Valley District, including Archer's and Thomas's brigades ⁴	⁵ 12,000 ^c
Army of West Virginia and East Tennessee	19,599 ^d

^a 49 W. R., 898. ^b 49 W. R., 904. ^c 49 W. R., 904. ^d 49 W. R., 908.

¹ Number in District of Cape Fear, taken from the separate report of the troops in that district. Number in Robertson's brigade taken from return of March 1.

² Estimated from returns of 7455 "present" (see, also, 35 W. R., 633, 680) in the proportion shown in return, 38 W. R., 611.

³ Mean of returns for December, 1862, and February 20, 1863.

⁴ See 49 W. R., 901, notes.

⁵ 13½ regiments, estimated from average strength of infantry regiments in Army of Northern Virginia.

46 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Defenses of Wilmington	9,215 ^a
Dept. of North Carolina	18,763 ^f
Dept. of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida	47,491 ^g
Mobile and defenses (Jan. 20)	12,512 ^h
Troops in Mississippi (Jan. 20)	44,132 ⁱ
Longstreet's command, East Tennessee (Dec. 31)	44,173 ^j
Army of Tennessee	98,215 ^k
Trans-Mississippi Dept. (Jan. 1)	73,289 ^l
	481,160

^a 49 W. R., 907. ^f 49 W. R., 906. ^g 47 W. R., 601. ^h 58 W. R., 582; 59 W. R., 586. ⁱ 58 W. R., 583. ^j 56 W. R., 889. ^k 56 W. R., 883. ^l 62 W. R., 814.

JANUARY, 1865.

Army of Northern Virginia	150,373 ^a
Dept. of Virginia and East Tennessee (Nov., '64)	7,138 ^b
Dept. of Richmond	16,601 ^c
Western District of North Carolina ¹	2,226 ^d
South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida (Jan. 20) ²	53,014 ^e
Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana (Dec. 1)	32,148 ^f
Trans-Mississippi Dept. ³	96,708 ^g
Army of Tennessee (Dec. 10)	86,995 ^h
	445,203

^a 89 W. R., 1362. ^b 79 W. R., 907. ^c 89 W. R., 1358. ^d 89 W. R., 1279. ^e 99 W. R., 1032. ^f 94 W. R., 632. ^g 86 W. R., 1137-1141. ^h 93 W. R., 679.

¹ In the statement made up in the War Records Office, 4 Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 768, the return for North Carolina is given as 5187, but the writer has not succeeded in finding the return in the published War Records.

² About 4000 are reported present December 28 (pp. 999, 1000) in organizations which do not appear in the returns of November 20 (pp. 874-876).

³ The return of Drayton's division (p. 138) shows 970 more than the number set down in the return of the army (p. 1141).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 47

**COMPARISON OF THE FOREGOING NUMBERS WITH THE
NUMBER ON THE UNION ROLLS AT SAME DATES.**

Date	No. on Union Rolls ¹	Average	No. on Confederate Returns	Average	Per cent.
July, 1861	186,751	} 381,334 } 606,521 } 777,623 } 889,429 } 910,068 } 3,565,005	112,040	} 231,729 } 376,406 } 424,018 } 463,891 } 463,181 } 1,959,225	60.7 62 54 52 50 55
Jan., 1862	575,917		351,418		
Mar. 31, 1862	637,126		401,395		
Jan. 1, 1863	918,121		446,622		
Jan. 1, 1864	860,737		481,160		
Jan. 1, 1865	959,460		445,208		
			3,565,005				1,959,225	55

To arrive at an absolutely exact average strength of the two armies, it would be necessary to allow something for those troops which, by reason of their short term of service or for other reasons, were not counted in the returns on which the above averages are based. On the Union side there were 250,000 men who served from two weeks to six months (post, p. 50); and on the Confederate side there were irregular troops, estimated to be about 98,720 (ante, p. 36), serving an average term of 16 months (post, p. 61), that were not always carried in the returns of the Confederate armies. So, also, disproportion in the casualties on the two sides would have to be taken into account to reach the exact average strength on each side. In the Union army 110,070 ² were killed and died of wounds; 249,458 ²

¹ M. and D., Part III. 102.

² Reg. Losses, 527.

died of disease and accident; and there were about 125,000¹ desertions and 426,664¹ discharges,— a total of 911,192. The casualties on the Confederate side, established by the muster-rolls and reports, and estimates of losses in battle by Confederate commanders, were 94,000 killed and mortally wounded,² 59,297 died of disease,³ 82,922 desertions,⁴ and 57,762 discharged,³ a total of 286,981; but, as before stated, these rolls cover only about two years on an average, and it is not to be doubted that the total for four years was in fact considerably greater.

The fact that the average strength shown on the returns of all the Confederate armies during the four years of the war was 55 per cent. of the average strength of all the Union armies for the same time tends to prove that the Confederate estimates of 600,000 to 700,000 for the total number in the Confederate army, or 20 to 24 per cent. of the total number (2,898,304)⁵ in the Union armies, are too small. But it would be an error to assume that the ratio of 55 per cent. between the average strength of the Union armies and the average strength of the Confederate armies shows the absolute ratio between the number of men who were enrolled on each side, because it might not give due effect to the varying terms of service of the various levies on either side. No comparison of numbers could be just which did not take this into account.

¹ M. and D., Part III. 78–89.

² Reg. Losses, 554.

³ M. and D., Part III. 141.

⁴ M. and D., Part III. 139–141; 21,506 deducted from a total of 104,428 for deserters returned to the ranks.

⁵ Post, p. 50.

It is obvious that a given number of men serving for four years constitute in effect a force at least sixteen times as strong as the same number serving for three months. In reducing the terms of enlistment to a common term, as for instance three years, some statisticians have assumed that the term of service of the so-called three years' men enlisted in 1863 and 1864 was three years, when in effect their service terminated with the war, at the end of one or two years. Such assumptions have their place in measuring the term of service for which it was possible to enroll men, but they have no place in comparing the effectual strength of the two armies during the war. This comparison can be made only by compounding the number of men with the actual term of service on each side.

The following table shows the actual terms of service of the various levies of United States troops and the equivalent number of men serving for three years, assuming that the service ended May 4, 1865, when hostilities had been terminated by the surrender of the principal armies of the Confederacy, and that the term of each levy which was terminated by the close of hostilities began one month after the date when the levy was called for.¹

¹ This assumption probably errs on the side of greater numbers, as it is probable that the average interval between the call and muster-in was greater.

50 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF MEN IN UNION ARMY, THEIR ACTUAL TERM OF SERVICE, AND THE EQUIVALENT NUMBER OF MEN SERVING THREE YEARS.

(Authorities, M. and D., Rep. of Provost Marshal General, pp. 7 et seq. and 160; Statement of War Dept., Records and Pension Division, Jan., 1892.)

Date of President's call, Act of Congress, or draft	Number furnished	Term for which called	Actual term of service	Equivalent numbers for term of three years
1861				
April 15	91,816	3 mos.	3 mos.	7,651
May 3, July 22-25	2,715	6 mos.	6 mos.	452
	9,147	1 yr.	1 yr.	3,049
	30,950	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	20,638
	657,868 ¹	3 yrs.	3 yrs.	657,868
1862				
May, June	15,007	3 mos.	3 mos.	1,250
July 2	421,465	3 yrs.	33 mos.	386,348
August 4	87,588	9 mos.	9 mos.	21,897
1863				
June 15	16,361	6 mos.	6 mos.	2,727
July (draft)	35,582 ²	3 yrs.	22 mos.	21,744
October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864	281,510 ³	3 yrs.	16 mos.	125,115
1864				
March 14	259,515	3 yrs.	13 mos.	93,714
April 23	83,612	100 days.	100 days.	7,636
July 18	385,163	1, 2, 3, and 4 years.	8½ mos.	90,941
December 19	211,752	do.	4 mos.	23,528
Various from the Territories and Southern States	172,744 ⁴	do.	18 mos.	86,372
Ditto	15,509	60 days to a year. ⁵	60 days to a year.	3,451
1863				
Emergency men and militia	120,000	2 to 3 weeks.		2,307
	2,898,304			1,556,678

¹ Possibly 16,000 regulars on rolls January, 1861, should be added here.

² These men are included with call of February 1, in statement of War Department, etc.; but see M. and D., Part III. 28, 39.

³ 300,000 were called October 17, and 200,000 more February 1. The average of 16 months' service is taken upon the assumption that the enlistments were proportionate under the two calls.

⁴ 97,598 were colored troops, all but one regiment enrolled after 1862.

⁵ This actual service is estimated. (See M. and D., Part III. 67 et seq.; Part I. 31.)

TERM OF SERVICE OF THE CONFEDERATE TROOPS.

There is no summary in the published records of the terms of service of the various levies of Confederate troops, but there is abundant evidence that in effect the term of service of all men composing the organizations regularly enrolled in the army of the Confederate States was for the duration of the war. The first act of the Confederate Congress for raising an army was that of February 28, 1861, which for both State forces and volunteers established twelve months as the term of service,¹ and under this act 70,000 men were called out.¹ The act of March 6, 1861, established a permanent regular army of seven regiments and 41 companies,² with a term of enlistment of not less than three or more than five years. Thirteen regiments and one battery were in fact raised for this force.³

The act of May 8, 1861, authorized the President to accept the service of all volunteers offering themselves for service during the war,⁴ and the act of May 11 authorized him to fix the term of service.⁵ The writer has not found, in the records published, any proclamation of the Confederate President fixing the number of troops or the term of service under these acts. The act of December 11, 1861, established a bounty for all then in service for twelve months who should reënlist for two years more.⁶ At that date 110 regiments were in service for the war.⁷ The act of January 23, 1862, authorized the President, at his discretion, to call on

¹ M. and D., Part III. 117-119; 127 W. R., 117, 135, 211, 221.

² 127 W. R., 127.

³ Reg. Losses, 553.

⁴ 127 W. R., 302.

⁵ 127 W. R., 310.

⁶ 127 W. R., 825.

⁷ 127 W. R., 790.

the States for any number of troops for three years.¹ The act of January 27, 1862, authorized recruiting three years' volunteers for companies then in service for twelve months.² The act of January 29, 1862, mentioned drafts by the States to fill the President's requisition for men for three years.³ Under these acts the Confederate authorities refused to receive troops for less than three years except⁴ for local or special service. February 2, 1862, the President called upon the governors of the States to furnish 239,264 to serve for the war.⁵ Following this, the governors of the States began to warn their people that, if enough volunteers did not respond to the call, they should make drafts for the deficiency.⁶ Confederate returns show that March 1, 1862, about two thirds of the troops were in service for twelve months,⁷ but they were all retained in service for the war; for while the act of April 16, 1862, placed all between 18 and 35 in the service by conscription,⁸ it also provided that all soldiers from 18 to 35 years of age who were there April 16 should be continued in service for three years.⁹ If a few twelve months' volunteers between 35 and 45 years of age were entitled to their discharge, they were swept back among the conscripts by the act of September 27, 1862,¹⁰ and they, as well as all others within the conscript age, were held for service until the

¹ 127 W. R., 869.

² 127 W. R., 891.

³ 127 W. R., 902.

⁴ 127 W. R., 963.

⁵ 127 W. R., 1105.

⁶ 127 W. R., 925.

⁷ 127 W. R., 823.

⁸ 127 W. R., 920.

⁹ 127 W. R., 1095.

¹⁰ M. & D., Part III. 121.

end of the war. Inspection of the War Records shows that substantially all of the regiments enrolled in 1861 remained in service to the end of the war. It may, then, be assumed that in effect the term of service of all who entered the Confederate armies continued from the time they entered until the end of the war, May 4, 1865.

The returns of the Confederate armies above tabulated show that there were on their rolls, —

In July, 1861	112,040 men. ¹
In January, 1862	351,418 men. ¹

The average date of enlistment of those who were on the rolls in July may be safely placed at the mean between the firing on Fort Sumter and July 31, 1861, which is about June 1; and October 31, 1861, may be taken as the average date of enlistment of those who joined the army between July 31, 1861, and January, 1862, and the term of service of these troops may then be estimated as follows: —

Men on returns of July, 1861, in service for 47 months .	112,040
Men on returns of January, 1862, in service for 42 months	239,378

The later returns of the armies cannot serve as a basis for establishing the term of service of the remainder of the levies, but the dates at which the various regiments and battalions first appear in the War Records may be taken to establish the dates at which they entered the service; for, although the most of them no doubt entered the service some time before the dates at which they were mentioned in the official papers con-

¹ Ante, pp. 42, 43.

tained in the War Records, yet there is a basis for correcting the resulting error in some cases, and in the others the total error cannot be very great.

The following table gives the number of regiments and battalions of infantry and cavalry, mention of which the writer has noted in the War Records as follows:—

Class A. Those appearing in May, 1862, and earlier.

Class B. Those appearing after May, 1862, bearing numbers lower than those of Class A, which indicate that they entered the service prior to the latest of Class A.

Class C. Others appearing June, 1862, to October, 1863, inclusive.

There are included among the regiments in this table twelve legions. A legion sometimes had less, and sometimes more, men than a regiment.¹ They are counted as regiments here upon the assumption that their average strength was equal to that of the regiments.

In some cases regiments and battalions of infantry and cavalry appear in the War Records under designations different from those under which organizations are counted in the table below; and although in some cases it has been discovered that they were only alternative designations for organizations included in the table, yet it is possible that this was not true in all instances, and therefore that some are omitted:—

¹ See 127 W. R., 304, 789.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 55

State	Class A		Class B	Class C	
	Regiments	Battalions	Regiments	Regiments	Battalions
Alabama ^a	48	9	—	11	10
Arkansas ^b	24	14	—	26	11
Confederate ^c	—	—	—	8	1
Florida ^d	7	—	—	2	5
Georgia ^e	51	5	9	18	10
Indian Ter. ^f	3	4	—	2	2
Kentucky ^g	29	3	—	10	4
Louisiana ^h	30	7	—	7	6
Maryland ⁱ	1	—	—	1	3
Mississippi ^j	38	2	7	10	15
Missouri ^k	24	8	—	14	7
North Carolina ^l	40	2	1	21	8
South Carolina ^m	29	1	—	4	4
Tennessee ⁿ	72	11	1	15	16
Texas ^o	31	3	13	20	8
Virginia ^p	68	5	1	16	22
Totals	490	74	45	185	132

^a W. R., 4, 7, 8, 10-12, 14, 21-26, 29, 35-38, 42, 48, 50, 51, 58. ^b W. R., 4, 11, 14, 21-24, 32-36, 53. ^c W. R., 25, 40, 51, 56. ^d W. R., 11, 14, 20, 27, 47. ^e W. R., 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 18, 20, 23, 29, 30, 35, 47, 49, 50. ^f W. R., 19, 32, 33. ^g W. R., 10, 11, 14, 23, 25, 30, 34, 35, 39, 49. ^h W. R., 10, 11, 14, 15, 18-22, 35, 36, 41. ⁱ W. R. 37, 39, 45, 49. ^j W. R., 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20-22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 34, 38-39, 53, 56. ^k W. R., 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 32, 33. ^l W. R., 5, 9, 11-14, 18, 20, 21, 26, 28, 30, 35, 40, 49. ^m W. R., 6, 9, 11-14, 18, 20, 25, 31, 34, 37, 40, 47. ⁿ W. R., 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 21-25, 27, 29, 34, 35, 38, 51. ^o W. R., 5, 9, 11, 14, 19, 21, 25, 32, 33, 37, 41, 42, 50. ^p W. R., 4-6, 9, 11-15, 18, 26-28, 31, 35, 39, 40, 44, 45, 49.

The foregoing table shows the equivalent of 572 regiments prior to, and 251 regiments after, June 1, 1862.¹

In Colonel Fox's list ² there are 5 regiments, 6 battalions, and 261 batteries of artillery, equal to 34 regiments. It may be assumed that these troops entered

¹ Moore's North Carolina Roster records enlistments in 41 regiments in 1861, and in 25 more in the first seven months of 1862, out of a total of 70 regiments.

² Reg. Losses, 553.

the service after May, or prior to June, 1862, in the same proportion as the organizations in the above table. This gives 23 regiments of artillery, and a total of 595 regiments of all arms, as entering the service prior to June, 1862, which at the average strength of 971, as above estimated (p. 34), gives a total of 577,745 in these organizations at the outset. Deducting the 351,418 in service in January, 1862, there remain 226,327 whose term of service may be assumed to have begun midway between January 1 and June 1, or March 15, and therefore to have been $37\frac{1}{2}$ months.

The writer has not closely examined the War Records covering the period subsequent to October, 1863, for organizations regularly entering the Confederate service during that period of 19 months, but he assumes below (pp. 59-61) that the average term of service of all such organizations was one year. This does not seem too long a term in view of the urgent need of reinforcements for all the Confederate armies.

The table below gives the number of organizations in Class C, first appearing in the War Records in each month from June, 1862, to October, 1863, and their terms of service, reckoned from the same month to the end of the war:—

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 57

Month	Regiments	Battalions	Term of Service
1862			
June	9		35 months equal to 315 regiments for 1 month
		2	35 months equal to 35 regiments for 1 month
July	17		34 months equal to 578 regiments for 1 month
		7	34 months equal to 119 regiments for 1 month
August	17		33 months equal to 561 regiments for 1 month
		6	33 months equal to 99 regiments for 1 month
September	6		32 months equal to 192 regiments for 1 month
		10	32 months equal to 160 regiments for 1 month
October	18		31 months equal to 403 regiments for 1 month
		6	31 months equal to 93 regiments for 1 month
November	13		30 months equal to 390 regiments for 1 month
		6	30 months equal to 90 regiments for 1 month
December	15		29 months equal to 435 regiments for 1 month
		14	29 months equal to 105 regiments for 1 month
1863			
January	16		28 months equal to 448 regiments for 1 month
		16	28 months equal to 224 regiments for 1 month
February	6		27 months equal to 162 regiments for 1 month
		6	27 months equal to 81 regiments for 1 month
March	9		26 months equal to 234 regiments for 1 month
		6	26 months equal to 78 regiments for 1 month
April	17		25 months equal to 425 regiments for 1 month
		8	25 months equal to 100 regiments for 1 month
May	9		24 months equal to 216 regiments for 1 month
		8	24 months equal to 96 regiments for 1 month
June	6		23 months equal to 138 regiments for 1 month
		3	23 months equal to 34.5 regiments for 1 month
July	9		22 months equal to 198 regiments for 1 month
		9	22 months equal to 99 regiments for 1 month
August	7		21 months equal to 147 regiments for 1 month
		13	21 months equal to 136.5 regiments for 1 month
September	9		20 months equal to 180 regiments for 1 month
		5	20 months equal to 50 regiments for 1 month
October	7		19 months equal to 133 regiments for 1 month
		7	19 months equal to 66.5 regiments for 1 month
	185	132	36)60,195(192 or 192 regts. for 3 yrs

The remainder of the artillery in Colonel Fox's list equals 11 regiments, which with term of service proportionate to that of the organizations in the above list, would equal 8 regiments for three years, and would bring the total number to 200 regiments, equal, at 971 per regiment, to 194,200.

TERM OF SERVICE OF RECRUITS.

The report of the Superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription,¹ before referred to, shows that, east of the Mississippi, between April 16, 1862, and February, 1865, 81,993 had been enrolled by conscription; and he estimated that 72,292 had, during the same period, joined regiments in the field to avoid conscription, stating, however, that he believed this estimate to be much too small. In view of the strenuous exertions of the Confederate authorities to enforce universal conscription, which have been detailed above,² it is safe to assume that the average date of enlistment of these 154,922 men was not later than midway between April 16, 1862, the date of the first conscript act, and April 30, 1864, when the Superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription reported the exhaustive measures which had been employed to gather in all the able-bodied men between 18 and 45.³ This would give an average term of service of 24 months for these recruits. It remains to fix the term of service of the remainder of the recruits.

Adopting the largest estimate above of the total number of men regularly enrolled in the Confederate armies	1,307,460 ⁴
And deducting the estimated original number of the ascertained organizations	824,379 ⁵
<hr/>	
We have as the number of recruits and organizations not ascertained	483,081
Deducting recruits reported	154,285 ⁶
<hr/>	
Leaves	328,796

¹ Ante, p. 35.

² Pages 11 et seq.

³ M. and D., Part III. 122; 129 W. R. 354.

⁴ Ante, p. 39.

⁵ Ante, p. 34.

⁶ Ante, p. 35.

Adopting the smaller estimate of 1,129,170¹ for the total number of men regularly enrolled would reduce the number of recruits and men, in organizations not ascertained, to about 150,000, but the mean between the two estimates above mentioned is 1,218,315; and this is so near 1,141,000, above computed as the number who were subject by law to military duty,² that to adopt it cannot exaggerate numbers. This leaves the remainder of 239,651 for recruits and organizations not above ascertained.

In view of the fact that under the Conscript Act of February, 1864, recruits were hurried to the ranks as fast as possible for the spring campaign, it seems safe to assume that the average term of service of all these 239,651 men was at least one year.

TERMS OF SERVICE OF MILITIA AND OTHER IRREGULAR ORGANIZATIONS.

The acts of the Confederate Congress of August 2, 1861, and October 13, 1862, authorized the acceptance of volunteers not within the conscript age (18 to 45), for local defense and special service; and the Confederate commanders, as early as September, 1863, issued orders to aid in the formation of companies, battalions, and regiments of these volunteers.³

The number of these troops has been estimated above (page 36) at 98,720. Their terms of service cannot be ascertained with exactness. The following facts from the War Records aid in making an estimate:—

¹ Ante, p. 39.

² Ante, p. 22.

³ 33 W. R., 996.

- Alabama. August, 1862, the governor of Alabama was reported to be about to order out militia.^a
- Arkansas. August 10, 1863, the governor and General E. Kirby Smith arranged to raise a volunteer force under State generals.^b
- Florida. In June, July, and November, 1863, 5 special battalions from this State were in service.^c June 8, 1864, the reserves in service were incorporated in the 11th Florida Volunteers.^d
- Georgia. August, 1863, the governor called out 8000 men for State defense.^e
- Louisiana. The Ninth Brigade was called into service May, 1862.^f The Fifth Brigade was called into service June, 1862.^g The Tenth Brigade was called into service July 20, 1862.^h The Eleventh Brigade was called into service December, 29, 1862.ⁱ Certain militia were disbanded September 30, 1862.^j One half of the militia of North, South, and East Louisiana were ordered into service February 25, 1863.^k May 7, 1863, General Magruder requested the governor to call out 10,500 militia.^l
- Mississippi. August 11, 1862, the governor of Mississippi was reported to have ordered out 2000 militia.^m March 17, 1864, Gholson's Brigade of State Troops was turned over to the Confederate service.ⁿ
- North Carolina. The Junior Reserves enlisted from April to June, 1864.^o
- South Carolina. January 15, 1863, 8 regiments of reserves were in service.^p April 30, 1864, the reserves were called out, against the governor's protest, by the Confederate authorities.^q June 29, 1864, all between 18 and 45 in 8 regiments of reserves were ordered to other regiments.^r
- Texas. August 15, 1863, the State Troops were being organized.^s December 4, 1863, an act of legislature extended the terms of 8000 State Troops from 6 months to 12 months.^t December

^a Vol. 25, p. 682. ^b Vol. 33, p. 962. ^c Vol. 47, pp. 172, 248, 469. ^d Vol. 66, p. 525. ^e Vol. 47, pp. 307, 313. ^f Vol. 21, pp. 742, 756, 759. ^g Vol. 21, pp. 755-767. ^h Vol. 21, p. 784. ⁱ Vol. 21, p. 914. ^j Vol. 21, p. 819. ^k Vol. 21, p. 991. ^l Vol. 21, p. 1079. ^m Vol. 25, p. 677. ⁿ Vol. 59, pp. 650, 652. ^o Moore's North Carolina Roster. ^p Vol. 20, p. 750. ^q Vol. 66, pp. 456, 519, 520, 535, 539. ^r Vol. 65, pp. 623-635. ^s Vol. 42, p. 170. ^t Vol. 42, p. 528.

6, 1863, General Magruder required the governor to provide for continuance in service of the State Troops to the close of the war, and to organize all men from 16 to 70 years, not already in service.^u December, 1863, 3 regiments and 5 battalions State Troops were incorporated into the army for 6 months.^v Virginia. June, 1861, Virginia militia were in service in Shenandoah Valley.^w April, 1862, 3 regiments militia were in service at Williamsburg.^x November, 1862, 3 regiments State line were in service.^y June 10, 1863, 8000 militia were called to be mustered into service August 1, 1863.^z March, 1864, 6 battalions of local defense regiments were in service.^a

^u Vol. 42, p. 486. ^v Vol. 42, pp. 497, 514. ^w 2 W. R., 473. ^x Vol. 14, p. 481. ^y Vol. 29, p. 33. ^z Vol. 45, pp. 883, 884. ^a Vol. 60, pp. 9, 130.

The citations previously made show that after 1862 the Confederate authorities were in such great need of troops that it is not probable that many of the men who took up arms in 1863 were allowed to lay them down again except for physical disability, and it seems safe to assume that the average term of service of the militia and other irregular organizations was at least sixteen months.

SUMMARY OF CONFEDERATE LEVIES REDUCED TO A
THREE YEARS' TERM OF SERVICE.

July, 1861 . . .	112,040 ^a for 47 months =	146,274 for 3 yrs.
January, 1862 . . .	239,378 ^b for 42 months =	279,274 for 3 yrs.
Before June, 1862,	226,327 ^c for 37½ months =	235,757 for 3 yrs.
After May, 1862	^d 194,200 for 3 yrs.	
Recruits reported,	154,285 ^e for 2 years =	102,856 for 3 yrs.
Recruits not reported and regular organizations not included above	239,651 ^f for 1 year =	79,883 for 3 yrs.
Militia, etc. . . .	98,720 ^g for 16 months =	43,875 for 3 yrs.
		<hr/> 1,082,119 for 3 yrs.

^a Page 53. ^b Page 53. ^c Page 56. ^d Page 57. ^e Page 35. ^f Page 59.
^g Pages 59, 61.

This total of 1,082,119 men for three years in the Confederate service is 70 per cent. of the total of 1,556,678 for three years in the Union service as above computed,¹ but the average strength of the Confederate armies as above computed from the available returns is only 55 per cent. of the computed average strength of the Union armies.² The absence of some, and the incompleteness of some, of the Confederate returns, and the omission of some of the irregular organizations, probably cause a part of the discrepancy. The averages of the Union armies ought probably to be diminished for terms of service of large numbers of men which were shorter than those assumed in the computation. The 186,751¹ men on the rolls in July, 1861, assumed to have served three months, embraced nearly if not quite all the 91,816¹ three months' men whose term of service expired in July and August. The returns of January, 1863, included 87,588² nine months' men assumed to have served for the next six months, who in fact served somewhat less; and a part of the 575,917¹ men on the returns for January, 1862, assumed to have served nine months in computing the first two averages, did not enter the field in time to have served that time. If the per cent. of mortality in the Confederate army was, as seems probable, greater than that in the Union army, this, if it could be taken into account, would enlarge the average strength of the former in the computation.³

In comparing the actual performance in the field of the troops on the two sides, a mere statement of the numbers enrolled and the terms of service are not all

¹ Page 47.

² Ante, p. 50.

³ Page 47.

that should be considered. The irregular organizations included in the foregoing estimate of the Confederate troops¹ were probably of little value for active operations in the field. The same is true of the "emergency men," and perhaps some of the other short-term troops in the Union army. Again, on the Union side, 60,000² men of the Veteran Reserve Corps were not available for service in the field; and the enlistment of 300,000 men was so near the close of the war that many did not see active service, and the records show that over 250 regiments never went into action.³

SUMMARY OF FOREGOING CALCULATIONS.

Number of enlistments in Union army	2,898,304
Number of men in Confederate army, estimated from the census	1,234,000
Number of enlistments in Confederate army, estimated from the number of organizations and their total average strength, between	1,227,890 and 1,406,180
Number of men serving three years, equivalent to the number enlisted in Union army, serving their actual terms	1,556,678
Number of men serving three years, equivalent to the number enlisted in Confederate army, serving their actual terms	1,082,119

The Records show that 385,245 were killed and wounded in the Union army,⁴ while it has been gathered from the official reports, and, in their absence, from Confederate estimates of the loss in each engagement, that 94,000 were killed or mortally wounded in the Confederate army, which, in the usual ratio of 1 to 2.5, would indicate a total loss in killed and wounded of

¹ Ante, p. 61.

² M. and D., Part III. 93.

³ Reg. Losses, 467 et seq.

⁴ Reg. Losses, 47.

329,000.¹ Table B² below shows more men hit on the Confederate than on the Union side in 48 battles, in which over 46 per cent. of the Union loss occurred. Taken alone, the ratio between losses warrants no deduction of the ratio between numbers. An army inferior in numbers, other conditions being equal, may lose as many men as a larger one opposing it, by keeping its individuals longer under fire. Without the bravery and resolution to do this to an extraordinary extent, the Confederates could not have prolonged the civil war for four years, and, by so many battles, against the superior numbers of the Union army. But if the average ratio between the per cent. of loss on one side and the per cent. of loss on the other side could be ascertained, this ratio, applied to the known number in the Union army, and total losses on both sides, would give a result which ought not to greatly vary from the total number in the Confederate army. In the endeavor to establish this ratio, the writer has gathered the number engaged and the number killed and wounded in each battle in which 1000 or more were hit on either side, as below stated in detail and assembled in Tables A and B.² For 15 of these battles the Official Records give the losses in the Union armies only, but for the other 48 they give numbers and losses on both sides, excepting a few instances where the writer has taken them from good authorities.³ These battles extend in

¹ Reg. Losses, 554, 22.

² Pages 140-145.

³ Doubtless the returns for some battles include some as missing who were killed or wounded, — notably those for the Seven Days' Battles, Chancellorsville, and Chickamauga on the Union side, and Shiloh, Stone's River, and Perrysville on the Confederate side. Table A includes the number reported as missing.

time to every year of the war, and in place to all parts of the contested territory, and the forces engaged in them include every army of importance on either side. It is shown in Table B that, in the 48 battles on the Union side, the aggregate of the numbers engaged was 1,575,033, and the number hit was 176,550, and that on the Confederate side the aggregate of the numbers engaged was 1,243,528, and the number hit was 187,124. From this it appears that for an average number of 112.09 hit in 1000 on the Union side, there were 150.47 hit in 1000 on the Confederate side, but the greatest number were hit on the Union side, during the war, and it may be assumed that the ratio between these averages would not increase if extended to all battles. The total number of 385,245 hit in the Union army equals 247.48 per 1000 of 1,556,678, which, as has been above demonstrated,¹ would be the number of men serving for three years, equivalent to the number of men in the Union army serving for their actual terms. Using these figures with 329,000 for the total number hit in the Confederate army, in the following formula,

$$112.09 : 150.47 :: 247.48 : 332.22$$

$$329,000 \div 332.22 \times 1000 = 9,900.30$$

a result is obtained which may be assumed to be within the number of men serving for three years, equivalent to the number of men in the Confederate army serving for their actual terms. Previous calculations² have indicated the former number to be 1,082,332.

Including the 15 battles above mentioned, for which the Records give the losses in the Union army only, the aggregate of the numbers engaged on the Union side

¹ Page 50.

² Page 61.

was 2,328,515, and the losses were 247,589, or 106.33 per 1000. As the Confederates were on the defensive, in earthworks in the most of these battles, it is probable that if their numbers and losses in these battles could be used, they would tend to increase the number obtained as the result in the above formula. On the other hand, it is possible that the total of 329,000 for the Confederate killed and wounded is too large, because the ratio of 2.5 wounded to 1 killed or mortally wounded, which prevailed in the Union army, may be too large for the Confederate army, in which insufficient surgical attendance and hospital supplies and inadequate hospitals may have caused a greater mortality among the wounded.

A considerable number of the Union regiments never went under fire, and, as substantially all the Confederate regiments were in battle, this disparity to some extent would exaggerate the result of the above formula; but as the terms of service of these Union regiments were short, they would represent but a small number serving for three years, and therefore would not greatly enlarge the result.

METHOD OF ASCERTAINING THE NUMBERS ENGAGED.

The Records, apparently following the reports and returns of the commanders, give the numbers in the different campaigns and battles variously as "present for duty," "present for duty equipped," or "effective." Sometimes the last-named class excludes on both sides the non-combatants, and on the Confederate side the officers and even artillery and cavalry; and, in the effort to number only the men bearing muskets in

the firing-line, the stragglers, even those who have left the ranks on the field of battle, are sometimes excluded in reports of battles. (See Circular, 35 W. R., 619.)

This practice of counting as effective in the infantry only the men bearing muskets in the firing-line is of great value for informing commanders what weight of fire they can deliver, and the state of discipline in the ranks; but it cannot be followed in ascertaining numbers for comparison between the two sides in the civil war, or between the numbers in battles of that war and other wars, because the published accounts of the Union army, and of armies in other wars, do not usually state numbers on this basis. Officers, artillery, and cavalry are assuredly essential parts of the effective force of an army, and the efficiency of an army is certainly to be gauged quite as well by the number of combatants who fail to join in battle as by the valor of those who come into the firing-line. On the other hand, it is reasonable to exclude non-combatants from those counted as effective for battle. In both the Union and Confederate armies, the members of the regimental, medical, and quartermaster's departments, and the musicians, were non-combatants, and few of them were ever present in the firing-line, for even the drummers and fifers were usually employed in caring for the wounded; and these non-combatants, although essential to successful campaigns, cannot be said to have had any influence in the decision of battles in the civil war.

In the Union army a regiment of infantry 1050 strong regularly had about 70 non-combatants,¹ and too

¹ Staff, 10; company musicians, 20; band, wagoners, and men detailed for duty at headquarters and in quartermaster's and medical departments, 40.

often men employed as company clerks and officers' servants were kept out of battle. Sickness and other casualties began reducing the ranks as soon as a regiment went into camp, and probably not one ever reached a battlefield with full ranks. The average regimental strength "present for duty," in the Union army, was about 560 at Shiloh,¹ and 650 at Fair Oaks,² in the spring of 1862; 530 at Chancellorsville³ in May, 375 at Gettysburg⁴ in July, and 440 at Chickamauga⁵ in September, 1863; 440 at the Wilderness,⁶ and 305 in Sherman's army⁷ in May, 1864. Naturally the number of non-combatants in the regiments of these armies had not been reduced in the same proportion by casualties; and, although their number was reduced in the interest of economy as the strength of the regiments diminished, yet there is no reason for concluding that it was ever less than seven per cent. of the total "present for duty" in the infantry and artillery. Repeated instances are found in the Records where the numbers given as "effective" in infantry corps or divisions are from 89 to 93 per cent. of the number "present for duty,"⁸ while in the cavalry the per cent. is often from 83 to 86.⁹

¹ 10 W. R., 100, 105, 112.

² 12 W. R., 757 et seq; 14 W. R., 204.

³ 39 W. R., 156 et seq.; 40 W. R. 320.

⁴ 43 W. R., 151, 155, et seq.

⁵ 50 W. R. 40 et seq., 169.

⁶ 67 W. R., 19 et seq., 915.

⁷ 72 W. R., 89 et seq., 115; the number present for duty assumed to be 107 per cent. of the "effectives."

⁸ 31 W. R., 1121; 43 W. R., 152; 55 W. R., 12; 72 W. R., 115; 75 W. R., 373.

⁹ 40 W. R., 320; 43 W. R., 152; 67 W. R., 198; 72 W. R., 115; 75 W. R., 373.

The lower per cents. may be accounted for by the deduction of men without arms in the infantry, and of men without mounts in the cavalry. It is apparent that the commanders of corps in the Union army did not all follow the same classification in counting the numbers "present for duty equipped," or "effective;" for in some returns these numbers are the same as, or under one per cent. less than, the number "present for duty," and sometimes they are stated as even greater.¹ Although the Confederate returns bear evidence of having computed the "effectives" more consistently, yet it is apparent in some cases that a sufficient deduction is not made for the non-combatants.² In view of these facts, the writer, adopting the number of effectives given in the Official Records in the few cases where they seem to be properly determined, or where the number present for duty is not given, has in other cases computed the number of effectives in the infantry and artillery at 93 per cent., and in the cavalry at 85 per cent., of the number present for duty. In cases where the number of effectives given in the Confederate returns is used, an addition is made for officers if they appear not to have been included. In this connection it is to be observed that in the Union armies the number of officers ran from 4 to 7 per cent. of the total

¹ For example, see Army of Potomac, 14 W. R., 238; Left Grand Div., 31 W. R., 1121; several corps, 40 W. R., 320; 11th corps, 55 W. R., 13; 14th and 20th corps, 72 W. R., 115; 75 W. R., 373; Cav. Div., 95 W. R., 61; 23d corps, Dist. of Etowah, 95 W. R., 53, 54.

² For examples, see 23 W. R., 784; 91 W. R., 883.

present for duty,¹ while in the Confederate armies it ran from 6½ to 11 per cent.²

It will be found that the numbers given in the tables below often differ from those commonly given, from the fact that organizations which, although figuring in the returns of the armies engaged, were not in fact on the field of battle, are here excluded. The same is true of troops which, although on the field or within supporting distance, were in such position that their presence could not have had any effect on the opposing force. Attention is called to each omission of this kind in the tables.

COURAGE AND EFFICIENCY OF THE ARMIES
COMPARED.

The comparison of numbers and losses naturally leads to the inquiry whether, on the whole, one side showed martial capacity superior to that of the other; and here it must be recognized that other things beside mere numbers and losses are to be taken into account.

To invade and hold a constantly increasing territory required many more troops than would have been needed in the Union army for actual fighting, and many Northern soldiers were employed in non-combatants' work, such as was done by negroes for the Southern army.

¹ W. R., vol. 2, p. 309; vol. 14, p. 184; vol. 28, p. 410; vol. 25, p. 246; vol. 23, p. 564; vol. 31, p. 1121; vol. 30, p. 285; vol. 40, p. 320; vol. 38, p. 249; vol. 43, p. 152; vol. 50, p. 169; vol. 55, p. 13; vol. 61, p. 168; vol. 67, pp. 198, 915; vol. 96, p. 737; vol. 95, p. 61; vol. 75, p. 373; vol. 72, p. 117; vol. 91, p. 248; vol. 93, p. 53.

² W. R., vol. 2, p. 568; vol. 7, pp. 843, 855; vol. 80, pp. 10, 23, 93, 398, 678, 784; vol. 75, pp. 14, 645; vol. 87, pp. 23, 621; vol. 81, pp. 28, 660; vol. 23, p. 784; vol. 31, p. 1057; vol. 29, p. 674; vol. 38, p. 702; vol. 83, pp. 40, 696; vol. 53, p. 519; vol. 84, pp. 40, 847; vol. 91, p. 883.

In physical resources, such as transportation, arms, the munitions of war, food, clothing, and hospital supplies, the South was at a great disadvantage. The superiority of the North in these respects counterbalanced many men.

With all these things taken into account, the long and resolute contest maintained by the South, and their many successes against superior numbers, must always command admiration. The fact that their attitude was mainly defensive is not enough alone to account for all they achieved ; and careful study of the campaigns and battles, with the statistics of losses, leads to the belief not only that the Southern leaders were, at least up to 1864, bolder in taking risks than their opponents, but also that they pushed their forces under fire very nearly to the limit of endurance. Such strategy as that displayed by Jackson in the three campaigns of the Chickahominy, the second Bull Run, and Chancellorsville, was matched on the Northern side only by Grant's movements across the Mississippi and behind Vicksburg. The more frequent ventures of the Confederate generals may be attributed in part to the greater impetuosity of the Southern temperament, and in part to the ever present consciousness in the Union generals that they were warring to preserve, and in the Confederate generals that they were warring to destroy, a government; in the Union generals that they were defending railway lines and cities of great wealth whose capture would benefit the enemy as much as it would injure the cause of the Union ; in the Confederate generals that to defend their cities was not vital to their cause. But good generals cannot fight battles as the Confederates fought them without extraordinarily good soldiers.

In measuring the courage and efficiency of the line of an army, it is not enough to consider the per cent. of loss which it endures in a battle or series of battles. The loss suffered in a rout is not a measure of courage. It never can be proved that in winning victory an army has been pressed to the limit of its endurance; and on the other hand, while a rout may indicate that the limit of courage has been reached, an army which is withdrawn by the commanding general from a well-contested field, if it retires at will and in good order, cannot be said to have reached the limit of its endurance, although in a general sense defeat is acknowledged by the act of abandoning the field. The general who is responsible may have been weak, or, being strong, may have, after a fair trial for victory, elected to wait for another day and another field. Tactical advantages, or the cover of intrenchments on one side, may render courage unavailing on the other side, and a line of the bravest men may be swept away by the weight of superior numbers.

COMPARISON OF SIMILAR BATTLES.

It is obvious that the conduct of armies should be compared, where possible, in situations similar to each other. This is attempted for the Union and Confederate armies in what follows.

The Confederates, with a loss of 301 in 1000 at Gettysburg and 266 at Stone's River, may be compared to the Union men in the eight days, May 5-12, in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania, with a loss of 296 in 1000 infantry and artillery, or 263 in 1000 in all arms. At Gettysburg the Confederates, having gained ground during two days, were checked on the third, and then,

after delaying a day on the field, relinquished the fight and left the field in the possession of their adversaries. The history of the Confederates at Stone's River is almost identically the same. In the Wilderness the Confederates defeated the attempt to turn their flank, but failed to drive the Union army, which, after gaining ground, transferred the conflict by another flanking march a few miles to the south, and again took the offensive in a series of attacks on the intrenchments of the Confederates at Spottsylvania. Although it carried a portion of the works, it failed to carry the Confederate position. Neither side gained a victory. The combats, May 5-12, were, as far as testing the quality of the men was concerned, in effect a continuous battle, and may be fairly treated as such for the purpose of the foregoing comparison. As the cavalry were absent after the 8th of May and took no part in the infantry combat, it seems proper to omit their numbers and losses for this purpose.

The loss of 267 in 1000 suffered by the Union column in the assault on the works of Port Hudson, June 14, entitles it to be compared with the attacking armies in the three battles above mentioned; but the endurance of a small and homogeneous force like that at Port Hudson does not give the same evidence of the martial quality of the armies, as a whole, as is afforded by their conduct in the great battles. There were repeated instances in the great battles where a division or corps, numbering as many as, or more than, the Union force at Port Hudson or Olustee, endured a greater per cent. of loss, as, for example, the loss at Gettysburg by the Second Corps of 328 in 1000 of its 12,141 effec-

tives (43 W. R., 151, 177), and at Fredericksburg, by Hancock's division of the same corps, of 360 in 1000 of its 5006 effectives (31 W. R., 288, 130).

At Chickamauga the Confederates, with a superior force, routed a part of the Union army, and compelled the rest to relinquish the field, although in good order and moving or standing at will. The Confederate loss was 259 in 1000. The attitude of the Union army at Antietam was similar to that of the Confederates at Chickamauga; but the Union commander allowed only 53,000 of his 75,000 to open fire, and, although they gained ground at all points, he was content to stop the attack with a loss of 219 per 1000 of these 53,000. This is a conspicuous example of those cases where it cannot be maintained that the victorious army exhausted its courage.

Shiloh, on the Confederate side, had no exact parallel on the Union side. Successful on the first day against inferior numbers, it was driven from the field by superior numbers on the second, after a loss of 241 in 1000. The Union army at Olustee gave up the attack and abandoned the field after a loss of 265 per 1000; but, as has been before suggested, a comparison is not just between a small force like that at Olustee and an army as large as the Confederate force at Shiloh.

For further comparison of losses under similar conditions, the 63 battles of Table B may be classified as follows, although discrimination must be made between those which are styled defeats, because some are ranged under this head merely because the field was abandoned; when considered tactically, the retreating army was successful in the battle itself.

ASSAULTS ON FORTIFIED LINES.

SUCCESSES ¹		PARTIAL SUCCESSES ¹	
Union loss per 1000		Union loss per 1000	
Winchester	124	Chaffin's Farm	137
Chattanooga	97	Petersburg, June 15-18	128
Petersburg, April 2	60	Fort Donelson ³	96
Jonesborough, September 1	57	Spottsylvania, May 12	96
Nashville	56	Deep Bottom	78
Arkansas Post ²	36		

FAILURES

Union loss per 1000		Confederate loss per 1000	
Port Hudson, June 14	267	Atlanta, July 28	222
Fort Wagner	214	Franklin	206
Port Hudson, May 27	141	Atlanta, July 22	190
The Mine	138	Peach Tree Creek	133
Kenesaw Mountain	123	Corinth	112
Cold Harbor	111	Mechanicsville	91
Spottsylvania, May 10	108	Bentonville	89
Fredericksburg	103	Jonesborough, August 31	72
Vicksburg, May 22	67		
Chickasaw Bayou	39		

DEFEATS

Union loss per 1000		Confederate loss per 1000	
Olustee	265	Gettysburg	301
Cedar Mountain ²	219	Stone's River	266
Chickamauga	196	Shiloh	241
Wilson's Creek ⁴	175	Antietam	226
Drewry's Bluff	175	Tupelo	201
Manassas and Chantilly	132	Perryville	196
Chancellorsville	114	Fair Oaks	137
Pleasant Hill	78	South Mountain	105
		Prairie Grove	98
		Weldon R. R.	81
		Pea Ridge	43
		Arkansas Post ²	24

¹ Although the Confederates did not take and hold fortified lines in any of the battles of Table A, note should be made of Harper's Ferry, where, although the loss in killed and wounded did not amount to 1000 on either side, 13,000 Union troops were surrendered. On the other side, note should be made of Five Forks, where 5000 to 6000 Confederates were taken.

² The defeated army was greatly outnumbered.

³ Under this head the assault only is referred to.

⁴ The defeat is to be attributed to the rawness of the troops.

76 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

ROUTES

Union loss per 1000		Confederate loss per 1000	
Richmond, Ky.	161	Winchester ¹	123
Gaines's Mill ¹	117	Cedar Creek ¹	101
Bull Run ²	52	Petersburg, April 2	unknown
		Nashville	unknown, but small

VICTORIES

Union loss per 1000		Confederate loss per 1000	
Stone's River	223	Chickamauga	259
Gettysburg	212	Chancellorsville	187
Shiloh	162	Manassas and Chantilly	187
Antietam	155	Olustee	180
Cedar Creek	132	Drewry's Bluff	158
Winchester	124	Gaines's Mill	153
Fair Oaks	105	Wilson's Creek	100
Pea Ridge	105	Fort Wagner	95
Corinth	104	Cedar Mountain	79
Perryville	100	Pleasant Hill	70
Prairie Grove	99	Richmond, Ky.	66
Chattanooga	97	Fredericksburg	64
Peach Tree Creek	79	Bull Run	61
Champion Hill	76	Port Hudson, May 27	56
South Mountain	68	Kenesaw Mountain	15
Atlanta, July 22	65	Mine Run ³	15
Weldon R. R.	64	Chickasaw Bayou	14
Bentonville	58	Port Hudson, June 14	13
Dinwiddie	48		
Tupelo	45		
Atlanta, July 28	42		
Arkansas Post	36		
Jonesborough, August 31	13		

¹ The defeated army was greatly outnumbered.

² The defeat is to be attributed to the rawness of the troops.

³ The Union army, failing in its manoeuvre to flank its adversary, withdrew without offering battle. Its main loss occurred in repelling a Confederate attack.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 77

BATTLES FOUGHT TO COVER A PREARRANGED MOVEMENT, PURSUING WHICH
THE ARMY RETIRED AFTER REPELLING ATTACK

Union loss per 1000	Confederate loss per 1000
Peach Orchard to Malvern Hill ¹ 60	Williamsburg 49
Franklin 40	
Mechanicsville 16	

The foregoing comparisons do not give ground on which to award the display of superior courage or steadfastness to the armies as a whole on either side. The record on both sides places the people of the United States in the first rank of militant nations.

BULL RUN, JULY 21, 1861.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty, ex. Runyon's division, and including

Blenker's brigade 30,594^a
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 28,452
 Killed, 481. Wounded, 1011. Total, 1492. Missing, 1216.^b
 Hit in 1000, 52. Hit by 1000, 70.²

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of the Potomac, effectives (including officers) . . . 21,883^c
 Army of the Shenandoah, effectives (probably including officers) 8,884^d
 Holmes's brigade, effectives (officers and artillery estimated at 200) 1,465^e
 Total engaged 32,232
 Killed, 387. Wounded, 1582. Total, 1969. Missing, 12.^f
 Hit in 1000, 61. Hit by 1000, 46.

^a 2 W. R., 304, 309. ^b 2 W. R., 327. ^c 2 W. R., 487, 568. ^d 2 W. R., 187, 487, 569. ^e 2 W. R., 487. ^f 2 W. R., 570.

¹ The Confederate loss was 99 in 1000.

² The number hit by 1000 is given in this and the following tables as one measure of courage and efficiency.

78 *NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR*

WILSON'S CREEK, MO., AUGUST 10, 1861.

UNION ARMY.

Lyon's command, about ¹5,400 ^a
 Killed, 223. Wounded, 721. Total, 944. Missing, 291.^b
 Hit in 1000, 175. Hit by 1000, 214.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

McCulloch's command, effectives, about ²11,600 ^c
 Killed, 257. Wounded, 900. Total, 1157.³ Missing, 27.^d
 Hit in 1000, 100. Hit by 1000, 81.

^a 3 W. R., 60, 86. ^b 3 W. R., 72. ^c 3 W. R., 104. ^d 3 W. R., 101, 126.

FORT DONELSON, FEBRUARY 12-16, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

In the lines and guarding the road to the left 27,000 ^a
 Killed, 500. Wounded, 2108. Total, 2608. Missing, 224.^b
 Hit in 1000, 96. Hit by 1000, 74.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Engaged ⁴ about ⁵21,000 ^c
 Killed and wounded, 2000.^d Missing, 14,623.^e
 Hit in 1000, 95. Hit by 1000, 124.

^a 1 Grant's Memoirs, 315. ^b 7 W. R., 169. ^c 1 Grant's Memoirs, 315.
^d 7 W. R., 291 ^e 1 Grant's Memoirs, 314.

¹ It is not clear whether this is the number present for duty or effective. Sigel's artillery numbered 120, and his two companies of cavalry about 125 (see 3 W. R., 48). General Fremont's dispatch of August 13, placing the force at 8000, assumed the presence of 2000 Home Guards, when in fact they numbered only 200 (3 W. R., 54, 65).

² It is not clear whether officers are included. The artillery is estimated at 300.

³ General McCulloch's report, giving 257 killed and 800 wounded, is corrected above by the reports of his subordinates.

⁴ General Pillow reported that he had "only about 13,000 troops all told" (7 W. R., 283), but 16,623 were killed, wounded, and captured, and at least 2000 more escaped (7 W. R., 275, 295). The records show that there were present for duty in Buckner's division, 4481, January 31; in Tilghman's, 3330,

⁵ There are no data for determining whether these are the numbers "present for duty," or "present for duty equipped," or "effective."

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 79

PEA RIDGE, ARK., MARCH 7, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Southwest, about ¹11,250^a
 Killed, 203; wounded, 980. Total 1183.^b Missing, 201.^b
 Hit in 1000, 105. Hit by 1000, 53.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Van Dorn's command, about ²14,000^c
 Killed and wounded, about 600.^c Missing, 200.^c
 Hit in 1000, 43. Hit by 1000, 84.

^a 8 W. R., 196, 554. ^b 8 W. R. 206. ^c 8 W. R., 285.

SHILOH, APRIL 6, 7, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Tennessee, effectives ³42,682^a
 Army of the Ohio, 2d, 4th, and 5th divisions ⁴20,000^b
 Total engaged 62,682
 Killed, 1754. Wounded, 8408. Total, 10,162. Missing, 2885.^c
 Hit in 1000, 162. Hit by 1000, 155.

^a 10 W. R., 112. ^b 1 Grant's Memoirs, 386; 1 Van Horne, 112, 115; 10 W. R., 325. ^c 10 W. R., 108.

January 21; and in Floyd's brigade, 1286, after the battle (7 W. R., 327, 853, 366, 843, 275), and that Johnson's division of 15 regiments was present (7 W. R., 359), which at the average strength of regiments at that time numbered at least 7500, besides the cavalry (7 W. R., 383). The 30th Mississippi regiment, of Floyd's brigade, had lost 532 in the battle (7 W. R., 380). This gives a total of at least 17,530. In view of these figures, and in the absence of detailed returns to support General Pillow's estimate, it is probably safe to adopt the number 21,000 given by General Grant.

¹ This apparently was the "effective" force, the artillery being estimated at 1000, and Major Conrad's detachment of 250 deducted.

² This probably was the effective force.

³ Estimated at 93 per cent. of 44,895 present for duty, plus 1000 for 2 regiments and 1 battery, which, according to the note of the compiler of the returns (10 W. R., 112), are not included in 5463 given for the 6th division.

⁴ The numbers given in the authorities cited are adopted in the absence of returns. The April returns do not serve, because the composition of the divisions named in them differed from that of April 7. The 6th division is here excluded, because no part of it got within reach of the Confederates, or arrived until after the retreat was general (10 W. R., 378, 380).

80 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives ¹ 40,335 ^a
 Killed, 1723. Wounded, 8012. Total, 9735. Missing, 959 ^b
 Hit in 1000, 241. Hit by 1000, 252.

^d 10 W. R., 398. ^c 10 W. R., 396.

WILLIAMSBURG, MAY 4, 5, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

“Effective strength,” estimated at 93 per cent. of the
 number “present for duty,” which is assumed to be
 $\frac{4}{5}$ of the number present for duty in 3d and 4th
 corps ² ³ 40,768 ^a
 Killed, 456. Wounded, 1410. Total, 1866. Missing, 373. ^b
 Hit in 1000, 45. Hit by 1000, 39.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effective strength, ³ May 21, 1862, of the divisions of
 Longstreet and Hill, and the brigades of McLaws,
 Kershaw, and Stuart ⁴ 30,120 ^c
 Add loss May 4, 5 1,703
 Total engaged 31,823

^a 12 W. R., 281-283, 456, 496, 521, 525, 559, 568; 14 W. R., 130. ^b 12 W. R., 450. ^c 12 W. R., 565, 566, 442, 572, 602, 603; 14 W. R., 530, 531.

¹ It is assumed that from the “effective total” of the field return, the 4 regiments, 2 battalions, and 1 battery which were ordered to guard Corinth are excluded (10 W. R., 349, 399, note); adding to the return of June 30 (10 W. R., 399), of 39,598 present for duty, 2262 for the 3d corps, and 2373 for the cavalry, as shown in the field return above cited, a total of 44,233 is reached; 93 per cent. of this number would give 41,136 as against the 40,335 above adopted as the effectives.

² 54 of the 85 regiments in the 3d and 4th corps were present, but only 35 suffered loss.

³ That this was only the “effective” strength is shown at 14 W. R., 479 et seq. Comparison with pp. 460, 530, et seq., shows that the numbers given pp. 479 et seq. apply to a later date than April 30.

⁴ Apparently this number ought to be increased for the cavalry of Wise’s and Hampton’s legions (12 W. R., 445), numbering perhaps about 700. (See Hampton’s Legion, 14 W. R., 488.)

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 81

Killed and wounded, 1570.¹ Missing, 133.^d

Hit in 1000, 49. Hit by 1000, 59.

^d 12 W. R., 443, 568, 569.

FAIR OAKS, MAY 31, JUNE 1, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

2d, 3d, and 4th corps present for duty May 31 . . .	51,543 ^a
Deduct 3d corps cavalry, 751, and 8 regiments and 5 batteries, estimated at 5848, not engaged . . .	6,599 ^b
	44,944
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	41,797
Killed, 790. Wounded, 3594. Total, 4384. Missing, 647. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 105. Hit by 1000, 137.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effective strength of Smith's, Longstreet's, and Hill's divisions, May 21	35,559 ^a
Effective strength of Huger's division (3 brigades), estimated ^b	6,257 ^c
	41,816
Total effective	
Killed, 980. Wounded, 4749. Total, 5729. Missing, 405. ^f	
Hit in 1000, 137. Hit by 1000, 105.	

^a 14 W. R., 204. ^b 14 W. R., 288; 12 W. R., 759-761. ^c 12 W. R., 762.
^d 12 W. R., 933-935; 14 W. R., 530, 531. ^e 12 W. R., 933-935, 940; 14
W. R., 570, 555. ^f Reg. Losses, 549; 12 W. R., 942, 991.

¹ A few casualties occurred in Stuart's brigade, which are not included, as
their number is not stated (12 W. R., 572).

² That this was "effective" strength, see 14 W. R., 479-483.

³ Estimated, proportionately to the number of brigades, to be equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of
the other three divisions.

82 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

MECHANICSVILLE, JUNE 26, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty June 20, in 3d division, 5th corps	9,514 ^a
Present for duty June 20, in 1st and 2d brigade, 1st division, 5th corps	16,844 ^a
Present for duty June 20, in 6 batteries, estimated at	450
	<u>16,808</u>
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	15,631
Killed, 49. Wounded, 207. Total, 256. Missing, 105. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 16. Hit by 1000, 95.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

A. P. Hill's division	14,000 ^c
Ripley's brigade	2,356 ^d
	<u>16,356</u>
Effectives, June 26	16,356
Killed and wounded, 1484. ^{2 e}	
Hit in 1000, 91. Hit by 1000, 16.	

^a 14 W. R., 298; 13 W. R., 30, 222, 237. ^b 13 W. R., 39. ^c 13 W. R., 835. ^d 13 W. R., 835, 650. ^e 13 W. R., 982, 983.

GAINES'S MILL, JUNE 27, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty June 20, in 5th corps, ³ Slocum's division and Cooke's cavalry ⁴	39,295 ^a
Deduct 671 cavalry, 17th New York and 18th Massa- chusetts (1473), ⁵ and loss June 26 (361)	2,505 ^b
Total present for duty, June 27 ⁶	36,790
	^a 13 W. R., 36, 41; 14 W. R., 288. ^b 13 W. R., 39.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the strength of the division, — 18th Massachusetts detached.

² 400 estimated as the loss in G. B. Anderson's brigade, and 7 regiments and 1 battalion of Field's, Branch's, and Pender's brigades. This estimate exceeds by about 100 that which is adopted by Fox (Reg. Losses, 550 note), and it is with hesitation that it is used as against an authority whose figures are so well considered.

³ Including McCall's division.

⁴ Estimated proportionately to the squadrons at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cavalry division.

⁵ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 5th corps.

⁶ French's and Meagher's brigades not included, as they arrived after the battle was decided.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 83

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 34,214
 Killed, 894. Wounded, 3107. Total, 4001. Missing, 2836.^c
 Hit in 1000, 117. Hit by 1000, 256.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 20,¹ in Longstreet's,² A. P.
 Hill's,³ D. H. Hill's, and Whiting's divisions . . . 432,598^d
 Deduct Wise's brigade (about 1300), leaving present
 for duty July 20 31,298^e

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 29,107
 Add losses in above forces, June 28 to July 1^f 11,921
 Winder's brigade, June 10, and Lawton's brigade,
 June 27 4,945^g
 Ewell's division, and Jones and Fulkerson's brigades
 of Jackson's division, estimated^h at 11,045

Total effectives, June 27ⁱ 57,018
 Killed and wounded, 8751.
 Hit in 1000, 153. Hit by 1000, 70.^k

^c 13 W. R., 41. ^d 14 W. R., 645. ^e 14 W. R., 604; 13 W. R., 916.
^f 13 W. R., 973 et seq. ^g 15 W. R., 742; 13 W. R., 595. ^h Reg. Losses, 550
 note; 13 W. R., 608, 616, 973, et seq.

¹ The number present for duty was 73.5 per cent. of the aggregate present, as against 80 to 87 per cent. at later periods, which suggests the possibility that the proportion present for duty was above 73.5 per cent. June 27.

² The 16th Mississippi in this division July 20 was in Ewell's June 25 (14 W. R., 649; 13 W. R., 484).

³ The gain of 2 Virginia heavy artillery is assumed to equal the loss of 2 Arkansas and 22 Virginia battalions in this division.

⁴ It is not certain that the artillery is included here. (See G. O., No. 71; 14 W. R., 612.)

⁵ This number is reached by deducting from the total loss in the seven days 1484 for the loss June 26, of which 400 is estimated for G. B. Anderson's brigade, and 7 regiments and 1 battalion of Field's, Branch's, and Pender's brigades, for which commands there is no report of loss separated from that in the other actions.

⁶ Estimated at 470 per regiment, the average per regiment of the 42,803 above ascertained for June 27.

⁷ Statements of numbers in the commands above named, together with losses prior to June 27, are found in reports and dispatches as follows:—

84 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

PEACH ORCHARD, SAVAGE STATION, JUNE 29, 1862.

WHITE OAK SWAMP, GLENDALE, JUNE 30, 1862.

MALVERN HILL, JULY 1, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Army of Potomac, present for duty June 20	115,102 ^d
Deduct general staff, escort, engineers, provost guard, quartermaster's guard, and Dix's command	12,920
Deduct Casey's and Stoneman's commands ¹	4,150
	<u>17,070^b</u>
	98,032
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. ²	91,169
Deduct losses June 25-28	7,824 ^c
	<u>83,345</u>

^a 14 W. R., 280. ^b 13 W. R., 298, 330, 482. ^c 13 W. R., 37-41.

April 16, Ewell's division, 8000, loss May 23, June 9, 1175; leaving June 10	1 6,825
May 3, Jones and Fulkerson's brigades, 4716; losses, May 8, June 9, 189; leaving June 10	2 4,527
May 21, Hood's and Law's brigades, 4320; losses, May 31, 357; leaving June 1	3 3,963
June 2, Hampton's legion, 219; leaving June 2	4 219
June 10, Winder's brigade, 1122; leaving June 10	5 1,122
June 27, D. H. Hill's division (10,000), and brigades of Lawton (3500), Kemper (1433), Pickett (1481), Wilcox (1850), Pryor (1400); leaving June 27	6 19,664
June 25, A. P. Hill's division, 14,000; less loss June 26, 909; leaving June 27	7 13,091
	<u>49,411</u>
R. H. Anderson's and Featherston's brigades, at the average regimental strength (333) of the rest of Longstreet's division, would number	2,497
Total	51,908

As the reports referred to usually give the number of "men," "muskets," or rank and file, it is possible that about 3500 should be added for officers; and artillery is probably not included in the numbers above given, and therefore at least 1500 should be added for this arm. These additions would bring the total to about 57,000.

¹ The infantry is estimated at 50 to a company, the average in the army.

² Estimating the effectives in the cavalry at 85 per cent. of the present for duty would reduce this number about 250.

¹ 18 W. R., 861; 15 W. R., 718, 781, 783. ² 18 W. R., 879; 15 W. R., 476, 717, 767-769, 773-777. ³ 14 W. R., 530; 13 W. R., 506. ⁴ 12 W. R. 994. ⁵ 15 W. R., 742. ⁶ 13 W. R., 629, 595, 762, 767, 775, 781. ⁷ 13 W. R., 835, 982, 983.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 85

Killed, 724. Wounded, 4245. Total, 4969. Missing, 3067.^d
Hit in 1000, 60. Hit by 1000, 103.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of Northern Virginia, present for duty July 20 ¹	69,732 ^e
Deduct Martin's brigade (2228), Wise's brigade (300), 47th and 48th Alabama, 32d and 53d North Carolina (2000)	24,528 ^f
	65,204
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. ^g	60,639
Add losses, June 29-July 1 ^h	11,484 ^o
Effectives June 27 in Winder's and Lawton's brigade, Jackson's division	4,945 ^a
Effectives in Ewell's division and Jones's and Fulker-son's brigades, Jackson's division, estimated at	11,045 ⁱ
	88,113
Deduct loss in Ewell's and Jackson's divisions, June 27	1,365 ^j
	86,748
Total engaged	86,748
Killed and wounded, 8602. Missing, 875. ^k	
Hit in 1000, 99. Hit by 1000, 57.	

^d 13 W. R., 37-41. ^e 14 W. R. 645. ^f 9 W. R., 476; 13 W. R., 916; 14 W. R., 604, 651. ^o Reg. Losses, 550, note; 13 W. R., 973 et seq. ^a 13 W. R., 595; 15 W. R., 742. ⁱ Ante, p. 83, note 6. ^j 13 W. R., 973-975, 608, 616. ^k Reg. Losses, 550, note; 13 W. R., 973 et seq.

¹ As suggested (ante, p. 83, note), it is possible that this number as returned is below the actual number.

² These regiments of Taliaferro's and Daniel's brigades are estimated at 500 each.

³ Estimating the effectives in the cavalry at 85 per cent. of the present for duty would reduce this number about 250.

⁴ This number is reached by deducting from the total loss in the Seven Days' Battles, 20,614 (Reg. Losses, 550), the losses in Jackson's and Ewell's divisions, 1762 (13 W. R., 973-975, 608, 616), from the remainder, 18,852, the loss at Gaines's Mill, in all the army except these two divisions (7386), which is found by deducting from the total loss at Gaines's Mill, 8751, the loss in these two divisions, 1,365. (See Reg. Losses, 550, note; 13 W. R., 973 et seq., 608, 616.)

⁵ The total of the numbers of the different brigades and divisions stated in

86 *NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR*

SEVEN DAYS' BATTLES, JUNE 25-JULY 1, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Effectives engaged 91,169^a
 Killed, 1734. Wounded, 8062. Total, 9796. Missing, 6053.^b
 Hit in 1000, 107. Hit by 1000, 216.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives in Army of Northern Virginia July 20 . . . 60,639^c
 Losses in the Army of Northern Virginia June 25-
 July 1 18,852^d
 Effectives in Ewell's and Jackson's divisions . . . 15,990^e
 Total engaged¹ 95,481
 Killed, 3478. Wounded, 16,261. Total, 19,739. Missing,
 875.^f
 Hit in 1000, 207. Hit by 1000, 102.

^a Ante, p. 84. ^b 13 W. R., 37. ^c Ante, p. 84. ^d Reg. Losses, 550; 13 W. R., 973-975, 608, 616. ^e 13 W. R., 595; 15 W. R., 742; ante, p. 83, note 6; Reg. Losses, 550; 13 W. R., 973-984.

reports and dispatches was about 64,000. (See ante, p. 83, note 7; 13 W. R., 794, 906, 907.) Adding 2487, the strength of R. H. Anderson's and Featherston's brigades, estimated by the average strength of the regiments in the rest of Longstreet's division (833), and about 7000 estimated for the reserve, artillery, and cavalry (13 W. R., 980, 981; 14 W. R., 645), and about 74,000 would be reached as the total number.

¹ The reports of the various commanders state an aggregate of 75,769 carried into action. (Ante, p. 83, note 7; 13 W. R., 661, 796, 806, 818, 794, 906, 913.) These reports do not state the number of Featherston's and R. H. Anderson's brigades, or the cavalry or artillery. Estimating these two brigades at the average strength (833) per regiment of the rest of Longstreet's division, 2497, the artillery at 93 per cent., and the cavalry at 85 per cent. of the present for duty July 20 (14 W. R., 645), a total of 6463 plus their loss of 245 June 25 to July 1 (13 W. R., 973-984), and adding 7 per cent. for the officers in all but Mahone's and Armistead's brigades (3008), in which alone the reports seem to include officers, a total of about 90,000 is reached for the number engaged.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 87

CEDAR MOUNTAIN, AUGUST 9, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Williams's division (3700),¹ Augur's division (3163),²
 Bayard's cavalry (1167)³ 8,030^a
 Killed, 314. Wounded, 1445. Total, 1759.⁴ Missing, 594.^{4 b}
 Hit in 1000, 219. Hit by 1000, 166.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty, Ewell's division, August 9, 5222,⁵
 Hill's division, July 20, 10,651 15,873^c
 Present for duty, Winder's division,⁶ July 20, 13½
 regiments, estimated at⁷ 5,035^d
20,908
 Deduct Ewell's pickets (330) and Field's and Gregg's
 brigades (10 regiments), estimated at 3730⁷ . . . 4,060^e
16,848

^a 2 Mass. Mil. Hist., 417; 16 W. R., 89, 153, 806, 157; 18 W. R., 523.
^b 16 W. R., 139. ^c 18 W. R., 965; 16 W. R., 227; 14 W. R., 645. ^d 14 W. R.,
 645, 648. ^e 14 W. R., 649; 16 W. R., 215, 217, 233.

¹ Only 7 of the 18 infantry regiments were present (16 W. R., 149, 152, 160; 18 W. R., 523). The brigades numbered: Crawford's, 1767; Gordon's, 1500 "men;" 433 is allowed for officers and batteries, to conform to General Williams's statement (16 W. R., 148).

² Officers estimated, 150.

³ 85 per cent. of present for duty July 31.

⁴ Excluding loss of 16 stated for General Banks's escort, and 102 for Pickett's division. This division is not included in the force engaged, because, before it arrived, the Union line was driven back and the battle was decided; and, although its loss occurred where the Union line made its stand in the rear, it was after dark in an encounter which had no effect on the combat, which had already been won by the Confederates. The extraordinary nature of the earlier combat seems to warrant a comparison of numbers and losses strictly confined to the forces involved in the decision of it. (See 16 W. R., 328, 170-175, 139.) On the same theory, Field's, Gregg's, and Stafford's (2d Louisiana) brigades are omitted on the Confederate side. (16 W. R., 214, 215, 184; 18 W. R., 918, 919.)

⁵ 5027 present for duty August 10, plus 195 lost August 9.

⁶ Lawton's brigade absent and not included (16 W. R., 182).

⁷ Estimated at 373 per regiment, the average strength of the 43 regiments above included as present for duty in Hill's and Ewell's divisions. (See Lee to Jackson, 18 W. R., 918.)

88 *NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR*

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	15,668
Robertson's cavalry (Ashby's and 2d, 6th, and 12th Virginia)	1,200 ^f
Total engaged	16,868
Killed, 231. Wounded, 1107. Total, ¹ 1338.^o	
Hit in 1000, 79. Hit by 1000, 104.	

^f 16 W. R., 180; 18 W. R., 527. See 8 So. Hist. Soc., 178 et seq. ^o 16 W. R., 180, 225, 228.

MANASSAS AND CHANTILLY, AUGUST 27—SEPTEMBER 2, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Sigel's (12,131) ^a and McDowell's corps (20,431) ^a	32,562 ^a
4 regiments of Kanawha division, estimated at	2,600 ^b
9th corps (8000), Hooker's and Kearny's divisions (14,952) ^d	22,952 ^c
5th corps, including Reynolds's division and Piatt's brigade	^e 15,982 ^d
Taylor's brigade, 6th corps	1,600 ^e
Total engaged	75,696
Killed, 1724. Wounded, 8372. Total, 10,096.^g Missing,^h 5958.^f	
Hit in 1000, 132. Hit by 1000, 120.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 20, in Longstreet's, A. P. Hill's, Anderson's, Jones's, and Whiting's divisions 32,855 ^o

^a 18 W. R., 523, 580, 603. ^b 18 W. R., 308, 309, 523. ^c 9 W. R., 409, 410; 14 W. R., 367; 18 W. R., 614. ^d 16 W. R., 401, 396, 256; 18 W. R., 619; 17 W. R., 1001. ^e 16 W. R., 537. ^f 16 W. R., 262. ^o 14 W. R., 645.

¹ Not including loss in Field's, Gregg's, or Stafford's brigades.
² 93 per cent. of present for duty, ex. headquarters staff and escort.
³ 93 per cent. of infantry and 85 per cent. of cavalry present for duty, August 16, ex. staff, signal corps, and pontoneers.
⁴ 93 per cent. of present for duty August 10.
⁵ 93 per cent. of present for duty in Morell's division August 16, and Sykes's division August 28, plus numbers given in field returns of Reynolds and Piatt (including casualties).
⁶ Excluding loss in Banks's corps, which was not engaged, August 28—September 2, and including the few casualties on the Rappahannock.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 89

Ewell's division, August 10 (5027), and Jackson's division, estimated at 5365 ¹	10,932 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of	43,247=
	40,219
Effectives in the brigades of Evans (2200), Lawton (2933), and Drayton (1550) ²	6,683 ^c
Effectives in Stuart's cavalry, estimated ³ at	2,768
	49,670
Deduct losses at Cedar Mountain in Hill's and Jack- son's divisions	1,143 ^d
	48,527
Total engaged	
Killed, 1481. Wounded, 7627. Total, 9108. Missing, ⁴ 89. ^e	
Hit in 1000, 187. Hit by 1000, 208.	

^a 14 W. R., 645-648; 18 W. R., 965. ^c 27 W. R., 940; 13 W. R., 595, 597, 599.
^d 16 W. R., 180, 225. ^e 16 W. R., 568, 648, 730, 738, 739.

RICHMOND, KY., AUGUST 29, 30, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Manson's command	⁵ 6,500 ^a
Killed, 206. Wounded, 844. Total, 1050. Missing, 4,303. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 161. Hit by 1000, 69.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Churchill's and Cleburne's divisions	⁶ 6,000 ^c
Scott's cavalry brigade	⁶ 850 ^d
	6,850
Total engaged	

^a 22 W. R., 915. ^b 22 W. R., 909. ^c 23 W. R., 777. ^d 22 W. R., 938.

¹ Estimated at 370 per regiment, the average in the divisions above, for 14½ regiments, including 10th Louisiana, but not the rest in Starke's brigade, which are included in the numbers given for the divisions above.

² Estimated by the average strength of regiments in Evans's and Lawton's brigades. (See, also, 20 W. R., 591-593.)

³ 85 per cent. of the present for duty July 20, the number of regiments being the same in August.

⁴ This includes the few lost on the Rappahannock. See 16 W. R., 597, 720.

⁵ It is probable that these were the number of "effectives."

⁶ General Smith's statement, that his whole force "was not more than 5000," apparently does not include the cavalry.

90 *NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR*

Killed, 78. Wounded, 372. Total, 450. Missing, 1.^c
 Hit in 1000, 66. Hit by 1000, 153.

^c 22 W. R., 936.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN, SEPTEMBER 14, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

1st and 9th corps, present for duty September 17, 1862	¹ 28,675 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	26,667
Losses September 14	1,813 ^b
Total engaged	<u>28,480</u>
Killed, 325. Wounded, 1403. Total, 1728. Missing, 85. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 68. Hit by 1000, 66.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty September 22, in D. H. Hill's, Hood's, and Jones's divisions, and Evans's brigade	12,284 ^d
Rosser's cavalry and Jeff Davis legion, estimated at	700 ^d
	<u>12,984</u>
Deduct Toombs's brigade and 11th Georgia volunteers (1/8 of Jones's division)	733
	<u>12,251</u>
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	11,393
Losses reported September 14-20	5,821 ^e
	<u>17,214</u>
Captured at South Mountain, not reported, about	² 1,500 ^f
Total effectives September 14	³ 18,714

^a 27 W. R., 67. (See, also, 28 W. R., 336.) ^b 27 W. R., 187. ^c 27 W. R., 187. ^d 27 W. R., 804, 808-810, 839, 1020; 28 W. R., 621, 674. ^e 27 W. R., 843, 1026. ^f 27 W. R., 418.

¹ That this number represents the present for duty is indicated by the fact that the sum of the present for duty September 20, and the losses September 17-20, is only 27,910 (28 W. R., 336; 27 W. R., 187, 191, 198).

² Probably some of the wounded not reported are included in this number (27 W. R., 111).

³ The reports of the action by the commanders of all the infantry, excepting

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 91

Based upon the return of July 20, the number is about 700 less, as follows:—

Present for duty July 20 in D. H. Hill's, ¹ Jones's, ¹ and Whiting's divisions	17,157 ^o
Pickett's, Kemper's, and Jenkins's brigades ²	4,257 ^a
Evans's brigade	2,200 ^c
9 batteries (450) and Rosser's cavalry (700) esti- mated at	1,440 ^d
	25,054
Deduct Toombs's brigade and 11th Georgia volun- teers, 55 per cent. of Jones's division	2,048
Present for duty July 20	23,006
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	21,395
Deduct losses in August	3,543 ^e
	17,852
Total engaged.	
Killed, 325. ³ Wounded, 1560. Total, 1885. ³ Missing, ³ 800. ¹	
Hit in 1000, 105. Hit by 1000, 97.	

^o 14 W. R., 645. ^a 14 W. R., 645, 649; 27 W. R., 805. ^c 27 W. R., 940.
^d 27 W. R., 809, 810, 817, 1020; 28 W. R., 674. ^e 16 W. R., 561, 568. ¹ 27
W. R., 181, 418.

Law's and Jenkins's brigades, state the number of men in action at 9351 (27 W. R., 885, 888, 901, 903, 905, 929, 940, 1020, 1022; 16 W. R., 637, 638). Estimating Law's and Jenkins's brigades at 1271, the cavalry and artillery at 1150, and the officers at 1748, 7.6 per cent. of the present for duty, July 30, a total of 13,400 is reached. For reasons stated below, in connection with Antietam, the number 18,714, above given, is here adopted.

¹ The gain of Drayton's brigade by Jones's division is assumed to offset the loss of Wise's brigade from Hill's.

² Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of Longstreet's division.

³ About 700 were reported killed and wounded in 7 brigades and 3 regiments (27 W. R., 843, 1026). The reports of the other commands do not give the loss for South Mountain alone, but give a loss of 2159 killed and wounded at South Mountain and Antietam. All but Ripley's brigade seem to have been hotly engaged at South Mountain (27 W. R., 843, 1026), and, in view of General McClellan's statement that the Confederate outnumbered the Union dead, 325 is adopted as the number of dead, and the wounded are estimated at the usual proportion of 4.8. Probably the actual loss was greater. It is estimated that 700 of the 800 prisoners were wounded.

92 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

ANTIETAM, SEPTEMBER 16, 17, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty ex. Morell's division ¹	287,164 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and 85 per cent. of cavalry	75,316
Killed, 2108. Wounded, 9549. Total, 11,657. Missing, 753. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 155. Hit by 1000, 156.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty September 22 in infantry and artillery	37,330 ^c
Deduct $\frac{4}{8}$ of A. P. Hill's division and of its losses September 17-20 for Thomas's brigade	832 ^d
$\frac{1}{3}$ of Jackson's division and its losses for 2d Virginia	166 ^e
$\frac{1}{2}$ of 11th Georgia	140 ^f
$\frac{1}{2}$ of reserve artillery	456 ^g
	<hr/> 1,594
	35,736
Cavalry, October 10	5,761 ^h
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93 per cent. of remainder	38,120
Losses September 17	13,724
Total engaged	<hr/> 51,844 ^h

^a 27 W. R., 67, 338. ^b 27 W. R., 200. ^c 28 W. R., 621. ^d 27 W. R., 807, 981, 983. ^e 27 W. R., 808, 1008, 1011. ^f 27 W. R., 911, 912. ^g 27 W. R., 830; 28 W. R., 660. ^h 28 W. R., 660.

¹ Morell's division, although present, was not engaged, and had no influence on the result.

² About 23,000 in 6th corps and Sykes's division here included did not open fire in line of battle.

³ Based upon the returns for July and August, the number of effectives appears to be about 7000 greater, as follows:—

Present for duty in Army of Northern Virginia July 20	1 57,476
In Jackson's corps, ex. Lawton's brigade, August 9, Jackson's division, ex. 2d Virginia, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of Ewell's division	2 11,488
Present for duty July 15 in Ransom's and Walker's brigade	3 5,971
5 regiments of cavalry, estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of Stuart's cavalry	4 2,200
	<hr/> 77,135

¹ 14 W. R., 645, 648. ² Ante, p. 83. ³ 9 W. R., 476; 27 W. R., 805. ⁴ 27 W. R., 810; 14 W. R., 645, 652.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 93

Killed, 2700.¹ Wounded, 9024.¹ Total, 11,724. Missing, about 12000.⁴

Hit in 1000, 226. Hit by 1000, 225.

⁴ 27 W. R., 67, 111.

Deduct $\frac{4}{16}$ of A. P. Hill's division for Thomas's brigade . . .	¹ 1,639	
Deduct $\frac{1}{4}$ of reserve artillery	² 1,341	
Deduct 11th Georgia	³ 140	3,120
		74,015
Effectives at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93 per cent. of remainder		68,333
Effectives in Evans's and Lawton's brigades August 1 . . .		⁴ 5,133
		73,466
Losses August 1-September 15	⁵ 14,182	
Effectives September 15		59,284

(It is assumed that the gain of Drayton's brigade offsets the loss of Wise's.) The loss of 7000 effectives between August 1 and September 22 may be accounted for in stragglers. General Lee wrote, September 13 (28 W. R., 605): "I have received as yet no official list of the casualties in the late battles, and, from the number of absentees in the army and the vice of straggling, a correct list cannot be obtained. . . . One great embarrassment is the reduction of our ranks by straggling, which it seems impossible to prevent with our present regimental officers. Our ranks are very much diminished—I fear from one half to one third of the original numbers—though I have reason to hope that our casualties in battles will not exceed 5000 men." General D. H. Hill also bitterly complained of the straggling (27 W. R., 1022).

In his report of Antietam General Lee said: "This great battle was fought by less than 40,000 men on our side" (27 W. R., 151). This statement would imply that, besides the 3120 above deducted, 19,000 of the 59,000 effectives in July had left the ranks. It is not credible that this number had straggled, and it is not reconcilable with the returns of September 22. It is probable that General Lee founded his statement on the numbers given in the reports of his subordinates. They give the number of 35 infantry brigades as 23,000 to 24,000 (27 W. R., 862, 886, 919, 929, 948, 968, 981, 1008, 1022, 1023). If Walker's, Law's, Pender's, and Field's brigades, whose numbers are not given, were of the average strength of the others, General Lee may have arrived at about the number given by him, by adding about 2000 officers, 3200 for the 61 batteries engaged, and 6000 for the cavalry. But the reports of his subordinates were written from one to several months after the battle, and in most of them the statements of numbers are qualified by "about," "not over," or "less than," which indicate that they are estimates made after the battle, rather than the records of roll-calls on the field. The failure of these reports to notice many of those lost in the battle confirms this view.

¹ The Confederate reports give for all the actions in Maryland 1787 killed,

¹ 27 W. R., 981. ² 27 W. R., 830. ³ 27 W. R., 911, 912. ⁴ Ante, p. 89. ⁵ 27 W. R., 861; ante, pp. 87, 88, 91.

94 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CORINTH, OCTOBER 3, 4, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty September 30, 1862 23,077 ^a
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and
 artillery, and 85 per cent. of cavalry 21,147
 Killed, 355. Wounded, 1841. Total, 2196. Missing, 324.^b
 Hit in 1000, 104. Hit by 1000, 117.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

"Field returns," September 28, 1862, about 22,000 ^c
 Killed, 473. Wounded, 1997. Total,¹ 2470. Missing,¹ 1763.^d
 Hit in 1000, 112. Hit by 1000, 100.

^a 25 W. R., 246. ^b 24 W. R., 176. ^c 24 W. R., 378. ^d 24 W. R., 382-384, 307, 408, 413.

9147 wounded (27 W. R., 811 et seq., 843, 958, 1026, 824-827, 838). Deducting 587 killed, 2323 wounded in the other actions, including $\frac{1}{2}$ the total loss in Maryland for Mahone's brigade at Crampton's Gap (ante, p. 91; 27 W. R., 376, 824-827, 838, 843, 861), there remain for Antietam 1200 killed and 6824 wounded. The ratio of wounded to killed (about 5.7) exceeds the average ratio (4.8), and the ratio in the Union losses in this battle (4.5), so much as to leave no doubt that the reports are incomplete. Besides, it is impossible to believe that 52,000 men, all hotly engaged, on one side lost only 8024 killed and wounded, while 64,000 men on the other side (not counting Sykes's and Slocum's divisions and Brooks's brigade) lost 11,472, when neither side fought behind works or had the advantage of cover. The number of Confederate dead cannot be placed at less than the number counted and buried on the field (27 W. R., 67); and to the number of wounded reported there must be added the number left on the field and not reported. (See 27 W. R., 1025.) There were 2500 left on the three battlefields, of whom 300 were left at Crampton's Gap (27 W. R., 376). Those left at South Mountain having been allowed for (ante, p. 91) in the number above deducted, the remainder, 2200, is to be added to the 6824 reported for Antietam, making a total of 9024. The ratio of this number to the 2700 killed is too small, and it is probable that, to correspond to the ratio on the Union side, the number of wounded should be increased to 12,000. In the fierce fire and rapid movements of this battle, many left the ranks with wounds, unnoticed, to be afterwards counted among the stragglers (see 27 W. R., 1025), and it is possible that, pursuant to the policy afterwards established in general orders (40 W. R., 798), the slightly wounded were, for political and military reasons, not reported. 6000 prisoners were taken by the Union army in Maryland (27 W. R., 67). Deducting 1800 taken at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap (27 W. R., 376, 418), and 2200 additional wounded, there remain 2000 prisoners to be counted as missing on the Confederate side at Antietam.

¹ 21 killed and 84 wounded were reported for Hatchie's bridge, October 5,

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 95

PERRYVILLE, OCTOBER 8, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty ¹ 39,721 ^a
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent 36,940
 Killed, 845. Wounded, 2851. Total, 3696. Missing, 515.^b
 Hit in 1000, 100. Hit by 1000, 85.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives, about ² 16,000 ^c
 Killed, 510. Wounded, 2635. Total, 3145. Missing, 251.
 Hit in 1000, 196. Hit by 1000, 231.

^a 22 W. R., 1026 et seq., 1059; 23 W. R., 563. ^b 22 W. R., 1036. ^c 22 W. R., 1092.

PRAIRIE GROVE, ARK., DECEMBER 7, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Frontier ³ 10,000 ^a
 Killed, 175. Wounded, 813. Total, 988. Missing, 263.^b
 Hit in 1000, 99. Hit by 1000, 98.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

1st corps trans-Mississippi army ⁴ 10,000 ^c
^a 32 W. R., 76. ^b 32 W. R., 86. ^c 32 W. R., 140.

in 3 out of 4 brigades; but as 32 dead were buried there, this number, with 153 for the usual proportion of wounded, and 420 prisoners taken at the same place, are deducted from the totals given in the returns for October 3-5.

¹ Five per cent. added for officers to number of enlisted men in 10th division. To the strength of the 3d corps, October 21, is added the loss October 8. Six brigades of this corps suffered little loss, and apparently did not open fire. If these were deducted, the number engaged would be reduced to less than 25,000, of whom about 150 in 1000 were hit.

² General Bragg must have counted only effectives, as the infantry present for duty numbered at least 15,300. (See 22 W. R., 1120; 23 W. R., 900, Withers's division, which was absent, excluded.)

³ General Blunt reported that 3000 of the cavalry were not engaged (p. 76), but they are here included because they seem to have been present in the field. The Army of the Frontier, November 30, had present for duty 13,175 (32 W. R., 795), consisting of 12 regiments of infantry, 1 of which was detached, 7 batteries, 11 regiments of cavalry, and 150 of Missouri militia (pp. 84-86). Effectives, reckoned at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery, and 85 per cent. of cavalry, would be about 11,000; but the 2d and 3d divisions, by forced marches, had been reduced from 7534 to about 5100 (pp. 72, 107, 108).

⁴ Possibly 700 to 1000 should be added for officers.

96 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Killed, 164. Wounded, 817. Total, 981. Missing, 336.^d
Hit in 1000, 98. Hit by 1000, 99.

^d 32 W. R., 142.

FREDERICKSBURG, DECEMBER 13, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty in 3 grand divisions and engineers	120,281 ^a
Deduct cavalry of right and centre grand divisions .	6,294 ^b
	113,987
Engaged	113,987
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	106,007
Killed, 1284. Wounded, 9600. Total, 10,884. ¹ Missing, 1769. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 103. ¹ Hit by 1000, 44.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty	² 78,513 ^d
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	73,017
Deduct Hampton's cavalry	520 ^e
	72,497
Engaged	² 72,497
Killed, 595. Wounded, 4061. Total, 4656. Missing, 653.	
Hit in 1000, 64. Hit by 1000, 150.	

^a 31 W. R., 1121. ^b 31 W. R., 220, 984, 1121. ^c 31 W. R., 142. ^d 31 W. R., 1057. ^e 31 W. R., 544, 690.

CHICKASAW BAYOU AND BLUFF, DECEMBER 27, 29, 1862.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty in A. J. Smith's, M. L. Smith's, Morgan's, and Steele's divisions	33,033 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	² 30,720
Killed, 208. Wounded, 1005. Total, 1213. Missing, 563. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 39. Hit by 1000, 6.	

^a 24 W. R., 602, 604. ^b 24 W. R., 625.

¹ 9980 were killed and wounded in 11 of the 18 divisions, or 157 to 1000.

² If Jones's cavalry brigade is included in the present for duty, a deduction probably of about 2400 should be made from the number engaged, as this brigade was in the Shenandoah valley (31 W. R., 544 and note, and 1075).

³ The 118th and 131st Illinois seem to have been detached (24 W. R., 627, 644). If they were, about 5 per cent. should probably be deducted on this account.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 97

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives, January 3, 1863, in M. L. Smith's command ¹	9,807 ^c
Effectives, January 2, 1862, in Vaughn's and Barton's brigades	3,778 ^c
Losses, December 27-30, stated below	207

Total engaged 13,792

Killed, 63. Wounded, 134. Total, 197.^d Missing, 10.^d

Hit in 1000, 14. Hit by 1000, 88.

^c 25 W. R., 824, 825; 24 W. R., 666, 673-679. ^d 24 W. R., 674.

STONE'S RIVER, DECEMBER 31, 1862, JANUARY 1, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty	244,800 ^a
Effectives, estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	41,400
Killed, 1677. Wounded, 7543. Total, ^b 9220. ^b Missing, ^b 3686. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 223. ^b Hit by 1000, 223.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty	37,712 ^c
Effectives, estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	34,732
Killed, 1294. Wounded, 7945. Total, 9239. ^d ^d Missing, about 2500. ^d	

Hit in 1000, 266.^d Hit by 1000, 265.

^a 29 W. R., 175-182, 201; 30 W. R., 283-285. ^b 29 W. R., 215. ^c 29 W. R., 674. ^d 29 W. R., 229, 669, 674.

¹ Including Gregg's brigade.

² Including Walker's brigade, estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ of Fry's division, and Starkweather's brigade, estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of Rousseau's division. These brigades are not included in General Rosecrans's recapitulation (29 W. R., 201), but they participated in the battle. (29 W. R., 393, 442, 443.)

³ To arrive at these figures deduction is made from the totals given in 29 W. R., at page 215, of 53 for the killed and 259 for the wounded in minor combats at other places. See 29 W. R., 207, note, 218, 219, 409, 465.

⁴ Not counting Pegram's brigade, the loss of which is not reported.

ARKANSAS POST, JANUARY 11, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Mississippi, January 4, 1863, effectives ¹28,944 ^a
 Killed, 134. Wounded, 898. Total, 1032. Missing, 29.^b
 Hit in 1000, 36. Hit by 1000, 4.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of the number
 surrendered, plus the loss in killed and wounded . ²4,564 ^c
 Killed, 28. Wounded, 81. Total, 109.^c Missing (captured),
 4791.^c
 Hit in 1000, 24. Hit by 1000, 226.

^a Ante, p. 96. ^b 24 W. R., 719. ^c 24 W. R., 757, 785, 795.

CHANCELLORSVILLE AND FREDERICKSBURG,³ MAY 1-4, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty ⁴ 104,891 ^a
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of artillery and
 infantry and 85 per cent. of cavalry 97,382
 Killed, 1575. Wounded, 9594. Total, 11,116.^b Missing, 5676.^b
 Hit in 1000, 114. Hit by 1000, 110.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty May 20 ⁵ 48,080 ^c

^a 40 W. R., 320. ^b 39 W. R., 185, 191, 177, note. ^c 39 W. R., 789-794, and
 notes; 40 W. R., 814.

¹ The number of effectives engaged at Chickasaw Bluff, less losses there.

² General Churchill reported that he had about 3000 effectives, but the commanders of two brigades report at least 3190 enlisted men (24 W. R., 780, 783, 791), and Dunnington's brigade is to be added.

³ The two actions are treated as one. The disposition of the Confederate forces in each field was affected by the presence of the Union force in the other field, and a part of the Confederates fought in one and then in the other field. The Confederate losses in both fields are consolidated in the War Records.

⁴ 2d, 5th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps, Pleasonton's brigade, estimated at $\frac{1}{7}$ of the cavalry corps, and 4 batteries of the 1st corps, the only part of it engaged before the battle was decided. The corps arrived on the field of Chancellorsville May 3, and, excepting these batteries, was not engaged (39 W. R., 255).

⁵ Excluding Hood's and Pickett's divisions, and all the cavalry except one brigade, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 99

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of artillery and
 infantry and 85 per cent. of cavalry 44,588
 Losses May 1-4 12,764 ^d

Total engaged 57,352

Killed, 1665. Wounded, 9081. Total, 10,746.¹ Missing, 2018.^c
 Hit in 1000, 187. Hit by 1000, 194.

^d Reg. Losses, 550. ^e Reg. Losses, 550.

CHAMPION HILL, MAY 16, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty April 30 ² 33,286 ^a

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 30,955

Deduct losses May 1, 12, and 14 1,582 ^b

Effectives May 16 ² 29,373

Killed, 410. Wounded, 1844. Total, 2254.³ Missing, 187.^c

Hit in 1000, 76.³ Hit by 1000, 74.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives about ⁴ 20,000 ^d

^a 38 W. R., 249. ^b 36 W. R., 585, 706, 751. ^c 37 W. R., 10. ^d 36 W. R.,
 217, 261, 264; 38 W. R., 702, 703, 705.

¹ For detailed losses see 39 W. R., 809, 816, 820, 895, 906, 918, 926, 987, 947,
 1002, 1008, 1015, 1030, 1033, 1039.

² The divisions of Osterhaus, A. J. Smith, Hovey, Carr, Logan, Crocker, and
 Blair, less 4 regiments estimated at $\frac{40}{117}$ of the first two named (37 W. R., 12,
 30; 38 W. R., 250).

³ General Grant said that the battle was fought mainly by Hovey's, Logan's,
 and Crocker's divisions (36 W. R., 53), whose effective strength was 15,390,
 and loss in killed and wounded 141 in 1000; but the other divisions, although
 suffering small loss, materially influenced the disposition of the Confederates.

⁴ Stevenson's, Bowen's, and Loring's divisions and Wirt Adams's cavalry.
 General Pemberton places his force at 17,500; but the returns of March 31
 give 22,198 as present for duty in these divisions, and the loss in action in May
 was 868 (38 W. R., 702; 36 W. R., 668), and other returns in May and June
 show that there were present for duty May 16 at least 22,500 (38 W. R., 849,
 907, 979; 37 W. R., 120; 36 W. R., 320). It therefore is probable that the
 number given by General Pemberton included only the men bearing muskets.
 Adding 8 per cent. for officers, 500 for Wirt Adams's cavalry regiment, and 600
 for 13 batteries (38 W. R., 703-705), brings the number to 20,000.

100 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Killed, 381. Wounded, about 1800.¹ Total, 2181.^c Missing,¹ 1670.^e

Hit in 1000, 109. Hit by 1000, 112.

^c 37 W. R., 82, 86, 93, 99, 120.

ASSAULT ON VICKSBURG, MAY 22, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

93 per cent. of present for duty May 31, in 13th,
15th, and 17th corps ²42,315 ^a
Add losses May 22 ³3,241 ^b
Total engaged ⁴45,556
Killed, 502. Wounded, 2550. Total, 3052.³ Missing, 147.^c
Hit in 1000, 67.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Effectives in Bowen's division, May 22 2,569 ^d
Effectives in Stevenson's division, June 23 8,776 ^e
Effectives in Smith's division, May 26 ⁶4,005 ^f
93 per cent. of present for duty in Forney's division,
June 25 4,611 ^g
Losses prior to June 23 in Stevenson's and June 25
in Forney's division ⁷2,340 ^h
Total effectives ⁷22,301
Hit by 1000, 137.

^a 36 W. R., 55; 38 W. R., 370, 371. ^b 36 W. R., 156; 37 W. R., 165. ^c 36 W. R., 156; 37 W. R., 165. ^d 38 W. R., 907. ^e 38 W. R., 979. ^f 38 W. R., 923. ^g 38 W. R., 978. ^h 37 W. R., 328.

¹ The returns give 1017 wounded and 2453 missing. No doubt there were many wounded reported as missing, and the number of wounded is computed in the usual ratio of 4.8 to the killed, and the number of missing is correspondingly reduced.

² General headquarters, staff, escort, cavalry, and pioneers excluded; total, 1673.

³ Including 42 killed and wounded in Hovey's division, not tabulated at 37 W. R., 165.

⁴ Probably not over 100 should be added for losses May 23-31 (37 W. R., 161).

⁵ Officers estimated at 8 per cent. of number of guns. Probably the total effectives was larger than the total thus reached, as the inspection report probably did not reach men on guard or picket.

⁶ Estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the loss during the siege.

⁷ 29,396 were surrendered in July (37 W. R., 325).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 101

ASSAULT ON PORT HUDSON, MAY 27, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Banks's command, effectives 13,000^a
 Killed, 293. Wounded, 1545. Total, 1838.^a Missing, 157.^a
 Hit in 1000, 141. Hit by 1000, 18.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Gardner's command, effectives May 19, estimated at
 93 per cent. of present for duty May 19¹. 4,326^b
 Deduct losses May 22-26 134^c
4,192

Killed and wounded, about ^a 235.^d
 Hit in 1000, 56. Hit by 1000, 438.

^a 41 W. R., 44, 47. ^b 42 W. R., 10. ^c 41 W. R., 168, 152, 156. ^d 41 W. R., 147, 169.

ASSAULT ON PORT HUDSON, JUNE 14, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Columns of attack, about 6,000^a
 Killed, 203. Wounded, 1401. Total, 1604.^b Missing, 188.^b
 Hit in 1000, 267. Hit by 1000, 8.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

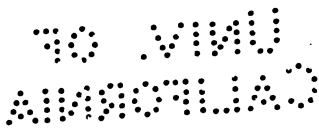
Present for duty in Gardiner's command, June 14,
 estimated at ^a 3,750^c
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 3,487
 Killed, 22. Wounded, 25. Total, 47.^d
 Hit in 1000, 13. Hit by 1000, 460.

^a 41 W. R., 546, 548, 45. ^b 41 W. R., 47. ^c 42 W. R., 10, 98. ^d 41 W. R., 147, 175.

¹ The returns are incomplete, and possibly omit the 1st, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 18th Arkansas, and some smaller organizations (compare 42 W. R., 10, with 41 W. R., 143); but the number surrendered July 8, plus the number killed, is almost exactly equaled by the aggregate present in the returns of May 19 (41 W. R., 55, 144; 42 W. R., 10).

² Miles's killed and wounded estimated at 10.

³ Estimated at the mean between the numbers shown by the returns of May 19 and June 30, deducting losses May 22-27, and adding Miles's command to the return of June 30.



102 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

GETTYSBURG, JULY 1-3, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Potomac, infantry and artillery present	
for duty	¹ 87,312 ^a
Deduct 17 regiments ²	9,058 ^b
	78,254
Present for duty in $\frac{1}{3}$ of cavalry	³ 12,369 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	83,289
Killed, 3155. Wounded, 14,529. Total, 17,684. ^d Missing, 5365. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 212. Hit by 1000, 272.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of Northern Virginia, infantry and artillery present for duty May 31 ⁴	64,167 ^e
Davis's and Pettigrew's brigades ⁵	6,262 ^f
Present for duty in cavalry ⁶	12,346 ^g

^a 43 W. R., 151. ^b 43 W. R., 668, 674, 678, 156, 160, 163, notes. ^c 43 W. R., 151, 166, note. ^d 43 W. R., 187. ^e 40 W. R., 846. ^f 40 W. R., 848; 26 W. R., 1086. ^g 40 W. R., 823, 848; 44 W. R., 708.

¹ General headquarters, guards, orderlies, signal corps, provost guard, and engineer brigade excluded.

² Torbert's, Russell's, and Grant's brigades, and 102d Pennsylvania, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 6th corps; 12th and 14th Vermont, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1st corps, and 84th Pennsylvania, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 3d corps.

³ Huey's brigade excluded.

⁴ Corse's brigade, estimated at 1672 for $\frac{1}{3}$ of Pickett's division excluded.

⁵ Because Pettigrew's brigade was included in the returns for the Department of Richmond for May 31, it is assumed that it was not included in the returns for the Army of Northern Virginia for same date, although General Lee had before that date regarded it as a part of his force and assigned it to a division in the new organization of his army announced May 30. The returns of the Army of Northern Virginia cited are those of the old organization.

⁶ Robertson's brigade is excluded, and estimated at 16 per cent. of Fitz Lee's and W. H. F. Lee's commands, which proportion is established by the return of May 25. It is assumed that Jones's brigade, 2324 strong (40 W. R., 602), and Jenkins's brigade, which were not at Gettysburg, were included in the returns of the Valley District and Department of West Virginia for May 31, and therefore not in the Army of Northern Virginia for same date.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 103

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and
 artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry ¹ 75,992
 Deduct losses prior to Gettysburg 938 ^h

Total engaged 75,054

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	
2,592	12,709	5,150 ²	as per returns. ⁴
	6,026 ²	275	captured in excess of 770 reported. ^j
1,311			to equal the average proportion of killed to
3,903	18,735	Total, 22,638	5,425 4.8 wounded.

Hit in 1000, 301. Hit by 1000, 235.

^h 44 W. R., 442, 718, 714, 719. ⁴ 44 W. R., 346. ^j 44 W. R., 346 and note, 365, 476.

¹ On the returns of July 31 the number engaged at Gettysburg is computed as follows: —

Present for duty, July 31, infantry and artillery, ex. Corse's brigade (estimated at 1672 as above)	142,809
Present for duty May 31, cavalry as above	12,346
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	50,306
Deduct losses in cavalry prior to Gettysburg	2669
	49,637
Add losses at Gettysburg as above	28,070
	77,707

² While the Confederate commanders say in their reports that many included under the head of "missing" in the returns were doubtless killed and wounded, they specifically report only 770 wounded as being left behind (44 W. R., 325, 365, 475, 476, 609). It follows that of the 6802 wounded captured by the Union army, 6026 are to be added to the number of wounded given in the Confederate returns. The fighting was at close range. On the Union side the proportion of killed to wounded was 1 to 4.6. It is certainly within bounds to assume that on the Confederate side the proportion was the average of 1 to 4.8 (Reg. Losses, 22).

¹ 45 W. R., 1065.

² 44 W. R., 713, 714, 719.

104 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

ASSAULT ON FORT WAGNER, JULY 18, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Strong's brigade, present for duty June 30, 1863	3,761 ^a
Deduct 212 for 7th Connecticut and 200 estimated for artillery	412
Deduct $\frac{1}{8}$ of remainder for Enfants Perdus and Co. D, 1st New York engineers	538
	950
	2,811
Present for duty in 6th Connecticut	484 ^b
Putnam's brigade June 30, 4 regiments, estimated ¹ at	1,920 ^c
Artillery (7 batteries) estimated at	700
	5,915
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	5,500
Deduct loss July 11	236
	5,264
Total engaged	5,264
Killed, 246. Wounded, 880. Total, 1126. ^d Missing, 389. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 214. ² Hit by 1000, 32. ³	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Garrison of Fort Wagner and artillery of Battery Gregg, about	1,340 ^e
32d Georgia	445 ^f
	1,785
Total engaged, about	1,785

^a 46 W. R., 346, 359, 361; 47 W. R., 7, 8, 9. ^b 46 W. R., 357. ^c 47 W. R., 7, 8; 46 W. R., 346. ^d 46 W. R., 210. ^e 46 W. R., 76, 77, 431, 376, 373. ^f 46 W. R., 77, 449.

¹ This estimate is made by deducting, from the 4687 troops on Folly Island, 484 for the 6th Connecticut, and an estimate of 600 for the artillery, and taking $\frac{1}{8}$ of the remainder for the 7th New Hampshire, 62d and 67th Ohio, and 100th New York, which constituted Putnam's brigade.

² In the assaulting column, 246 were hit in 1000.

³ It is assumed that 14 of the 28 hit by the bombardment were struck by the naval projectiles. (See 46 W. R., 418.)

⁴ The 51st North Carolina numbered at least 474 (46 W. R., 454), and the 31st North Carolina 412, if it was of the average strength of Clingman's brigade (45 W. R., 946, 947).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 105

Killed, 36. Wounded, 133. Total, 169.¹ Missing, 5.^o
 Hit in 1000, 95. Hit by 1000, 631.

^o 46 W. R., 406.

CHICKAMAUGA, SEPTEMBER 19, 20, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Army of the Cumberland, infantry and artillery present for duty September 10	^a 57,373
22d Michigan, 69th and 89th Ohio	1,391
	58,764
Deduct 2 brigades and 5 regiments, ² estimated at	4,845 ^b
	53,919
Total engaged	53,919
Cavalry, ex. Lowe's brigade	9,504 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery, and 85 per cent. of cavalry	⁴ 58,222
Killed, 1657. Wounded, 9756. Total, 11,413. ⁵ Missing, 4757. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 196. Hit by 1000, 292.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of Tennessee, infantry and artillery present for duty August 20 ⁶ 33,195^e

^a 50 W. R., 169. ^b 50 W. R., 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, and notes. ^c 50 W. R., 169 and note *e*. ^d 50 W. R., 179. ^e 53 W. R., 519.

¹ In the assaulting column, 246 were hit in 1000.

² Consisting of the 14th, 20th, 21st, and reserve corps, less Coburn's brigade of 1987 (50 W. R., 169, note *d*).

³ 9th Michigan and 38th Ohio, estimated at $\frac{2}{3}$ of 14th corps = 898, Post's brigade and 39th Indiana, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 20th corps = 1720, and Wagner's brigade, 21st Kentucky, 5 companies of 1st Kentucky, and 110th Illinois battalion, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 21st corps = 2227.

⁴ Probably about 200 should be deducted for non-effectives in 6 regiments of infantry serving mounted.

⁵ Including losses in skirmishes, September 21, 22 (50 W. R., 169, note).

⁶ Excluding general headquarters and provost guard.

106 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	30,871
Effectives in Breckinridge's and Preston's divisions, Walker's corps, and Gregg's and McNair's brigades ¹	15,253 ^f
Effectives of Longstreet's corps, estimated at 93 per cent. of 6390 ² present for duty	5,942 ^o
Effectives in cavalry, estimated at 85 per cent. of 11,018 present for duty	9,365 ^a
Effectives in Pegram's cavalry division, estimated at 85 per cent. of 5759 present for duty	4,895 ^t
Total engaged	66,326
Killed, 2312. Wounded, 14,674. Total, 16,986. ^{3j} Missing, 1468. ^j	
Hit in 1000, 259. Hit by 1000, 172.	

^f 51 W. R., 197, 202, 420, 243, 497, 501. ^o 51 W. R., 291; 49 W. R., 681-683. ^a 53 W. R., 518. ^t 35 W. R., 945, 946. ^j Reg. Losses, 551.

CHATTANOOGA, NOVEMBER 23-25, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty in 4th, ⁴ 11th, 14th, 15th, and 17th corps and artillery reserves	63,010 ^a
Deduct 17 regiments ⁵	5,139 ^b
	<u>57,871</u>

^a 55 W. R., 12, 13. ^b 55 W. R., 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, notes.

¹ These forces joined the Army of Tennessee after August 20. (Compare 51 W. R., 11-20, with 53 W. R., 515-518, 578, 591, 592; 35 W. R., 945, 946.)

² The number present for duty is estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{3}{4}$ of Hood's and McLaws's divisions. General Longstreet's estimate of 5000 as the number carried into action (Manassas to Appomattox, p. 458) probably omits officers, and perhaps assumes that Jenkins's brigade, which joined Hood's division September 11, was included in the return of August 31. General Longstreet's estimate (p. 458) of 59,242 as the number engaged September 20 omits the troops from Buckner's command.

³ Probably the losses of 13th, 33d, and 154th Tennessee are not included, as they are not stated in the reports contained in the War Records.

⁴ Ex. corps headquarters (318) and 1st brigade and artillery reserve, 1st division, 4th corps (2595) (55 W. R., 12 and note).

⁵ 30th, 51st, and 84th Indiana, 115th Illinois, and 77th Pennsylvania, estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of 4th corps (1856), 3d brigade, 1st division; 14th Michigan, 3d Ohio, and 18th Kentucky, estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of 14th corps (3485); and 15th Michigan, estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of 15th corps (298).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 107

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	53,820
Effectives in 2d division, 12th corps	¹ 2,539 ^c
Total engaged	56,359
Killed, 753. Wounded, 4722. Total, 5475. ² Missing, 349. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 97. Hit by 1000, 44.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty, infantry and artillery, October 31, Army of Tennessee ³	35,720 ^c
Present for duty in Moore's brigade, and 8 regiments from Buckner's division ⁴	3,223 ^f
Present for duty in Buckner's division artillery, esti- mated at	255 ^g
Present for duty in Stevenson's division, infantry and artillery, December 10.	5,691 ^h
	<u>44,889</u>
Deduct Johnson's brigade (2 regiments) and 41st Alabama ⁵	879 ⁱ
	<u>44,010</u>

^c 55 W. R., 390. ^d 55 W. R., 88. ^e 55 W. R., 656; 56 W. R., 615 et seq.
^f 55 W. R., 658, 659, note. ^g 55 W. R., 656, 659, note. ^h 55 W. R., 657; 56
W. R., 783. ⁱ 56 W. R., 618; 55 W. R., 659, note.

¹ The memorandum of troops engaged (55 W. R., 14) omits 2d division, 14th corps. It is here included, because it was in the presence of the enemy. If it should be excluded, it would reduce the number engaged to about 51,000.

² Including the few casualties November 26 and 27 (55 W. R., 80, note).

³ Ex. Hood's, McLaws's, and Buckner's divisions, and the corps staffs; also $\frac{1}{4}$ of Longstreet's artillery (estimated at 750), of which 3 batteries remained with Walker's division (56 W. R., 620; 55 W. R., 660). Gregg's brigade was distributed in Bate's, Maney's, and Smith's (56 W. R., 685).

⁴ Moore's brigade was not included in the organization of October 31. There were eight regiments transferred after October 31 from Buckner's division to Reynolds's, Jackson's, Lewis's, and the Florida brigades. They were the 58th North Carolina, 54th and 63d Virginia, 65th Georgia, 5th Kentucky, 6th and 7th Florida, and 1st Florida cavalry. These regiments are estimated at 293, the average strength per regiment of the rest of the infantry.

⁵ Two regiments of Johnson's brigade transferred from Stewart's division, and the 41st Alabama from Breckinridge's division to Buckner's division, after October 31, were absent with Buckner, and are above estimated at the average of 293 per regiment.

108 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	40,929
Losses in Stevenson's division, November 24, 25	380 ^j
Present for duty October 31, in 17½ regiments ¹	
cavalry	5713
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent.	4,856
Total engaged	46,165
Killed, 361. Wounded, 2160. Total, 2521. Missing, 4146. ^k	
(Not including Reynolds's brigade or cavalry, for which there are no returns.) ^l	
Hit in 1000, 55. Hit by 1000, 118.	
^j 55 W. R., 724. ^k Reg. Losses, 551. ^l See 55 W. R., 684, 724.	

MINE RUN, NOVEMBER 27—DECEMBER 1, 1863.

UNION ARMY.

Army of Potomac, infantry and artillery present for duty, November 20, 1863	71,131 ^a
Deduct general headquarters staff, guards, and orderlies, provost guard, signal corps, and engineers	2015
Deduct 3d division, 1st corps, estimated at ¼ of corps	3500
	5,515 ^b
	65,616
Cavalry corps present for duty, except 2 brigades, 1st division, estimated at ⅔ of the corps (3000) . .	10,143 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	69,643
Killed, 173. Wounded, 1099. Total, 1272. ^d Missing, 381. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 18. Hit by 1000, 10.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of Northern Virginia present for duty November 20, 1863, infantry and artillery	40,748 ^e
Cavalry	7,684 ^e
	48,432

^a 48 W. R., 677. ^b 48 W. R., 677. ^c 48 W. R., 675-677. ^d 48 W. R., 686. ^e 48 W. R., 823.

¹ These regiments do not seem to have been absent with General Wheeler. Grigsby's and Davidson's commands seem to have acted with the infantry (55 W. R., 670, 708). If the rest were not present, about 2400 should be deducted.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 109

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and
 artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry 44,426^f
 Killed, 110. Wounded, 570. Total, 680.^f Missing, 65.
 Hit in 1000, 15. Hit by 1000, 28.
^f 48 W. R., 838, 900, 901; Reg. Losses, 551.

OLUSTEE, FLA., FEBRUARY 20, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Seymour's command, effectives, estimated at 93 per
 cent. of entire force 5,115^a
 Killed, 203. Wounded, 1152. Total, 1355.^a Missing, 506.
 Hit in 1000, 265. Hit by 1000, 183.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Finegan's command, effectives 5,200^b
 Killed, 93. Wounded, 841. Total, 934.^b
 Hit in 1000, 180. Hit by 1000, 260.
^a 65 W. R., 288, 298. ^b 65 W. R., 331, 333.

PLEASANT HILL, APRIL 9, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty of 16th ¹ and 19th ² corps	12,897 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	^a 11,994
Loss April 8	347 ^b
	<hr/>
	11,647
Cavalry, effectives	1,000 ^c
	<hr/>
Total engaged	12,647
Killed, 150. Wounded, 844. Total, 994. ^d Missing, 375. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 78. Hit by 1000, 79.	
^a 61 W. R., 167, 168, 258, 274. ^b 61 W. R., 263. ^c 61 W. R., 459. ^d 61 W. R., 260, 263, 313, 459.	

¹ 1st and 3d divisions of 16th corps, ex. $\frac{2}{3}$ of 1st division (800) deducted for 5th Minnesota and 8th Wisconsin, which were not engaged (61 W. R., 321, 322).

² 1st division only. General Banks says that the colored brigade was at Pleasant Hill in the morning, but it was not in line, and suffered no loss if it was there during the action, and it is therefore not included here. (See 61 W. R., 201, 258, 261.)

³ The "effective strength" returned (61 W. R., 263) was merely the remainder of the present for duty March 31, after deducting the loss of April 8.

110 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Taylor's command, April 8, including Green's cavalry, effectives, about	11,000 ^e
Churchill's and Parsons's divisions, about	14,300 ^f
	<hr/>
	15,300
Deduct loss April 8	1,000 ^g
	<hr/>
Total engaged	14,300
Killed and wounded, about 1000. ² Missing, 500. ^h	
Hit in 1000, 70. Hit by 1000, 69.	
^e 61 W. R., 484. ^f 61 W. R., 563. ^g 61 W. R., 553. ^h 61 W. R., 184, 553, 569.	

WILDERNESS, MAY 5-7, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty April 30, in 2d, 5th, 6th, and 9th corps, ³ and Kitching's artillery brig- ade	96,507 ^a
Deduct 35th Massachusetts and 7th Rhode Island, estimated at $\frac{1}{8}$ of 9th corps ⁴	924 ^b
	<hr/>
	95,583
Effectives, estimated at 93 per cent.	88,892
Cavalry corps, less 4th New York, estimated at $\frac{1}{30}$	15,298 ^c
Effectives, estimated at 85 per cent.	13,003
	<hr/>
Total engaged	101,895
Killed, 2246. Wounded, 12,037. Total, 14,283. Missing, 3383. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 140.	

^a 67 W. R., 198, 285, 287, 915. ^b 67 W. R., 131, notes, 113. ^c 67 W. R., 114, note, 198. ^d 67 W. R., 133.

¹ Three hundred is added for officers to the "4000 bayonets" said to have been present. General Smith, in his report of August 28, gave the strength of these divisions as 5000 in March (61 W. R., 484).

² In the divisions of Churchill and Parsons, there were 459 killed and wounded, and 114 missing (61 W. R., 603-605).

³ Including only 1st, 2d, and 3d divisions, 9th corps.

⁴ Including only 2d and 3d corps, artillery and unattached corps, ex. provost guard, scouts, guides, and couriers.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 111

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Army of Northern Virginia, April 20, infantry and artillery ¹ present for duty . . .	45,205 °
Longstreet's corps, ² March 31, present for duty	10,428 †
R. D. Johnston's brigade, ³ present for duty .	2,178 °
	57,811
Effectives, estimated at 93 per cent. . . .	53,764
Cavalry present for duty 8,543 ⁴	
Effectives, estimated at 85 per cent. . . .	7,261
	61,025

For estimate of loss, see note 3.

Hit by 1000, 234.

° 60 W. R., 1297, 1298. † 59 W. R., 721, 722. ° 68 W. R., 974; 67 W. R., 1024, 1071; 60 W. R., 1297, 1307. ⁴ 60 W. R., 1298.

¹ Including Law's brigade (returned in Buckner's division), estimated proportionately to the number of regiments in Field's and Law's divisions at 1270.

² Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments and strength of Rodes's division.

³ Reports of losses exist for only 70 out of the 182 regiments. These losses amount to 1917 killed and wounded (67 W. R., 1062, 1064, 1069, 1075, 1091). Nearly all of these reports were written long after the battle, and, in view of the incessant movement and fighting which followed the Wilderness, it is difficult to believe that the casualties were stated in them from actual count. They cannot be accepted as correct. The returns of Ewell's corps for April 20 show that, including R. D. Johnston's brigade, it had about 18,148 effectives. General Ewell reports a loss of only 1250, equal to 68 in 1000. His corps was hotly engaged on both days, and without doubt suffered at least the average loss. The relative strength of the armies was, as above shown, about 6 to 10. The fighting was close, each side was alternately on the offensive and defensive, and the Confederate army lost ground. It is impossible to believe that in these circumstances Ewell's corps could have inflicted so great and suffered so small a loss. In the battle of Chancellorsville, in the same thickets, the two armies, in about the same proportionate strength, contended three days, no more fiercely (the first day's fighting was not heavy), and although the Confederates gained ground, they lost there and at Fredericksburg (where they occupied earthworks) 187 in 1000. It is not credible that in the Wilderness they gave ground with a loss of 68 in 1000. As the heaviest losses were probably sustained in Hill's and a part of Longstreet's corps, it is not extravagant to estimate the Confederate loss per thousand at the average loss of the Union army in these two battles, 127, which would give a total of 7750.

112 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

SPOTTSYLVANIA, MAY 10, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty April 30, 1864, in 2d corps . . .	28,675 ^a
Present for duty April 30, 1864, in 40 regiments, 5th corps	¹ 16,250 ^b
Present for duty April 30, 1864, in 12 regiments, 6th corps	² 6,012 ^c
	50,937
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	47,371
Deduct loss, May 5-7 (8297) and May 8, 9 (1252) ³ .	9,549 ^d
	37,822
Total engaged	
Killed, 753. Wounded, 3347. Total, 4100. ^e	
Hit in 1000, 108.	

^a 67 W. R., 198, 331-333. ^b 67 W. R., 198, 597; Va. Camp., 81. ^c 67 W. R., 198, 667. ^d Va. Camp., 72. ^e Va. Camp., 89.

The Records do not show the Confederate numbers.

SPOTTSYLVANIA, MAY 12, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Effectives in 2d, 5th, 6th, and 9th corps ⁴ .	88,892 ^a
Losses May 5-7.	16,900 ^b
Losses May 8-10	6,207
	23,107 ^c
Total engaged	65,785
Killed and wounded, 6020. ^d Missing, 800. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 91.	

^a Ante, p. 110. ^b 67 W. R., 130-133. ^c Va. Camp., 72, 89. ^d Va. Camp., 105.

¹ 3d and 4th divisions and 1st and 2d brigades, 3d division, estimated proportionally to the number of regiments at $\frac{4}{5}$ of the corps.

² Estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the corps of 48 regiments.

³ Estimated to include $\frac{4}{5}$ of the loss of the 5th corps and $\frac{1}{2}$ the loss of the 6th corps.

⁴ The loss of 57th New York, 2d Wisconsin, and 79th New York is assumed to have offset the gain of 35th Massachusetts and 7th Rhode Island. (See ante, p. 110; 67 W. R., 137, 143, 149, notes.)

⁵ General Humphreys's estimate of the number of killed and wounded of the original Army of the Potomac in the combats of May 8-10, 12, and 18, amount-

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 113

The Records do not show the Confederate numbers.

The Confederate loss in prisoners was about 4000, and their total loss was estimated by Generals Humphreys and Hancock at 9000 to 10,000 (67 W. R., 337; Va. Camp., 106).

The combats of May 5-12 may justly be treated as one battle. In this battle the Union army lost 26,815 killed and wounded, and 4183 missing, or 263 in 1000. Without the cavalry the loss was 26,302 killed and wounded, or 296 in 1000 (67 W. R., 133; Va. Camp., 72, 89, 105).

DREWY'S BLUFF, MAY 12-16, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty May 31, 1864, in $\frac{1}{4}$ of 10th and 18th corps, ¹ estimated at	12,730 ^a
Add losses May 7-31 ²	4,260
	16,990
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	15,800
Killed, 390. Wounded, 2380. Total, 2770. ^b Missing, 1390. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 175. Hit by 1000, 181.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.^c

Present for duty February 29 in Corse's and Hoke's brigades	3,358 ^d
Present May 16, 21, in brigades of Barton, Johnson, Hagood, Colquitt, and Clingman	7,905 ^e
Add loss May 16 in Colquitt's and Clingman's brigades	394 ^f
	11,657 = 10,841

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of . . 11,657 = 10,841
^a 69 W. R., 427. ^b Reg. Losses, 546. ^c 68 W. R., 199 et seq. ^d 60 W. R., 1201. ^e 68 W. R., 234, 241-245, 255; 69 W. R., 817. ^f 68 W. R., 205.

ing to 13,268 (Va. Camp., 72, 89, 104, 115), falls short of the number given in 67 W. R., 149, for the casualties May 8-21, by 196. This number may have been lost in skirmishes not taken into account by him.

¹ 1st and 2d divisions 18th corps (20 regiments), Turner's division (9 regiments), 9 regiments of Terry's and 2 regiments of Ames's division with artillery (68 W. R., 36, 48, 50, 81, 13-16). All but one of these regiments were embraced in the new organization of these army corps of May 30, numbering 43 regiments.

² Loss May 18-31 estimated at 100. Only three of the regiments shared in this loss (68 W. R., 40; 107 W. R., 1235, 1237), one of them, 89th Illinois, losing 51 May 20 (68 W. R., 13, 48, 49).

114 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Effectives May 10 in Gracie's (1578), May 21 in Ransom's brigade (1800), plus loss, 205 . . .	3,583 ^a
Effectives estimated in Kemper's brigade ¹ at 1960, and 3d North Carolina and 5th and 7th South Carolina cavalry at 720	2,680 ^a
Effectives (estimated) in artillery May 21, 850, plus losses May 16 (71)	921 ^c
<hr/>	
Total engaged	18,025
Killed, 355. Wounded, 1941. Total, 2296. Missing, 210 (re- ported). ^f	
Killed and wounded in Kemper's and Corse's brigades, estimated at 564. ^g Total, 2860.	
Hit in 1000, 158. Hit by 1000, 154.	

^a 68 W. R., 988, 205; 69 W. R. 817. ^b 68 W. R., 991; 67 W. R., 1027; 60
W. R., 1298, 1201, 1232, 1299. ^c 68 W. R., 205; 69 W. R., 819. ^d 68 W. R., 205.

COLD HARBOR, JUNE 1-3, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty May 31 in 2d, 5th, 6th, and 9th corps	88,350 ^a
Reinforcements June 1	3,727 ^b
W. F. Smith's command	10,000 ^c
<hr/>	
	102,077
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	94,931
Cavalry corps, effectives, estimated at 85 per cent. of 15,266 present for duty	12,976 ^d
<hr/>	
Total engaged	107,907
Killed and wounded, about 12,000. ^e	
Hit in 1000, about 111. ^e	

^a 69 W. R., 426. ^b 67 W. R., 87. ^c 67 W. R., 999. ^d 69 W. R., 426. ^e 67
W. R., 180.

¹ In the six brigades with which Hoke joined there were 11,000 muskets
(68 W. R., 991).

² In the absence of returns, it is not extravagant to estimate the losses in
these brigades at the same per cent. as that of the loss in the rest of the army,
as they seem to have been hotly engaged (68 W. R., 203, 212, 213).

³ The returns (which include the losses of June 1; see 67 W. R., 163 note)
give 10,922 killed and wounded and 1816 missing. General Humphreys (Va.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 115

PETERSBURG, JUNE 15-18, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty May 31 in 2d, 5th, 9th, and 18th corps	77,438 ^a
21st Pennsylvania cavalry and 4th Delaware	1,453 ^b
	<hr/>
	¹ 78,891
Effectives, estimated at 93 per cent.	73,368
Deduct losses June 2-15	9,571
	<hr/>
Total engaged	63,797
Killed and wounded, about 8150. ^{2 c}	
Hit in 1000, about 128.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty May 21 in Hoke's division	7,125 ^d
Present for duty May 31 in Gracie's brigade	2,517 ^e
Present for duty June 10 in Johnston's division	5,035 ^f
Present for duty June 30 in Hill's corps, and Field's and Kershaw's divisions	25,006 ^g
	<hr/>
	39,683
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	36,905
Effectives in Dearing's cavalry, estimated at 85 per cent. of 1911 present for duty June 10	1,624
	<hr/>
	38,529

^a 69 W. R., 426, 427; 80 W. R., 721. ^b 67 W. R., 87. ^c 67 W. R., 180.
^d 69 W. R., 817. ^e 69 W. R., 861. ^f 69 W. R., 890. ^g 81 W. R., 707.

Camp., 191) says that no doubt most of the missing were killed or wounded, and on this authority the number as returned is above increased 1078 by estimate. The number of wounded brought to the field hospitals June 1 and 2 was 4232 (67 W. R., 243, 244), which indicates that at least 5170 were killed and wounded on those days, leaving not over 7000 for the number killed and wounded (88 in 1000) in the assault of June 3, which has been commonly regarded as much more destructive; 8913 wounded were brought to the field hospitals June 1-4. (See 67 W. R. 243-246.)

¹ The reinforcements June 1, not above included, not exceeding 2274, should be added if they were assigned to these corps.

² Va. Camp., 224. General Humphreys includes only 700 killed and wounded in 18th corps. Possibly the number was greater. (See 80 W. R., 214-216, 237; 107 W. R., 269).

116 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Estimate of loss June 15-18 in Hill's corps and Field's and Kershaw's divisions	2,970 ¹
Total engaged, about	41,499

THE MINE, JULY 30, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty July 31 in 9th corps	11,240 ^a
Present for duty July 31 in 2d division, 10th corps ^b	5,295 ^b
Present for duty July 31 in 3d brigade, 1st division, 18th corps ^c	1,648 ^c
	<hr/>
	18,183
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	16,910
Add losses July 30	3,798 ^d
	<hr/>
Total engaged	20,708
Killed and wounded, 2864.⁴ Missing, ⁴ 929.^e	
Hit in 1000, 138.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 10 in Johnston's division . .	6,907 ^f
Present for duty July 10 in Sanders's, Mahone's, and Wright's brigade of Mahone's division	⁵ 3,740 ^g

^a 82 W. R., 728. ^b 80 W. R., 698; 82 W. R., 737-739. ^c 80 W. R., 717; 82 W. R., 737, 739-741. ^d 80 W. R., 249. ^e 80 W. R., 249. ^f 80 W. R., 787 et seq.; 82 W. R., 761. ^g 80 W. R., 787 et seq.; 82 W. R., 761; 88 W. R., 1217; Va. Camp., 260.

¹ Estimated at the ratio of loss in the Union army. There is no return of the Confederate loss. General Humphreys says his own observations led him to believe they were severe (Va. Camp., 225).

² Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ of 10th corps.

³ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ of 18th corps. This brigade engaged the enemy from its intrenchments.

⁴ General Lee, while reporting only 929 prisoners, asserts that there were 700 Union dead (80 W. R., 753). In view of this, and of the fact that the number returned as wounded does not bear the usual ratio to the number of killed, it is assumed that 484 of those returned as "missing" were killed or wounded.

⁵ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ of Mahone's division.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 117

Present for duty July 10 in Colquitt's brigade and 61st North Carolina, of Hoke's division ¹	1,684 ^a
	12,331

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	11,466
--	--------

^a 80 W. R., 787, 791; 82 W. R., 761; 88 W. R., 1227.

The returns for Johnston's division and Colquitt's brigade give 619 killed and wounded, and 563 missing. There are no returns of casualties for Mahone's division or 61st North Carolina.

DEEP BOTTOM, AUGUST 14-19, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty July 31 in 2d corps and Gregg's cavalry	19,072 ^a
Present for duty August 31 in 10th corps	11,228 ^b
Add losses August 13-20 in 10th corps	1,678 ^c

12,906

Deduct $\frac{1}{3}$ for 5 regiments ²	1,898
Present for duty August 13	11,008

Total present for duty	30,080
----------------------------------	--------

Effectives August 14, estimated at 93 per cent.	27,974
---	--------

Killed, 328. Wounded, 1852. Total, 2180. Missing, 721. ^d

Hit in 1000, 78.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty August 31 in Field's, Mahone's, Wilcox's, Hampton's, and W. H. F. Lee's divisions, and Johnson's and Gary's brigades	20,343 ^e
---	---------------------

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	18,908
--	--------

^a 82 W. R., 728. ^b 88 W. R., 618. ^c 87 W. R., 120. ^d 87 W. R., 121.
^e Va. Camp., 269; 87 W. R., 878, 879; 88 W. R., 1177, 1180, 1189, 1213, 1214.

¹ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1}{3}$ of Hoke's division.

² 1st brigade, 2d division (4 regiments), was left behind (87 W. R., 99). It is assumed that, as 37th N. J. (unattached) does not appear in the regiments suffering loss, it was not present. 2d brigade, 3d division, had been absorbed in 18th corps, August 3 (87 W. R., 109).

118 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Anderson's cavalry and 3 regiments from Pickett's division	1,100 ^f
Engaged	20,008 ¹
There are no returns of Confederate losses.	.

^f 87 W. R., 879; 88 W. R., 1177.

WELDON RAILROAD, AUGUST 18-21, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

5th army corps, effectives, August 31	11,382 ^a
Loss August 18-21	3,959 ^a
1st and 3d division 9th corps, effectives, August 19. ²	4,948 ^a
Total engaged	20,289
Killed, 198. Wounded, 1105. Total, 1303. Missing, 3152 ^b	
Hit in 1000, 64. Hit by 1000, 59.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Hill's corps, effectives, August 31, estimated at 93 per cent. of 13,385 present for duty	12,448 ^c
Add losses below and August 25	2,339 ^d
	14,787
Killed and wounded, estimated at 1200. ³ Missing, 419. ^e	
Hit in 1000, 81. Hit by 1000, 88.	

^a 87 W. R., 39, 432, 589, 590; 88 W. R., 616, 617. ^b 87 W. R., 432. ^c 88 W. R., 1214. ^d 87 W. R., 940. ^e 87 W. R., 430, 431.

¹ To this should be added the losses August 14-19, of which there is no account.

² Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of 9th corps.

³ There is no report of the total casualties in the records. In Hagood's brigade, which took 681 enlisted men into action, 14 killed and 125 wounded were reported, besides those left on the field (87 W. R., 937). General Lee reported of the Confederate attack on the 19th that his loss was "believed" to be smaller than that of the enemy (p. 851). General Warren reported the capture of 139 wounded and the burial of 211 Confederate dead (p. 431). Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the Confederates attacked vigorously on three days and were repulsed on two of them, it seems safe to assume, as above, that the wounded were in the average ratio of 4.8 to the 211 killed.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 119

ATLANTA CAMPAIGN, MAY, 1864.

(Including Buzzard's Roost, Snake Creek Gap, and New Hope Church.)¹

UNION ARMY.

Effectives April 30, 1864 ² 110,123 ^a
 Killed and wounded, 10,528.² Missing,² 1240.^b
 Hit in 1000, 96. Hit by 1000, 83.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty April 30, Army of Tennessee, infantry and artillery, ex. staffs and escorts	46,219 ^c
Present for duty April 30, Army of Tennessee, cavalry	7,813 ^c
Present for duty May 10, in Loring's and French's divisions and Sears's brigade	9,558 ^d
Present for duty May 10 in Jackson's division, cavalry	2,756 ^d
Present for duty in Reynolds's brigade, June 10	43,042 ^d
Present for duty in 40th Mississippi and 49th Alabama June 10	5 650 ^e
	10,569 59,469
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery	8,983 55,306

^a 72 W. R., 117. ^b 72 W. R., 117; 73 W. R., 578, 679, 912; 74 W. R., 94, 96, 402, 404. ^c 74 W. R., 676. ^d 74 W. R., 619, 676, 677, 899, 686, 869, 706; 75 W. R., 691, 662. ^e 74 W. R., 645, 677; 75 W. R., 691, 724.

¹ The returns do not give the casualties for these actions separately.

² The number of effectives given in the returns is adopted, as it is very near the number to be arrived at by computing the effectives at the usual per cent. of the number present for duty May 31 (75 W. R., 373), plus the casualties in May.

³ This number should probably be slightly increased for losses in minor affairs not specified in the returns. The loss in the cavalry of Army of Cumberland is estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ the total loss for 4 months.

⁴ This is the remainder left by deducting 1643 present for duty in Cantey's brigade April 30 from the number present for duty in the division June 10. It is, perhaps, subject to a slight increase for loss prior to June 10.

⁵ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1}{3}$ of Loring's division, June 10.

120 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Effectives in Mercer's brigade and 37th Mississippi	1,800 ^f
Total effectives	<u>266,089</u>
Killed and wounded, ^g 9187. ^o	
Hit in 1000, 137. Hit by 1000, 160.	

^f 74 W. R., 614, 676, note; 75 W. R., 681, 732. ^o 74 W. R., 686, 687, 949.

ASSAULT ON KENESAW MOUNTAIN, JUNE 27, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty June 30 in 2d division, 4th corps, and 2d division, 15th corps	7,683 ^a
Present for duty June 30 in 1st brigade, 1st division, 4th corps	⁴ 1,757 ^a
Present for duty June 30 in 2d and 3d brigades, 2d division, 14th corps	⁵ 4,418 ^a
Present for duty June 30 in 2d brigade, 4th division, 15th corps	⁶ 1,383 ^a
	<u>15,241</u>
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	14,174
Casualties June 27, as below	<u>2,051</u>
Total engaged	⁷ 16,225

^a 75 W. R., 651, 652; 72 W. R., 68, 151, 199, 224, 295, 296, 380, 506, 632.

¹ This number probably should be increased by about 200 for officers.

² General Johnston's estimate of 40,900 effective infantry and artillery, and about 4000 cavalry, in the Army of the Tennessee at the opening of the campaign, apparently omits Martin's division of cavalry, and if so it corresponds substantially to the above estimate, with officers omitted.

³ This does not include loss in Jackson's cavalry division, for which there is no return. In view of loss in Wheeler's cavalry, it probably did not exceed 100. (See 74 W. R., 949, 615, 616).

⁴ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{2}{7}$ of the division.

⁵ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{3}{7}$ of the division.

⁶ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1}{7}$ of the division.

⁷ The attempt here is to state the numbers of the troops that moved out of the works, and all here included moved forward in the assault except the 1st brigade, 1st division, 4th corps, which only passed out of the works. The loss of 100 attributed above to this brigade perhaps was suffered in part by the other brigades of same division. The troops on both sides all along the line, and the Army of the Ohio in another field far to the right, engaged the enemy, but did not take part in the assault. The total loss of the Union forces this day was nearly 3000 (72 W. R., 69).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 121

Killed and wounded, 1999. Missing, 52.^b
 Hit in 1000, 123. Hit by 1000, 16.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty June 30 in Cleburne's, Cheatham's,
 and Featherston's divisions, $\frac{1}{3}$ of French's and
 Walthall's divisions,¹ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of artillery in Army of
 Mississippi 18,604 ^c
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 17,301
 Losses June 27, as below 432
 Total engaged 17,733
 Killed and wounded, 270. Missing, 172.^d
 Hit in 1000, 15. Hit by 1000, 113.

^b 72 W. R., 205, 224, 637; 74 W. R., 179, 318. ^c 74 W. R., 617, 901, 923,
 652, 653, 678. ^d 74 W. R., 703, 870.

TUPELO, MISS., JULY 13-15, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

A. J. Smith's command, about ^a 14,000
 Killed, 77. Wounded, 559. Total, 636.^a Missing, 38.^a
 Hit in 1000, 45. Hit by 1000, 95.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

S. D. Lee's command, effectives, about ^b 6,600
 Killed, 210. Wounded, 1116. Total, 1326.^b
 Hit in 1000, 201. Hit by 1000, 96.
 Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. (ex. 20th corps,
 headquarters) 20,139

^a 77 W. R., 250, 256. ^b 78 W. R., 675-677; 77 W. R., 322, 329, 324.

¹ The reports of Generals French and Walthall show that about one half their divisions engaged in the repulse. It is not made clear by the reports whether all the other Confederate divisions above named opened fire.

² The Records do not afford the means of determining whether this number, as given by General Smith, includes only effectives.

³ General Forrest reported that his force "did not exceed 5000," but the number present for duty June 30, in the three divisions, deducting $\frac{1}{3}$ from Chalmers's and $\frac{1}{3}$ from Buford's for commands not present, was 6112, and Mabry's brigade of 1000 is to be added, besides the artillery, and about 700 infantry reported by General Forrest as present under Lyon. It is to be inferred that the 5000 reported included only the men present in the cavalry. Adding 900 for officers and artillery, and 700 for infantry, gives a total of 6800.

122 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

PEACH-TREE CREEK, JULY 20, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty in 2d division, 4th corps, 20th corps,
and 1st brigade,¹ 1st division, 14th corps 21,655 ^a
Killed and wounded, about 1600.^b
Hit in 1000, 79. Hit by 1000, 124.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 10 in Stewart's corps (Army
of Mississippi) and Walker's and Cheatham's divi-
sions 20,250 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 18,832
Killed and wounded, about 2500.^{2 d}
Hit in 1000, 133. Hit by 1000, 85.

^a 72 W. R., 71, 156; 75 W. R., 651. ^b 72 W. R., 156. ^c 74 W. R., 630, 698,
659, 679. ^d 72 W. R., 71.

ATLANTA, JULY 22, 1864 (HOOD'S ATTACK).

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty June 30 in 1st, 2d, and 4th divisions,
15th corps 12,067 ^a
Present for duty June 30, left wing 16th corps (ex-
cavalry and headquarters) ³ 11,078 ^a
Present for duty June 30, 3d and 4th divisions, 17th
corps ⁴ 9,329 ^a
Present for duty June 30, 3d division, 1st brigade,⁵
2d division, 23d corps 2,389 ^a

34,863

^a 72 W. R., 73; 73 W. R., 516, 517; 74 W. R., 102, 103, 369, 542, 576;
75 W. R., 653.

¹ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{2}{5}$ of the divi-
sion = 2792 (72 W. R., 94, 95).

² Estimated from the number of dead left on the field. General Sherman
estimated the enemy's loss at nearly 5000. In the absence of the basis for
this estimate, the writer does not venture to adopt it.

³ Excluding 3d brigade, 2d division, and 3d brigade, 4th division, which were
not with the army (72 W. R., 107, 108, note).

⁴ $\frac{1}{7}$ deducted for 45th Illinois, which was absent (72 W. R., 109, note).

⁵ Estimated at $\frac{1}{7}$ of 2d division.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 123

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	32,422
Loss in July prior to 22d	¹ 1,945 ^b
	30,477
Killed, 430. Wounded, 1559. Total, 1989. ² Missing, ³ 1733. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 65. Hit by 1000, 229.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 10 in Hardee's corps . . .	16,537 ^d
Present for duty July 10 in Cheatham's (Hood's) corps	15,492 ^d
Present for duty July 10 in Wheeler's corps . . .	8,409 ^d
	³ 40,438
Effectives estimated at ⁴ 36,934	
Killed and wounded, about 7000. ⁵ Missing, 1000. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 190. Hit by 1000, 53.	

^b 74 W. R., 103, 382, 541, 544. ^c 74 W. R., 29. ^d 74 W. R., 631, 679.
^e 72 W. R., 75; 74 W. R., 28, 29.

¹ Possibly 100 should be added for losses in 22d corps (73 W. R., 704, 721, 730).

² The ratio of wounded to killed is less than the usual one. Some of those reported as missing, perhaps, were wounded or killed.

³ This number should be reduced by the casualties between July 10 and 22; but as Hardee's corps was not much engaged, and Cheatham's not at all, July 21, their casualties could not have been many in this period.

⁴ Estimated at 85 per cent. of Wheeler's corps and 93 per cent. of the remainder.

⁵ There are reports of casualties for only 4 of the 14 infantry brigades engaged. These reports give 224 killed, 904 wounded, and 315 missing. A proportionate loss in the other 10 brigades would make a total of 4648 killed and wounded, to which should be added the loss in the cavalry. General Logan reported the burial or delivery to the Confederates of over 1900 dead, and that his army took 1000 wounded and 1017 unwounded prisoners (74 W. R., 28, 29). The usual proportion of wounded would give a total of 10,900 killed and wounded; but the usual proportion wounded, including mortally wounded, to killed was 2.5 (Reg. Losses, 24). The mean would be about 8700. General Sherman estimated the Confederate loss at 8000 (72 W. R., 75.) This estimate is here adopted, and 1000 unwounded prisoners deducted to arrive at the killed and wounded. A lower estimate would not justify General Hardee's characterization of the battle as "one of the most desperate and bloody of the war" (74 W. R., 699). The fact that the Confederate returns for July 31 give only 3219 less present for duty in the two corps than those for July 10 (74 W. R., 679, 680) is inexplicable.

124 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

ATLANTA, JULY 28, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty July 31, 1864, in 1st, 2d, and 4th divisions, 15th corps	9,227 ^a
Present for duty July 31, 1864, in 4 regiments, ¹ 16th corps	2,446 ^a
Present for duty July 31, 1864, in 6 regiments, ² 17th corps	1,869 ^a
	<hr/>
	13,542
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	12,594
Losses stated below	632
	<hr/>
Total engaged	13,226
Killed and wounded, 559. Missing, 73. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 42. Hit by 1000, 310.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty July 31 in Lee's (Hood's) corps ^c	12,321 ^c
Present for duty July 31 in Walthall's division, Stewart's corps	2,895
	<hr/>
	15,216
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	14,150
Losses stated below	4,300
	<hr/>
Total engaged	18,450
Killed and wounded, about 4100. ⁴ Missing, 200. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 222. Hit by 1000, 30.	

^a 76 W. R., 317, 318; 74 W. R., 41, 569, 585, 386. ^b 74 W. R., 105, 456, 520, 512, 569, 604, 607, 590. ^c 74 W. R., 762, 916, 680, 821. ^d 74 W. R., 42.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of left wing.

² Estimated at $\frac{2}{3}$ of 3d and 4th divisions.

³ Ex. Stovall's brigade, not engaged, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of corps.

⁴ Estimated from about 750 dead. In 7 out of the 14 brigades engaged, a loss of 2059 was reported (74 W. R., 768, 927). General Sherman estimated the loss at 5000 (72 W. R., 78); General Howard, at 7000 (74 W. R., 42).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 125

JONESBOROUGH, GA., AUGUST 31, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty August 31 in 1st, 2d, and 4th divisions, 15th corps	8,725 ^a
Present for duty August 31 in 2d division and 3d brigade, 4th division, ¹ 16th corps	5,212 ^a
Present for duty August 31 in 1st brigade, ² 3d division, 17th corps	1,300 ^a
	15,237
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	14,170
Killed and wounded, 179. ^b	
Hit in 1000, 13. Hit by 1000, 122.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty August 31 in Lee's corps, ex. staff and escort	11,533 ^c
Present for duty August 31 in Hardee's corps, ex. staff and escort	14,071
	25,604
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	23,811
Killed and wounded, about ³ 1725. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 72. Hit by 1000, 7.	

^a 74 W. R., 45, 391, 554; 76 W. R., 743, 744. ^b 74 W. R., 110, 391, 570.
^c 74 W. R., 700, 682, 683. ^d 74 W. R., 109, 110, 413.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of division.
² Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of division.
³ This number is reached by adding 1084 as the proportion of wounded to the 241 reported as buried, and 400 estimated by General Osterhaus as killed and wounded in his front. The larger estimate of General Howard, and that of General Logan, if intended to embrace only the loss of August 31 (74 W. R., 45, 110), cannot be adopted in the absence of further returns. General Hood reported 1400 as his loss in killed and wounded (74 W. R., 633); but a loss of 1745 was reported in 4 divisions, and there is no report of the loss in the other two which were actively engaged (74 W. R., 700, 701, 727, 764).

126 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

JONESBOROUGH, GA., SEPTEMBER 1, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty August 31 in 14th corps, ex. 1st brigade, 1st division ¹	13,441 ^a
Present for duty August 31 in 1st, 2d, and 4th divi- sions, 15th corps	8,725 ^b
	<hr/>
	22,166
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	20,614
Deduct loss in 15th corps August 31	154
	<hr/>
Total engaged	20,460
Killed, 223. Wounded, 946. Total, 1169. ² Missing, 105. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 57.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty in Hardee's corps	14,071 ^d
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	13,086
Deduct loss August 31, estimated at	425 ³
	<hr/>
	12,661
Hit by 1000, 92.	

^a 72 W. R., 517, 526; 76 W. R., 742. ^b 74 W. R., 110; 76 W. R., 743.
^c 72 W. R., 518; 74 W. R., 230. ^d 74 W. R., 701, 702, 682.

Losses are reported for Cleburne's division of 55 killed, 197 wounded, and 659 missing. There is no return of losses in the other two divisions.

¹ $\frac{2}{3}$ of 1st division deducted for 1st brigade.
² Probably a slight loss was suffered by 15th corps, which does not appear separately for this day in the returns.
³ Deducting from the total loss of 1725 August 31, estimated ante, p. 93, the reported loss of 1300 in Lee's corps (74 W. R., 764), 425 is left for the loss in Hardee's corps. (See 74 W. R., 727, for the loss in Cleburne's division.)

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 127

WINCHESTER (OPEQUAN), SEPTEMBER 19, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty September 10, in Middle	
Military Division ¹	47,987 ^a
Deduct Military District of Harper's Ferry ² 4,815 ^b	
Deduct 6th, 95th, and 96th Pennsylvania and	
Northcott's brigade (3 regiments) ³ 1,877	<u>6,692 ^c</u>
	41,295
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93	
per cent. of remainder	37,711
Killed, 697. Wounded, 3983. Total, 4680. Missing, 338. ^d	
Hit in 1000, 124. Hit by 1000, ⁴ 56.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty September 10 in Early's corps . . .	12,090 ^e
Present for duty in Lomax's and Lee's ⁵ cavalry divi-	
sions	6,041 ^f
Present for duty August 31 in artillery	<u>780 ^f</u>
	18,911
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93	
per cent. of remainder	17,103
Killed, 276. Wounded, 1827. Total, ^g 2103. ⁴ Missing, 1818. ^g	
Hit in 1000, 123. Hit by 1000, 273.	

^a 90 W. R., 60, 61. ^b 90 W. R., 60, 61. ^c 90 W. R., 107, 110, notes, 368, 95, 111, note. ^d 90 W. R., 118. ^e 88 W. R., 1243; 90 W. R., 554, 555. ^f 90 W. R., 1011. ^g 90 W. R., 555.

¹ Including Averell's cavalry.

² Including Currie's brigade, 19th corps (90 W. R., 109, note, 873).

³ Estimated in proportion to the number of regiments at $1\frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{3}$ of the army.

⁴ As the loss in the cavalry was slight, and only Lomax's division was present September 21, 22, it is estimated that of the loss reported by General Early September 1 to October 1, 50 were killed and 260 wounded September 19. It is probable that some of the 1818 reported as missing were killed or wounded.

⁵ Lee's division estimated at $\frac{1}{3} \frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{3}$ of Lomax's division (2436) in proportion to the number of regiments (90 W. R., 566, 567).

128 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CHAFFIN'S FARM, AND FORTS HARRISON AND GILMER,
SEPTEMBER 29, 30, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty September 30 in 10th corps and Kautz's division	12,834 ^a
Present for duty in 2d and 3d brigades and 2d United States Colored Cavalry, 3d division, 18th corps	¹ 1,978 ^b
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93 per cent. of remainder	13,650
Add losses September 29	1,989 ^c
Effectives in 1st and 2d divisions, 18th corps	² 4,000 ^d
<hr/>	
Total engaged	19,639
Killed, 383. Wounded, 2299. Total, 2682. Missing, 645. ^e	
Hit in 1000, 137.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty September 10 in Field's division	4,486 ^f
Present for duty September 10 3 brigades Hoke's division	³ 3,208 ^g
Present for duty September 10 in 4 regiments Pick- ett's division	⁴ 987 ^g
Present for duty September 30 in Scales's brigade	1,210 ^g
Present for duty September 20 in Gary's (865) and Johnson's ⁵ (388) brigades	1,253 ^h

^a 88 W. R., 1150. ^b 88 W. R., 622, 1150. ^c 87 W. R., 134, 136. ^d 87 W. R., 793. ^e 87 W. R., 187. ^f 87 W. R., 937; 88 W. R., 1303, 1243. ^g Va. Camp., 288; 87 W. R., 937; 88 W. R., 1214, 1244, 1303, 1307. ^h Va. Camp., 284; 88 W. R., 1213, 1302, 1303; 89 W. R., 70.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{7}{14}$ of 18th corps, ex. 1st brigade, which is assumed to be included in the 10th corps (88 W. R., 622, note; 87 W. R., 109). General Ord's statement that Birney's force numbered 10,000 cannot be adopted as against the return of September 30.

² This number is adopted from General Ord's report in preference to an estimate from the return of the corps, from which at least seven regiments were absent. (Compare 87 W. R., 137; 88 W. R., 621; 89 W. R., 466.) General Humphreys states that the force consisted of 2000 men from the 1st and 2000 men from the 2d division (Va. Camp., 285).

³ Estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the division.

⁴ Estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the division.

⁵ Sometimes called Fulton's brigade. (See Va. Camp., 284; 89 W. R., 70; 88 W. R., 1284, 1285.)

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 129

Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and
 93 per cent. of remainder 10,836
 Hit by 1000, 247.

The only report of casualties in the Records gives 377 killed and wounded in Bratton's brigade of 1294.⁴

⁴ 87 W. R., 880.

CEDAR CREEK, OCTOBER 19, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty October 30 in 6th and 19th corps	21,946 ^a	
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.		20,409
Effectives in the Army of West Virginia Detachment from Kitching's prov. division		¹ 4,580 ^b
		² 1,200 ^c
Present for duty September 30 in Tor- but's cavalry	6,885	
Present for duty September 30 in 2d di- vision Cav. Army of West Virginia	³ 2,444 ^d	
Effective cavalry, estimated at 85 per cent.		7,929
		<hr/> 34,118
Deduct 11 regiments detached	⁴ 3,080 ^e	
Deduct loss October 13	209 ^f	3,289
		<hr/> 30,829
Total engaged		
Killed, 644. Wounded, 3430. Total, 4074. Missing, 1591. ^g		
Hit in 1000, 132. Hit by 1000, 60.		

^a 90 W. R., 52 et seq.; 91 W. R., 248. ^b 90 W. R., 52 et seq., 365. ^c 90 W. R., 129 note. ^d 90 W. R., 52 et seq.; 91 W. R., 248. ^e 90 W. R., 125, 127, notes. ^f 90 W. R., 365. ^g 90 W. R., 137.

¹ The return of September 30 (91 W. R., 248) does not serve, because it includes forces at Harper's Ferry (90 W. R., 981-984), and the number of effectives is reached by adding to 4000 bayonets reported by General Crook (90 W. R., 365) an estimate of 280 for officers and 300 for the 3 batteries.

² An arbitrary estimate. The force consisted of a small detachment of 1st brigade and a portion of the 6th New York artillery. (See 91 W. R., 427.)

³ This number is taken from a return on file in the War Department. The published return of September 30 (91 W. R., 248) includes the 1st division. (See 90 W. R., 983; 91 W. R., 510.)

⁴ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments.

130 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty October 31 in Valley district . . .	12,511 ^a
Present for duty October 23 in cavalry	¹ 4,546 ^a
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. of cavalry and 93 per cent. of remainder	15,499
Add loss October 19 (as below)	2,911
	18,410
Total engaged	18,410
Killed, 320. Wounded, 1540. Total, 1860. Missing, 1050. ¹	
Hit in 1000, 101. Hit by 1000, 221.	

^a 90 W. R., 564; 89 W. R., 1186; 91 W. R., 908. ¹ Reg. Losses, 551.

BOYDTON PLANK ROAD, OCTOBER 27, 28, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty October 31 in 2d, 5th, and 9th corps	52,238 ^a
Add losses October 27, 28	1,487 ^b
	53,725
Deduct 1st division, 2d corps (6800), Baxter's brig- ade, 5th corps (2500), detachments 9th corps (1900), and 21 batteries 2d, 5th, and 9th corps (estimated at 1770)	12,970 ^c
	² 40,755
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	37,902
Gregg's cavalry division, effectives, estimated at 85 per cent. of 5471 ^a present for duty plus loss (271) October 27, 28	³ 4,921
	42,823

^a 89 W. R., 457. ^b 87 W. R., 155-159. ^c 87 W. R., 410, 237, 434, 60; 89 W. R., 462, 460, 463.

¹ Estimated for 4 brigades by the proportion between "present" and "present for duty" in the other 3 brigades.

² General Humphreys's estimate of about 32,000 effective infantry apparently excludes the 3913 untrained men in 5th corps (Va. Camp., 296 and note).

³ Comparison with the returns of September 30 (87 W. R., 39, 40; 88 W. R., 1150; 89 W. R., 457) raises the doubt whether there is not error in the return of number present for duty equipped for October which misled General Humphreys in estimating Gregg's cavalry at about 3000 (Va. Camp., 295).

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 131

Killed, 166. Wounded, 1028. Total, 1194. Missing, 564.^d
Hit in 1000, 28.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Hill's corps, effectives, estimated at 93 per cent. of present for duty October 20	15,386 ^e
Hampton's cavalry corps, effectives, estimated at 85 per cent.	4,938 ^e
Total engaged	20,324

(There is no record of casualties on Confederate side.)

^a 89 W. R., 1156. ^e 89 W. R., 1156; 87 W. R., 853, 949.

FRANKLIN, NOVEMBER 30, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty November 30 in 1st and 2d divisions, 4th corps	¹ 12,570 ^a
Present for duty November 30 in 23d corps	² 10,591
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	21,539
Cavalry, about	³ 6,400 ^b
Total engaged	27,939

Killed, 189. Wounded, 1033. Total, 1222.⁴ Missing, 1104.^c
Hit in 1000, ⁵ 40. Hit by 1000, ⁵ 199.

^a 93 W. R., 342, 53, 91. ^b 93 W. R., 559, 91, 53. ^c 93 W. R., 343.

¹ The 3d division, 4th corps, estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the corps, is excluded, because it was posted on the north side of the Harpeth River, was not engaged, and apparently had no influence in the battle.

² The 1st division, 23d corps, had been broken up June 9 (75 W. R., 448). The 72d Illinois and 44th Missouri, having been assigned to the 23d corps before November 30 (93 W. R., 393, 395), are assumed to have been included in the return of that corps November 30.

³ It is assumed that General Wilson gives the number of effectives. Hammond's brigade is assumed to equal $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 7th division, and 85 per cent. of it to be effective.

⁴ The casualties in the cavalry are not included, as they are not reported separately for this battle. There were 643 killed and wounded in the campaign (93 W. R., 568).

⁵ The losses in the cavalry would increase these figures slightly; probably not over 10. In the infantry and artillery alone, the number hit in 1000 was 52 on the Union and 263 on the Confederate side.

132 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty November 6 in Stewart's and Cheat-
ham's corps, and Johnson's, division, Lee's corps . 25,490 ^a
Deduct Ector's¹ and Smith's² brigades 1,944 ^c
23,546

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 21,897
Forrest's cavalry, about 5,000 ^f
26,897

Total engaged ^g 26,897

Killed, 1750. Wounded, ^h 3800. Total, 5550. ⁱ Missing, 702. ^j
Hit in 1000, ^k 206. Hit by 1000, ^l 45.

^a 93 W. R., 653, 678. ^c 93 W. R., 708, 739. ^f 93 W. R., 752, 754. ⁱ 93 W. R.,
344.

NASHVILLE, DECEMBER 15, 16, 1864.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty December 10 in 4th and
23d corps, and Smith's and part of Steed-
man's commands 41,000 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 38,130

Present for duty December 10 in 5th, 6th,
and 7th divisions, cavalry corps 12,522 ^b
Effectives estimated at 85 per cent. 10,643
Effectives, Croxton's brigade cavalry 1,000 ^c
49,773

Total engaged 49,773

^a 93 W. R., 90, 54, 504, 511, 512. ^b 93 W. R., 95, 55. ^c 93 W. R., 572.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of French's division (93 W. R., 681).

² Estimated at $\frac{1}{2}$ of Cleburne's division (93 W. R., 681).

³ Clayton's division, Lee's corps (2431 strong), is omitted, because it arrived too late to join in the attack, and apparently had no influence on the action (93 W. R., 687, 697).

⁴ The losses in the cavalry are not included, as they are not reported separately for this action. 269 were killed and wounded in November (93 W. R., 761). The returns give 3014 killed and wounded in Stewart's corps and Bate's division. In the other infantry divisions, the number present December 10 was 3440 less than November 6 (93 W. R., 678, 679). There are no returns for the other commands. The number of wounded given above includes only those who were placed in hospital. Probably there were several hundred slightly wounded besides.

⁵ The losses in the cavalry would increase these figures slightly; probably

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 133

Killed, 387. Wounded, 2562. Total, 2949.^d Missing, 112.^d
Hit in 1000, 59.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty December 9 in Lee's, Stewart's, ¹ and Cheatham's corps	° 23,793 °
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	22,127
Chalmers's cavalry division, about	° 1,080 °
Total engaged	<u>23,207</u>

^d 93 W. R., 105. ° 93 W. R., 679. ° 93 W. R., 765.

There is no report of killed and wounded. General Hood reported the number as "very small" (94 W. R., 699). The Union army captured 4462 prisoners (93 W. R., 40).

HATCHER'S RUN, FEBRUARY, 5-7, 1865.

UNION ARMY.⁴

2d corps effectives	° 10,988 °
5th corps, present for duty equipped, January 31	° 17,032 °
Gregg's cavalry division, present for duty equipped, January 31	° 6,497 °
Total engaged	<u>° 34,517 °</u>

^a 95 W. R., 191. ^b 95 W. R., 61. ^c 95 W. R., 61.

not by over 10. In the infantry and artillery alone, the number hit in 1000 was 52 on the Union and 263 on the Confederate side.

¹ Sears's brigade of French's division, estimated at 240 from 210 "effectives" reported (p. 680).

² Palmer's brigade of Stevenson's division, Cockerell's brigade of French's division, and Smith's brigade of Cleburne's division, are not included. (See 93 W. R., 679 note, 694, 711, 740.)

³ 7th Alabama, estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the division. (See 93 W. R., 761, 762.)

⁴ 95 W. R., 151.

⁵ Comparison with returns, p. 61, leads to the conclusion that the number stated by General Humphreys includes effectives only. 200 is added as an estimate for the artillery.

⁶ It is possible that the number of effectives was smaller. There are no returns of the number present for duty in the Records from which to compute the number of effectives.

⁷ The detachment from 6th and 9th corps, which were ordered to the field, are not included, as they took no part in the engagement (95 W. R., 298, 299, 344).

134 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Killed, 170. Wounded, 1160. Total, 1330. Missing, 182.^d
Hit in 1000, 39.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty January 31 in Early's, Pegram's,
Gordon's, Evans's, Mahone's, and Heth's divisions¹ 14,877 ^c
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. 13,835
^d 95 W. R., 69. ^e 95 W. R., 381, 385, 390, 391.
No report of killed and wounded.

BENTONVILLE, MARCH 19,² 1865.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty February 28 in 1st and 2d divisions,
14th corps ^a 9,050 ^a
Present for duty February 28 in 1st and 3d divisions,
20th corps ⁴ 8,940 ^a
17,990
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.⁶ 16,730
Deduct losses to March 16 603 ^b
16,127
Total engaged 16,127
^a 99 W. R., 622; 98 W. R., 423, 51, 52. ^b 98 W. R., 64, 65.

¹ February 8 General Lee wrote: "All the disposable force of the right wing of the army has been operating against the enemy beyond Hatcher's Run since Sunday" (p. 381). This, with Colonel Peck's report (p. 391), justifies including Heth's division, and probably requires that more should be included, but the Records do not show the constitution of this right wing.

² The action of the 19th was distinct from those of 20th and 21st. It was fought entirely on Union ground, and on the Union side by troops of the left wing alone. Troops of the right wing were engaged on the 20th and 21st, and the action was on Confederate ground (98 W. R., 424, 1056).

³ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the corps.

⁴ Estimated proportionately to the number of regiments at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the corps.

⁵ The cavalry are not included, as they were held in reserve and suffered no loss (98 W. R., 424).

⁶ The usual estimate of 93 per cent. is here taken, instead of the "effective strength" as reported (98 W. R., 43), because, by comparison with the return of present for duty it is seen that for the 20th corps the effective strength is calculated upon a basis which is different from that used for the 14th corps, and is inadequate.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 135

Killed, 139. Wounded, 794. Total, 933.¹ Missing, 170.^c
 Hit in 1000, 58. Hit by 1000, 94.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

“Effective strength” March 17² 16,895^d
 Killed, 195. Wounded, 1313. Total, 1508.³ Missing, 610.^c
 Hit in 1000, 89. Hit by 1000, 55.

^c 98 W. R., 588, 72, 486. ^d 98 W. R., 1056; 99 W. R., 1408. ^e 98 W. R., 1059, 1060.

APPOMATTOX CAMPAIGN, MARCH 20–APRIL 9, 1865.

UNION ARMY.⁴

Present for duty in artillery and infantry of Army of Potomac	⁵ 78,061 ^a
Present for duty in artillery and infantry of Army of James	⁶ 27,762 ^a
	105,823
Present for duty in cavalry of Army of James	⁷ 3,061 ^a
Present for duty in cavalry under Sheridan	⁸ 13,426 ^a
	16,487

^a 97 W. R., 380–391.

¹ It is apparent, from General Morgan's report, that substantially all the loss in his division occurred on the 19th.

² General Johnston states that he took into action “about 15,000 men” (98 W. R., 1056). This probably omits officers and artillery. The cavalry were not engaged (98 W. R., 1057).

³ It is apparent in General Johnston's report (p. 1057) that Hardee's corps was not seriously engaged on the 20th or 21st. It is therefore assumed that all the loss of this corps occurred on the 19th.

⁴ See 95 W. R., 564.

⁵ Ex. headquarters, provost guard, Post of City Pt., Engineers' Brigade, Ind. Co. Cavalry, and Signal Corps.

⁶ Ex. general headquarters, 1st New York Engineers, pontoneers, Carr's separate brigade, District of East Virginia (7069).

⁷ Ex. 1st New York Mounted Rifles (95 W. R., 576 note).

⁸ General Sheridan reported 9000 effectives (95 W. R., 1101). It does not appear whether he included officers and artillery. 85 per cent. of the number present for duty = 11,412.

136 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of artillery and infantry, and 85 per cent. of cavalry	112,428
Add losses March 25-28	2,398 ^b
Total engaged	114,826
Killed, 1316. Wounded, 7750. Total, 9066. Missing, 1714. ^c	
Hit in 1000, 79.	

CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Present for duty in Army of Northern Vir-		
ginia, March 1, infantry	41,687 ^d	
February 20, artillery	5,428 ^d	
March 1, cavalry		4,711 ^d
March 20, Department of Richmond . . .	4,275 ^e	
December 31, 1864, Rosser's cavalry . .		¹ 2,000 ^f
	<hr/> 51,390	<hr/> 6,711

Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery, and 85 per cent. of cavalry	53,496
Deduct loss of March 24, estimated at	4,000 ^g
Total engaged	49,496

^b 97 W. R., 172, 301, 318. ^c 95 W. R., 597. ^d 95 W. R., 389, 388, 390.
^e 97 W. R., 1331. ^f 91 W. R., 928, 929. ^g Va. Camp., 321.

There is no record of the number killed and wounded on the Confederate side, and the records do not furnish a basis from which to compute the number accurately. The following may serve as an approximate accounting for the 54,000 present for duty March 29, as above stated:—

¹ Estimated as equal to Lomax's division.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 137

Captured March 29–April 7	13,769 ^a
Surrendered at Appomattox, ex. 1466 miscellaneous troops	26,765 ^b
Cavalry which escaped at Appomattox	2,400 ^c
Cavalry which left the ranks in the campaign (estimated)	1,000
Desertions from March 1, estimated at 100 per day	3,800 ^d
Killed and wounded	6,266

54,000

^a 95 W. R., 675, 800, 938, 1041, 1105, 1182. ^b 95 W. R., 1279. ^c 95 W. R., 1303. ^d 97 W. R., 1353; 96 W. R., 1265.

**DINWIDDIE COURT HOUSE AND WHITE OAK ROAD,
MARCH 29–31, 1865.**

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty March 31 in 2d and 5th corps	37,432 ^a
Present for duty March 31 in Sheridan's cavalry	¹ 11,815 ^a
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry corps, and 85 per cent. of cavalry	44,853
Add loss of 5th corps, March 29 and 30	394 ^b
 Total engaged	 ² 45,247

Killed and wounded, 2198. ^c Missing, 583. ^c

Hit in 1000, 48.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.³

Present for duty March 1 in cavalry corps, Army of Northern Virginia	⁴ 4,711 ^d
Present for duty March 1 in Rosser's cavalry division	⁵ 2,000 ^e

^a 97 W. R., 389, 391. ^b 95 W. R., 803, 810. ^c 95 W. R., 677, 827, 1110.
^d 95 W. R., 390. ^e 91 W. R., 928, 929.

¹ 2d brigade of Custer's division deducted, estimated at $\frac{2}{3}$ of corps.

² General Sheridan reported that his whole effective force of cavalry was 9000 (95 W. R., 1101), deducting from which 1080 ($\frac{2}{3}$) for 2d brigade, Custer's division, would leave 7920. This would make the total force engaged on the Union side 42,037.

³ Va. Camp., 325–335; record of Warren court, 95 W. R., 1286, 1299.

⁴ General Fitzhugh Lee, before the Warren Court of Inquiry, estimated his cavalry at "3200 sabres" (page 468 et seq.). Adding 210 for Roberts's brigade, which apparently he excluded, 500 for 5 batteries, and 10 per cent. for officers, would give 4300. This would make the total force engaged on the Confederate side 17,619.

⁵ Estimated to be equal to Lomax's division, December 31.

138 NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Present for duty March 1 in MacRae's and Cook's brigades	12,210 ^f
Present for duty March 1 in McGowan's and Scales's brigades	2,604 ^f
Pickett's division	5,391 ^f
Johnson's division	6,813 ^f
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent. of infantry and artillery and 85 per cent. of cavalry	21,530 ^g
Deduct for desertions in March, say	1,500 ^g
	20,030

^f 95 W. R., 1272, 388, 389. ^g 97 W. R., 1353; 96 W. R., 1265.

The only return of casualties is for Johnson's division, in which General Johnson reported about 1050 killed, wounded, and missing (95 W. R., 1287, 1288).

ASSAULT AT PETERSBURG, APRIL 2, 1865.

UNION ARMY.

Present for duty March 31 in 2d, 6th, and 9th corps	60,478 ^a
Present for duty March 31 in 24th and 25th corps ⁴	8,149 ^a
	68,627
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	63,823
Deduct losses March 29-April 1	524 ^b
	63,299

Killed, 625. Wounded, 3189. Total, 3814.^c Missing, 326.^c
Hit in 1000, 60.

^a 95 W. R., 603, 1160; 97 W. R., 389, 390. ^b 95 W. R., 677, 1185, 1219.
^c 95 W. R., 680, 908, 1056, 1065, 1186, 1195, 1206, 1208, 1209.

¹ Estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ of Heth's division.

² Estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ of Wilcox's division. Possibly deduction should be made for loss March 25 in Stewart's brigade, Pickett's division. (See 97 W. R., 1351; Manassas to Appomattox, 595.)

³ An addition should be made for artillery. The number cannot be fixed.

⁴ Turner's, Foster's, and Birney's divisions.

⁵ It is possible that this number should be somewhat increased, for General Ord reported (95 W. R., 1160) that operations to April 1 "cost me several hundred men."

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 139

CONFEDERATE ARMY.¹

Present for duty March 1 in Field's division 1st corps, 2d corps, and Heth's and Wilcox's divisions, 3d corps	22,491 ^d
Present for duty February 20, artillery	24,877 ^e
	27,368
Effectives estimated at 93 per cent.	25,452
Deduct losses March 25 to April 1, estimated at 4300 ^f	
Deduct desertions from March 1, estimated at 1500 ^g	5,800 ^g
	19,652
Total engaged	
(There is no record of losses.)	
Hit by 1000, 194.	

^d 95 W. R., 388, 389. ^e 95 W. R., 388. ^f Va. Camp., 321; 95 W. R., 1016.
^g See General Lee's letter, 97 W. R., 1353.

¹ Of the 1st corps, 3 brigades of Pickett's division were in retreat from Five Forks, and Hunton's brigade of same division was en route to join them (95 W. R., 1263, 1288). Kershaw's division was in front of Richmond (95 W. R., 1283), Field's division was in front of Petersburg (97 W. R., 1375); and of the 3d corps, Mahone's division was on the Bermuda front, and the remainder of these corps, with the 2d corps, were in front of Petersburg (97 W. R., 1379). Anderson's infantry was with Pickett, or en route to him (95 W. R., 1287, 1288).

² Including $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1st corps and $\frac{2}{3}$ of 3d corps of artillery, and an estimate proportionate to the batteries for the artillery of the 3d corps.

NUMBERS AND LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR 141

Fort Wagner.....	July 18.....	1,126	214	82	1,795	169	95	631
Chickamauga.....	September 19, 20.....	11,413	196	292	66,226	16,986	269	172
Chattanooga.....	November 23-25.....	5,475	97	44	46,165	2,621	65	118
Mine Run.....	November 27-December 1, 1864.....	1,272	18	10	44,496	680	15	28
Olustee.....	February 20.....	1,885	265	183	5,200	934	180	260
Pleasant Hill.....	April 9.....	994	78	79	14,300	1,000	70	69
Wilderness and Spotsylvania.....	May 5-12.....	26,302	296	.....	61,025	.....	.....	.....
Wilderness.....	May 5-7.....	14,283	140	.....	61,025	unknown	.....	284
Spotsylvania.....	May 10.....	57,827	108	.....	unknown	unknown	.....	.....
Spotsylvania.....	May 12.....	65,786	96	.....	unknown	unknown	.....	.....
Drewry's Bluff.....	May 12-16.....	2,770	172	151	18,025	2,860	158	154
Atlanta Campaign.....	May.....	15,800	.....	83	66,089	9,187	137	160
Gold Harbor.....	June 1-3.....	110,123	111	.....	unknown	unknown	.....	.....
Petersburg.....	June 15-18.....	107,907	126	.....	41,489	unknown	.....	.....
The Mine.....	June 30.....	63,797	138	.....	11,466	unknown	.....	.....
Petersburg.....	July 18.....	20,708	138	.....	20,008	unknown	.....	.....
Deep Bottom.....	July 30.....	27,974	78	59	14,787	1,240	81	88
Weldon R. R.....	August 14-19.....	2,180	64	16	17,733	270	15	113
Kennesaw Mountain.....	August 18-21.....	1,969	123	45	6,000	1,826	201	98
Tunnel.....	July 13-15.....	1,636	45	95	2,500	1,333	201	86
Peach Tree Creek.....	July 20.....	1,600	79	124	18,832	7,000	133	86
Atlanta.....	July 20.....	20,183	65	229	36,934	4,100	190	54
Atlanta.....	July 22.....	30,477	62	310	18,450	4,100	222	30
Atlanta.....	July 28.....	1,969	42	122	23,811	1,725	72	7
Atlanta.....	July 28.....	13,226	42	.....	23,811	1,725	.....	.....
Jonesborough.....	August 31.....	179	13	.....	12,631	unknown	.....	93
Jonesborough.....	September 1.....	20,460	57	.....	12,631	unknown	.....	.....
Winchester.....	September 1.....	1,169	124	56	17,103	2,103	123	273
Winchester.....	September 19.....	4,680	124	.....	10,836	unknown	.....	247
Charlin's Farm.....	September 29, 30.....	2,682	137	.....	18,410	1,860	101	221
Cedar Creek.....	October 19.....	19,039	132	60	20,324	unknown	.....	.....
Hoyden Plank Road.....	October 27, 28.....	4,074	28	.....	26,897	5,650	206	48
Franklin.....	October 27, 28.....	49,823	40	199	26,897	5,650	.....	.....
Franklin.....	November 30.....	1,194	40	.....	23,207	unknown, but small	.....	.....
Franklin.....	November 30.....	27,989	40	.....	23,207	unknown, but small	.....	.....
Nashville.....	December 15, 16.....	2,949	59	.....	13,835	unknown	.....	.....
Nashville.....	December 15, 16.....	49,773	59	.....	16,895	1,508	89	55
Hatcher's Run.....	February 5-7.....	1,330	39	.....	49,496	estimated at 6,298	.....	.....
Beatonville.....	February 5-7.....	883	58	94	20,030	unknown	.....	.....
Beatonville.....	March 16.....	16,127	79	.....	19,652	unknown	.....	194
Appomattox Camp.....	March 29-April 5.....	9,066	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appomattox Camp.....	March 29-April 5.....	114,826	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dinwiddie.....	March 29-31.....	2,198	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Petersburg.....	April 2.....	8,814	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Petersburg.....	April 2.....	63,269	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(ex. cavalry)

TABLE B.

Battle	Date	UNION				CONFEDERATE		Hit in 1000
		Force	Number hit	Force	Number hit	Force	Number hit	
Gettysburg.....	1863 July 1-3.....					75,064	22,638	301
Wilderness and Spottsylvania.....	1864 May 5-12.....			86,882	26,302			286
Fort Hudson.....	1863 June 14.....	6,000	1,604					267
Stone's River.....	1862, 1863 December 31-January 2.....							266
Olustee.....	1864 February 20.....	5,115	1,355			34,732	9,239	265
Chickamauga.....	1863 September 19, 20.....					66,326	16,986	269
Shiloh.....	1862 April 6, 7.....					40,335	9,735	241
Antietam.....	1862 September 16, 17.....					61,944	11,724	226
Stone's River.....	1864 September 16, 17.....	41,400	9,220					223
Atlanta.....	1864 July 28.....					18,450	4,100	222
Cedar Mountain.....	1862 August 9.....	8,080	1,759					219
Fort Wagner.....	1863 July 18.....	5,264	1,126					214
Gettysburg.....	1863 July 18.....	83,239	17,684					212
Seven Days' Battles.....	1862 June 25 to July 1.....							207
Franklin.....	1864 November 30.....					95,481	16,261	206
Tupelo.....	1864 July 13-15.....					26,887	5,550	206
Chickamauga.....	1862 July 13-15.....	58,222	11,413			6,600	1,326	206
Ferryville.....	1862 October 8.....					16,000	8,145	196
Atlanta.....	1864 July 22.....					36,984	7,000	190
Chancellorsville.....	1863 May 1-3.....					57,362	19,739	187
Manassas and Chantilly.....	1862 August 27-September 2.....					46,527	9,108	187

TABLE B (continued).

Battle	Date	UNION				CONFEDERATE		Hit in 1900
		Force	Number hit	Force	Number hit	Force	Number hit	
Perryville.....	1862	36,940	3,690	.....	.....	11,600	1,157	100
Wilson's Creek.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	86,748	8,602	100
Peach Orchard to Malvern Hill.....	June 29 to July 1.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
Prairie Grove.....	December 7.....	10,000	988	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
Prairie Grove.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,000	881	88
Chattanooga.....	1863	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chattanooga.....	November 23-26.....	56,369	5,475	.....	.....	.....	.....	97
Chattanooga.....	1864	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spottsylvania.....	May 12.....	.....	.....	65,785	6,020	.....	.....	96
Fort Donelson.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21,000	2,000	95
Fort Wagner.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,785	169	95
Mechanicsville.....	June 25.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16,356	1,484	91
Atlanta Campaign.....	May.....	110,123	10,628	.....	.....	.....	.....	91
Fort Donelson.....	1862	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fort Donelson.....	February 12-16.....	27,000	2,608	.....	.....	.....	.....	91
Fort Donelson.....	1865	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bentonville.....	March 19.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16,886	1,608	89
Weldon R. R.....	1864	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,787	1,200	81
Weldon R. R.....	August 18-21.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appomattox Campaign.....	1865	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peach Tree Creek.....	March 29 to April 9.....	20,139	1,600	114,828	9,068	.....	.....	79
Cedar Mountain.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	79
Pleasant Hill.....	1864	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pleasant Hill.....	April 9.....	12,647	994	.....	.....	.....	.....	78
Deep Bottom.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	77
Champion Hill.....	August 14-19.....	29,373	2,254	27,974	2,180	.....	.....	77
Jonesborough.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	76
Pleasant Hill.....	August 31.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,811	1,725	72
Pleasant Hill.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,300	1,000	70
South Mountain.....	.....	28,480	1,728	.....	.....	.....	.....	68
Richmond, Ky.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,860	450	66
Vicksburg.....	1863	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vicksburg.....	May 22.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	67
Atlanta.....	July 22.....	30,477	1,969	45,556	3,094	.....	.....	65
Atlanta.....	1861	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ball Run.....	July 21.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	61
Weldon R. R.....	1864	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Weldon R. R.....	August 18-21.....	20,289	1,803	.....	.....	32,282	1,969	61

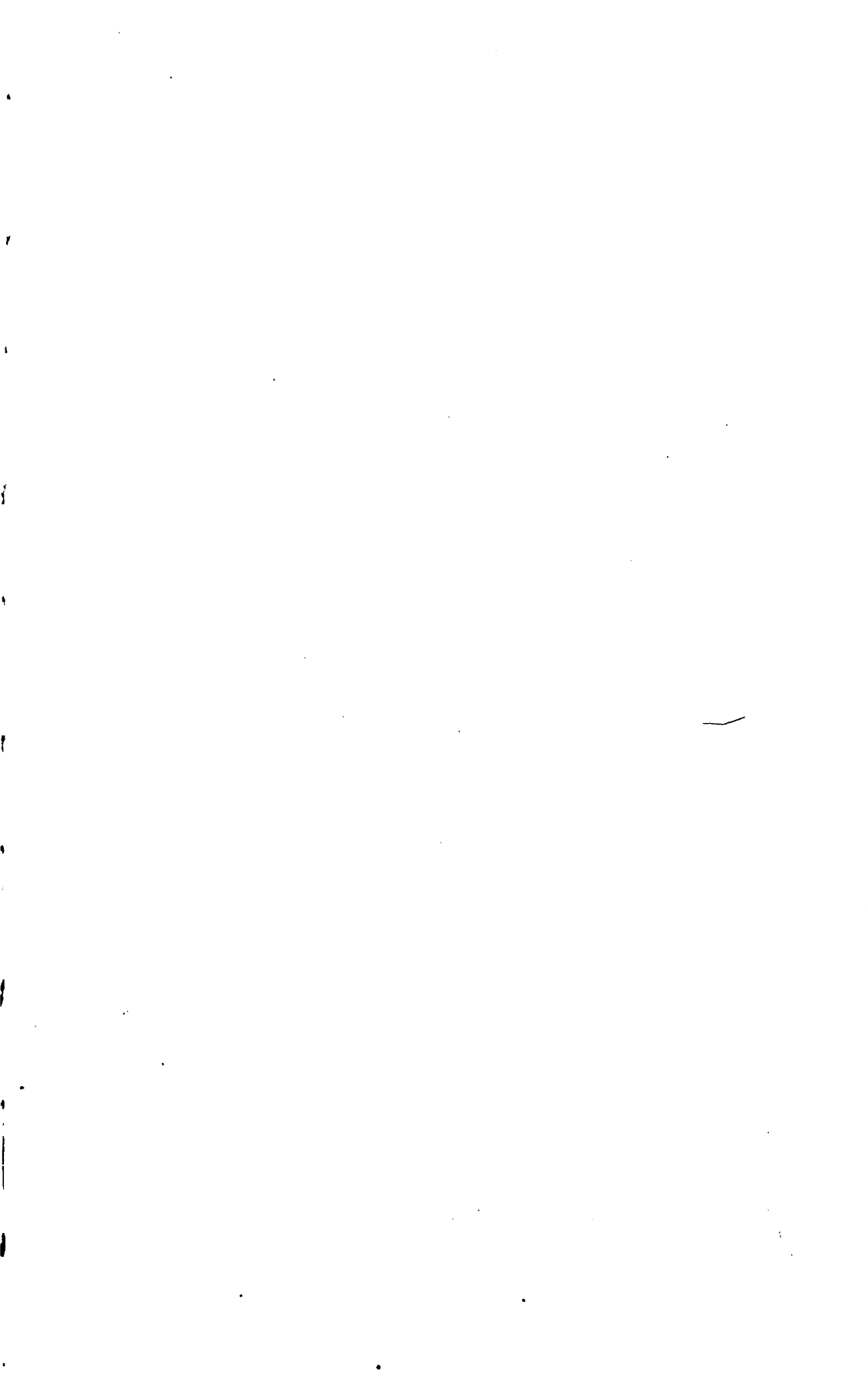
INDEX

- ALABAMA** and West Florida, force in, 32.
- Alabama militia, 60; regiments, 7.
- Arkansas census, 19; Confederate organizations, 19; state troops, 19.
- Army of Potomac, Confederate, strength of regiments, 33.
- Arroyo, Colonel, roster of Louisiana troops, 25, 33.
- Assaults on fortified lines, table of losses in, 75.
- Battalions, Confederate, strength of, 26, 32.
- Battles:—Arkansas Post, 75, 76, 140, 145; Atlanta, 75, 76, 122, 124, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145; Atlanta campaign, 119, 141, 143, 144; Bentonville, 75, 76, 134, 141, 144, 145; Boydton Plank Road, 130, 141, 145; Bull Run, 76, 77, 140, 144, 145; Cedar Creek, 76, 129, 141, 143; Cedar Mountain, 75, 76, 140, 142, 144; Chaffin's Farm, 75, 128, 141, 143; Champion Hill, 76, 99, 140, 143, 144; Chattanooga, 75, 76, 106, 141, 144, 145; Chancellorsville, 75, 76, 98, 140, 142, 143; Chantilly, 88, 142; Chickasaw Bayou, 75, 76, 96, 140, 145; Chickamauga, 74, 75, 76, 105, 141, 142; Cold Harbor, 75, 114, 141, 143; Corinth, 75, 76, 94, 140, 143; Deep Bottom, 75, 117, 141, 144; Dinwiddie, 76, 137, 141, 145; Drewry's Bluff, 75, 76, 113, 141, 143; Fair Oaks, 75, 76, 81, 140, 143; Five Forks, 75, note; Fort Donelson, 75, 140, 144; Fort Gilmer, 128; Fort Harrison, 128; Fort Wagner, 75, 76, 104, 141, 142, 144; Fredericksburg, 74, 75, 76, 96, 98, 140, 143, 145; Franklin, 75, 77, 131, 141, 142, 145; Gaines's Mill, 76, 82, 140, 143; Gettysburg, 72, 73, 75, 76, 102, 140, 142; Harper's Ferry, 75, note; Hatcher's Run, 133, 141, 145; Jonesborough, 75, 76, 125, 141, 144, 145; Kenesaw Mountain, 75, 76, 120, 141; Malvern Hill, Peach Orchard to, 77, 84, 144, 145; Manassas, 75, 76, 88, 142, 143; Mechanicsville, 75, 77, 82, 144; Mine, The, 75, 116, 141, 143; Mine Run, 76, 108, 141, 145; Nashville, 75, 76, 132, 141, 145; Olinsee, 73, 74, 75, 76, 141, 142, 143; Pea Ridge, 75, 76, 79, 109, 143, 145; Peach Orchard to Malvern Hill, 77, 84, 144, 145; Peach Tree Creek, 75, 76, 122, 141, 143, 144; Perryville, 75, 76, 95, 142, 144; Petersburg, 75, 76, 115, 138, 141, 143, 145; Pleasant Hill, 75, 76, 109, 141, 144; Port Hudson, 73, 75, 76, 101, 142, 143, 145; Prairie Grove, 75, 76, 95, 144; Richmond, Ky., 76, 89, 143, 144; Seven Days' Battles, 87, 142, 143; Shiloh, 74, 75, 76, 79, 142, 143; South Mountain, 75, 76, 90, 143, 144; Spottsylvania, 73, 75, 112, 141, 143, 144; Stone's River, 72, 75, 76, 97, 142; Tupelo, 75, 76, 121, 141, 142, 145; Vicksburg, 75, 100, 144; Weldon Railroad, 16, 75, 76, 118, 141, 144; White Oak Road, 137; Wilderness, 72, 73, 110, 143; Williamsburg, 77, 80, 145; Wilson's Creek, 75, 76, 78, 143, 144; Winchester, 75, 76, 127, 141, 143.
- Border States, men from, in Confederate Army, 19.
- Bragg, General, letter to General Lee, 17; circular of, 67.
- Brown, Governor, statement of Georgia troops, 25.

- Casualties, stated by General Cooper, 3; in Confederate muster-rolls, 5; comparison of Confederate and Union, 47, 48.
- Cassellman, Colonel, estimate of Confederate numbers, 40.
- Census of 1860 for Southern States, 21; Confederate numbers estimated from, 10, 21, 22.
- Colored troops, 50, note.
- Companies, strength of, in Confederate regiments, 30-32.
- Confederate: — Casualties, 3; deaths in battle, 3, 4, 5; — from disease, 3, 4; — from wounds, 3, 4, 5, 6, 63; — in Northern prisons, 4, 7; desertions and discharges, 3, 4, 5, 7; enlistments in U. S. army, 7; hospital returns, 3, 8, 9; leaders compared with Union leaders, 71; militia, 8; muster-rolls, 5, 6, 8; numbers, 1; numbers at close of war, 4, 7; numbers estimated by writer, 7, 8; — by Southern writers and others, 2, 40; — by War Records Office, 40; — from Confederate muster-rolls, 5; — from census, 9, 10; — from number of regiments, 26, 36, 39; number on basis of 3 years' service, 61; ratio of numbers to Union enlistments, 62; prisoners, 3, 7; recruits, 5, 8; regular army, 30, 55; regiments, strength of, 24, 30-34; reserves, 22, 23, 27; number surrendered, 7; term of service, 10, 11, 51, 56, 59, 61; state officials' estimates of troops, 23-25, 38.
- Confederate army: — Rosters, 26, 27, 29; average strength compared with Union armies at various dates, 42, 47, 48; summary of numbers in, 61; irregular organizations in, 8, 22, 35, 39, 47, 60, 61.
- Confederate Congress, acts of, 10, 11, 13, 20, 30.
- Conscription, Confederate Bureau, 13-15, 18; Laws, 10, 13, 18.
- Conscripts, Confederate, age of, 21; number of, 35; number east of Mississippi River, 18; — west of Mississippi River, 19, 20.
- Cooper, Confederate Adjutant-General, statement of numbers and casualties, 2, 3; report of numbers March 1, 1862, 44.
- Courage, limit of, in victory, defeat, and rout, 72.
- Courage and efficiency of Confederate and Union armies compared, 70, 77, note.
- Davis, Major George B., 42.
- Davis, President, promulgation of, April, 1862, 11.
- Deaths, Confederate, from disease, 3, 4, 5, 7; in battle and from wounds, 3, 4, 5, 7; Union, from disease and accident, 8, 47, 48; from wounds, 6, 47; ratio of deaths from disease in Confederate and Union armies, 8.
- Defeats, table of losses in, 75.
- Desertions, Confederate, 4, 5, 7; Union, 48.
- Discharges, Confederate, 3, 4, 5, 7; Union, 48.
- Drafts by Confederate States, 52; Union, 11.
- Early, General, estimate of Confederate numbers, 2.
- Effectives, compared with "present for duty," 66-70; method of computing, 67 et seq.
- Efficiency and courage of Confederate and Union armies compared, 70.
- Emergency men, in Union army, 50, 63.
- Enlistments, number in Union Army, 1.
- Exempts from Confederate conscript laws, 11, 13, 18, 22.
- Failures, table of losses in, 75.
- Florida, troops from, 25, 38; special troops and reserves, 60.
- Fortified lines, assaults on, 75.
- Fox, Colonel, regimental losses; 5, 28; lists of Confederate regiments, 28.
- Georgia, troops in Confederate service, 25, 38; state guards, 25, 30, 60; militia, 25.

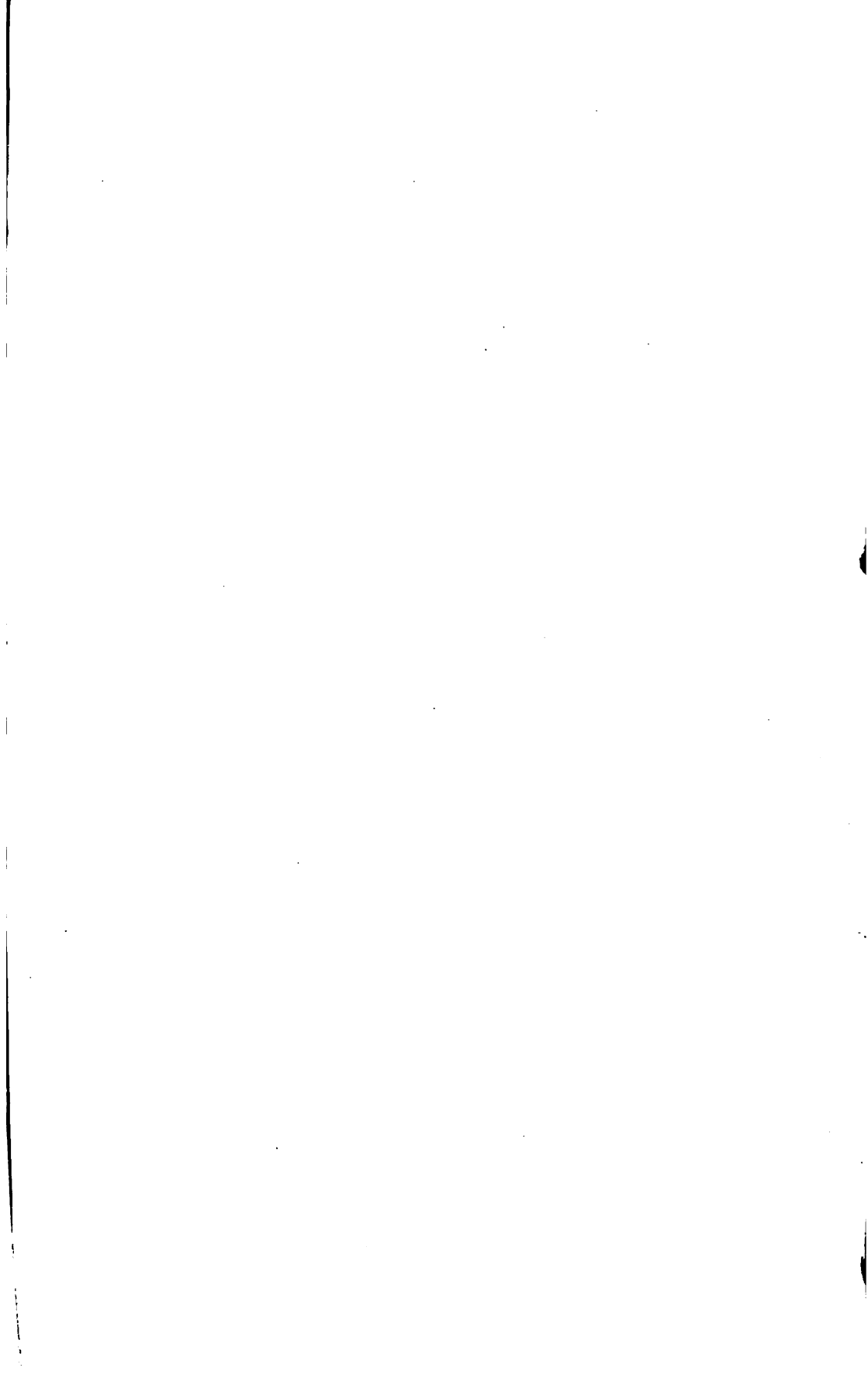
- Grant, General, General Lee's comments on his plans, 16, 17.
- Hancock's Division, 74; Veteran Corps, 1.
- Hit per 1000, in Confederate army in 48 battles of Table A, 64, 65; for number serving three years, 65; in Union army in 48 battles of Table A, 64, 65; for number serving three years, 65; in 63 battles, 65, 66; extreme instances, 72-74.
- Hospitals, Confederate, returns of, 8, 9; number of cases in, 8.
- Hostilities, termination of, May 4, 1865, 49.
- Jackson, General "Stonewall," 71.
- James River, demonstrations north of, 16.
- Jones, Colonel Charles C., roster, 26, 27.
- Jones, Dr. Joseph, estimate of Confederate numbers, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9; statement of number of cases in hospitals, 8; list of Confederate organizations, 27, 28.
- Kentucky, central (Confederate) army, 32.
- Killed, ratio to wounded, 6, 63, 66; reported as missing, 64, note.
- Killed and wounded, in Confederate army, 3, 4, 5, 7, 64; in Union army, 6, 9, 63.
- Kirkley, J. W., statement of Union killed and wounded, 6.
- Lee, General, letters of, 11, 12, 15, 17.
- Legions, Confederate, 54.
- Local defense, Confederate troops for, 19, 22, 28, 30, 35, 36, 52.
- Louisiana; militia, 60; regiments, strength, 33; roster of troops, 33; number of troops, 25.
- Militia, Confederate, 59; Union, 1.
- Missing who were killed, 64, note.
- Mississippi; militia, 35, 60; troops in Confederate army, 24, 38.
- Mississippi River, Confederate troops east of, 18; west of, 19, 20.
- Moore's roster of North Carolina troops, 23, 36, 37, 55.
- Mustar-rolls, Confederate, 5.
- Negroes, employment of, by Confederates, 16, 17, 20.
- Noncombatants, number included in "present for duty," 67.
- North, resources of the, 3.
- North Carolina, Governor's proclamation Dec. 20, 1864, 18; militia and reserves, 23, 30-36, 60; martial spirit, etc., 37; Moore's roster, 23, 36, 37, 55; troops from, 24; troops in Department of, 32.
- Northern; courage not disparaged by superior numbers, 3; prisons, 4, 7.
- Numbers, summary of calculations of, 63; in Confederate army and on basis of 3 years' service, 40, 61; in Union army and on basis of 3 years' service, 1, 50; method of ascertaining, 66.
- Officers, per cent. of, in both armies, 69, 70.
- Present for duty; compared with effectives, 66 et seq.; "equipped," 66, 69; noncombatants included in, 67.
- Ratios: — Killed to wounded, 6, 9, 63; Confederate numbers to Union enlistments, 40; between deaths by disease in Confederate and Union armies, 8, 9; of Union wounded applied to Confederate numbers, 6; of per cents. of loss applied to numbers, 65; of average strength of armies compared with ratio of numbers, 41; of average strength of armies compared with numbers reduced to 3 years' basis, 62.
- Recruits, Confederate, 35; term of service, 58.
- Reënlistments, Confederate, 39, 52, 53; Union, 1.

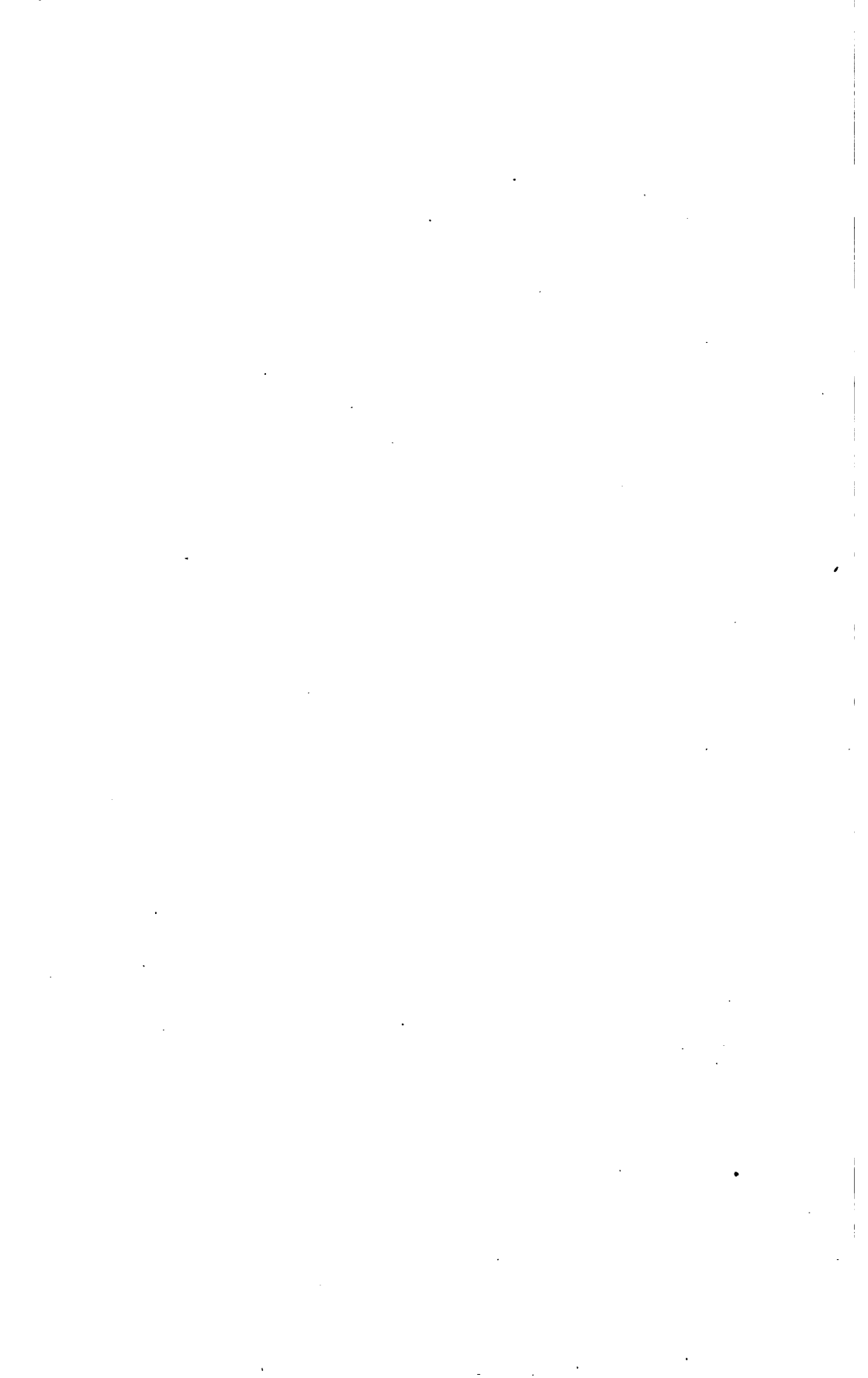
- Regiments, number of Confederate, 26-29; strength of, 30-33; strength of Union, 68.
- "Regimental Losses," 5, 28.
- Reserves, Confederate senior and junior, 16, 22, 23, 27.
- Retreats predetermined, 77.
- Returns of armies compared with estimates of numbers, 62; of Confederate armies, 32, 42-44; of Union army, 47.
- Rosters, of Confederate army, 26-29; of Louisiana troops, 33.
- Routs, 72; table of losses in, 76.
- Second Army Corps (Union), 73.
- Service, term of Confederate troops, 51, et seq.; of Union troops, 50.
- Southern valor, 3.
- Stephens, Alexander H., estimate of Confederate numbers, 2.
- Stone, Colonel Henry W., list of Confederate organizations, 19, 29, 30, 37.
- Summary of calculations of numbers, 63.
- Tables A and B, 140-145.
- Tennessee, refugees from, 22-24; regiments in Union army, 19, 24; regiments in Confederate army, 27, 29.
- Texas, census of 1860, 19; state troops, 36, 60; Confederate troops, 19, 27, 29.
- Union army:—Deaths from disease and accident, 8; from wounds, 9; number of enlistments, 1; individuals, 1; reenlistments, 1; regiments not in action, 63; returns, 47.
- Union leaders compared with Confederate, 71.
- Union troops serving short terms, 47.
- Veteran Corps (Hancock's), 1.
- Veteran Reserve Corps, 1, 63.
- Victories, table of losses in, 76.
- Virginia, militia, 30, 36, 61; regiments' strength, 33.
- Wounded, number of Union, 9; ratio to Confederate number, 9; number of Confederate, 63, 64.
- Wright, General Marcus J., estimate of Confederate numbers, 2.
- Zollicoffer, General, his command, 33.

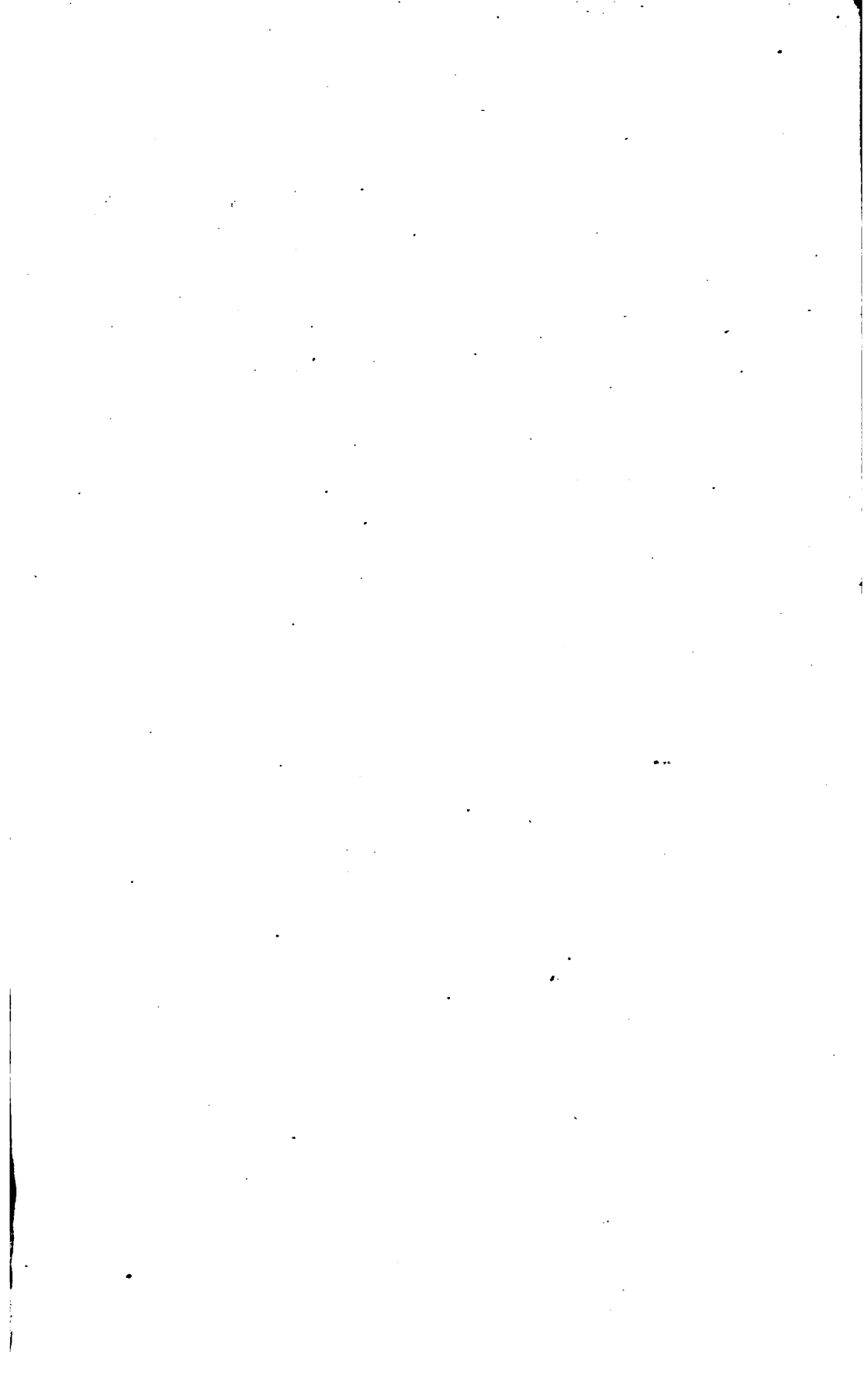


The Riverside Press

*Electrotyped and printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.
Cambridge, Mass, U. S. A.*







The Riverside Press

*Electrotyped and printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.
Cambridge, Mass, U. S. A.*

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.

Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

LIBRARY USE

MAR 28 1962

DEC 08 1992

REC'D LD
MAR 28 1962

4Dec'62GR

REC'D LD

NOV 20 1962

JUN 24 1983

REC CIR JUN 10 '83

LD 21A-50m-8,'61
(C1795s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley