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WILLIAM REYNOLDS,

REAR-ADMIRAL U. S. N.

JOHN FULTON REYNOLDS,

MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. V., COLONEL FIFTH U. S. INFANTRY.

PAR NOBILE FRATRÛM.

A M E M O I R

BY

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.



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A MEMOIR
OF
ADMIRAL AND GENERAL REYNOLDS.

Par nobile fratrum.

[The following memoir, in a form somewhat different from that in which it is now presented, was read on the 8th of March, 1880, at the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the presentation of a portrait of General Reynolds, painted by Balling, a Danish artist, and bequeathed to the Society by the late Admiral Reynolds. Representing the widow and her co-executor, I was of course debarred from even the customary license of eulogy. In the letters and addresses from which I have made liberal extracts, there will be found eloquent praise of these two eminent brothers, who lent lustre to the respective arms of the service in which they spent their lives. It is especially grateful and fitting to accede to the request of the editors for a memoir of Admiral Reynolds and of General Reynolds, for THE UNITED SERVICE addresses itself to both army and navy, and no better representatives of the two services can be found than these two brothers.—J. G. R.]

THERE are both in this country and elsewhere notable examples of two brothers achieving distinction in the sister services, but these cases are not so frequent as to allow the latest as well as the most shining instance to pass without special comment. There was much in common in the character of Admiral and General Reynolds. They were alike in their dislike of mere popular applause; alike in their zealous discharge of duty; alike in always putting their whole strength in all they did; alike in the high estimate put upon them by all who knew them; alike in enjoying the affection and confidence of all who served with them; alike in the hold they have gained upon the memory of those who could best appreciate their abilities and their patriotic devotion to their country in its hour of direst need,—in the great struggle for its existence. General Reynolds gave up his life on the battle-field in the midst of health and strength, Admiral Reynolds died in consequence of exposure to the malarial fever of the East when he was in command of the Asiatic Squadron. He had broken down forty years before under the hardships incident to his service as a subaltern in Wilkes's Exploring Expedition, was forced by ill health to go upon the retired list, and was employed for some years in the Sandwich Islands.

He returned home at once on the outbreak of the Rebellion, and, although still disabled, sought and at once found active employment, and was soon restored to the active list as a reward for his successful discharge of the important and responsible duties assigned to him. Nor were these brothers alone in serving their country in its hour of peril. An elder brother was a paymaster, and a younger was the quartermaster-general of Pennsylvania throughout the war, and served with great zeal, rendering efficient and valuable aid to his commander, the war governor of that great Commonwealth, helping to call forth its strength and contribute its resources of men and means to meet the exigencies of those trying times, and to support the strain put upon its patriotism.

William and John Fulton Reynolds were the sons of John Reynolds, who was born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1787. He was the son of William Reynolds, a Protestant Irishman, who came to this country in 1760, and married Catharine Ferree Le Fevre, the great-granddaughter of Mary Ferree, a French Huguenot, who settled in Lancaster County in 1709. This Mary Ferree came from the Rhine Provinces, where she had taken refuge from persecution in France, until a French invading army forced her to go still farther. Finally, with her three sons and three daughters and a large following of her fellow-countrymen, she found a home in Pennsylvania. She was a widow before she left Europe, yet so much of a leader that on her arrival she took up four thousand acres,—two thousand by grant from the Proprietor, who thus encouraged the settlement of an excellent class of emigrants, and two thousand by purchase. All of this and much adjacent land was subdivided among and settled by French and other Protestant refugees. They were all heartily welcomed by the Indians, whose king, Tanawa, lies buried in the grave-yard at Paradise, in Lancaster County, set apart by her. Her daughter, Catharine, married Isaac Le Fevre, who had come to this country in 1686, in his seventeenth year, first settling with many other French Huguenots in Esopus in New York, subsequently joining his fellow-Huguenots in Pennsylvania. Their son was the first white child born in Pequea Valley, now one of the richest, most populous, and most fertile tracts of Eastern Pennsylvania. Penn, in a deed dated 1712, for land conveyed to Daniel Ferree and Isaac Le Fevre, described them as “late of Steinmeister, in the Palatinate of the Rhine,” and the passport from the authorities of their native place speaks of them as coming “to the Island of Pennsylvania.” Rupp, in his “History of Lancaster County,” calls them Walloons. Redmond Conyngham reports a tradition that Mary Ferree was presented to Queen Anne at Hampton Court by Penn himself when she was on her way to his colony, and she was certainly treated with unusual honor as a representative and leader of the French Huguenots in their exodus to a new home.

The mother of Admiral and General Reynolds was Lydia, daughter of Samuel Moore, a Protestant Irishman too, an early settler in Lancaster County, and an officer of the Pennsylvania line during the Revolutionary War; although on the reorganization of the Continental army he lost his commission, his services were rewarded by a grant of land in the West and by a pension to his widow. Her maternal grandfather, Samuel Fulton, another north of Ireland emigrant, gave to John Fulton Reynolds his middle name. The Reynolds' well bear out the strong praise given to their race by Judge Chambers in his account of "The Irish and Scotch Settlers of Pennsylvania," where, after premising that "character is said to be transmissible, and that of descendants may often be traced in that of their ancestors," he asserts that "in all stations under the National and State governments, civil and military, the men of the Scotch-Irish race have generally been prominent, eminent, patriotic, faithful, wise, judicious and deliberate in council, resolute, unwavering, and inflexible in the discharge of duty, and when called by their country to face the public enemy in arms, there were none more brave, fearless, and intrepid." John Reynolds, the father, was left an orphan at an early age, and coming from Lancaster to Philadelphia, became an apprentice to Archibald Bartram, a well-known printer in the early years of the century; he was made a partner before he was of age, and the imprint of Bartram & Reynolds is found on some important publications. Reynolds returned to Lancaster, and in 1820 bought the *Lancaster Journal*, established in 1794, which grew in importance under his management. He sold it in 1836, and thenceforward devoted himself to the care of numerous important public and private trusts. He sat in the State Legislature for a short time, and he was honored with the esteem and confidence of all his associates there, while he was active and energetic at home in advancing the interests of his fellow-townsmen, and especially in the cause of education, taking a large part in securing the establishment of the system of common schools, and in every way maintaining the credit and distinction which made Lancaster pre-eminent in the State, and that at a time when its influence was quite out of proportion to its mere size. John Reynolds died in Baltimore on the 11th of May, 1853, leaving to his children the inheritance of a spotless reputation. William Reynolds, his second son, was born in Lancaster, December 18, 1815; was appointed a midshipman November 17, 1831; served on Wilkes's Exploring Expedition from 1838 to 1842, receiving his commission as lieutenant while he was with it, and went on the retired list in consequence of ill health in 1851. He was assigned to duty at the Sandwich Islands, and remained there until 1861, when he returned to the United States and applied for active duty. He was made commander of the naval forces at Port Royal, and on the recommendation of Admiral Dupont and Admiral Dahlgren, and at the

urgent request of his juniors, was restored to the active list; became a commodore in 1870; served as Chief of Bureau and as Acting Secretary of the Navy in 1873, and again in 1874; and having been made rear-admiral December 12, 1873, was appointed in that year to the command of the United States naval force on the Asiatic Station, where he was again stricken down and obliged to return home.

It was while he was in Japanese waters that he made his will, bequeathing the sword intended to be presented to his brother, General Reynolds, by the enlisted men of the Pennsylvania Reserves, and after his death sent to the Admiral, as the representative of the family, to their nephew, Lieutenant John Fulton Reynolds Landis, now of the First United States Cavalry, and Balling's portrait of General Reynolds to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, thus showing that his last thought was of that brother's memory, and that his last wish was to perpetuate the name and fame of the gallant soldier whose death on the battle-field has forever connected him with the successful issue of the great struggle at Gettysburg.

Of Admiral Reynolds's services the Secretary of the Navy, in the order announcing his death, says, "In the administration of the duties committed to him he did much to improve the *personnel* and efficiency of the enlisted men of the navy, and in the discharge of all the duties devolving on him during a long career in the service he exhibited zeal, intelligence, and ability, for all of which he was conspicuous."

Judge Allen, the Hawaiian representative at Washington, said, "Admiral Reynolds, when a young man attached to Wilkes's Exploring Expedition, made a thorough examination of the Hawaiian Islands. Returning there on account of ill health, he became strongly impressed with the importance of their position, not only as a resort for the mercantile and naval marine, but as an outpost of defense to the United States. He urged the establishment of more intimate commercial relations between the two countries, not only on the score of increased business, but as tending to strengthen the political position of the United States in its control of the great western world. His judgment was strikingly correct, not only in all that related to his professional duty, but in regard to promoting the commercial and industrial interests of the whole country. He seconded heartily the action of the government in negotiating the Hawaiian treaty of reciprocity, viewing it as of great political as well as commercial value, and urging on all the public men who consulted him on account of his long residence in the islands, the necessity of favorable action. His opinion was clear and emphatic that the treaty would give the United States a controlling interest in the islands, and it had great and deserved weight with those who, knowing his thorough acquaintance with the subject, could rely implicitly on his sound advice and his mature

judgment. The Hawaiians have always borne in grateful memory his long residence in their midst, and his action in forwarding the treaty which has secured them a strong alliance with the United States, and saved them from the risks of an unwelcome protectorate from some distant power. It was eminently characteristic of Admiral Reynolds that in his successive visits to the islands and in his frequent intercourse with their representatives, he never failed to do and to secure justice to them, and to maintain the high and well-earned confidence which has always been put in our naval representatives by those countries with which they have had most to do."

Rear-Admiral Rodgers said, "I know that Admiral Dupont placed the greatest confidence in Reynolds,—his administration of his command was always admirable, he was always ready for duty, and no one was ever detained for a moment for anything which it laid in his power to do at once. The letters on file in the Navy Department show how valuable, how indispensable were the services he rendered to the fleet at Port Royal. At the Sandwich Islands, as elsewhere, he was conspicuous for his attention to his duties and for his skill in performing them. To a ready command of language he united clear perceptions, a facile pen, and elegant diction,—he wrote well and with great strength. In losing Admiral Reynolds the navy lost one of its most devoted servants and one of its most esteemed officers."

His last service was in command of the United States naval forces on the Asiatic Station. Sailing from New York in his flag-ship "Tennessee," he went through the Suez Canal, receiving unusual honors from the Khedive of Egypt and from the British officers in India. In China and Japan, in Siam and Singapore, he discharged with great success the large discretion necessarily vested in our naval commanders in the East. Lieutenant-Commander White, who was a member of Admiral Reynolds's staff, in his rough notes of his last cruise, speaks of the thoroughness with which he carried out all his orders and visited all the points prescribed, notably working to secure the success of his negotiation with the King of Siam and to re-establish friendly relations with his kingdom, and in all his dealings and intercourse making a strong and favorable impression on all with whom he was personally and officially brought in contact. In Japan, his relations with native as well as foreign dignitaries were always of the pleasantest kind. In China, he took his flag-ship close to the great China Wall, where it comes down to the sea, and afterwards visited Peking, and was received by the regent with the distinction due his rank and the country he so well represented. His health failing, he relinquished his command and returned home. This was his last duty; he soon after went on the retired list, and after a long illness he died in Washington, on the 5th of November, 1879, and was buried in Lancaster, Pa., near his brother, General John F. Reynolds.

John Fulton Reynolds was born in Lancaster on the 20th of September, 1820. Like his elder brother William, and with his younger brother James Le Fevre, he was sent to school at Litiz, a Moravian village laid out as a colony from Bethlehem in 1757, and deriving its name from a village in Bohemia, whence many of the United Brethren had emigrated to this country. It has always been famous for its schools. Originally there was one for boys belonging to the society and another for those of other denominations, but finally these were consolidated, and in 1815 put under charge of Mr. John Beck, who remained at its head for fifty years. In his valedictory address of 1865 he gives a catalogue of his pupils, and it contains the names of William Reynolds in 1827, and John and James Reynolds in 1833. Beck was noted for his social intercourse and parental influence with his boys; he inspired them with a real love of work and a hearty enthusiasm in all their pursuits; he had the gift of teaching them how to learn, and in giving them a good practical education he made his school deservedly popular and successful, so that it left its marked and lasting influence on all those whose early education was begun under his fostering care.

One of Reynolds's school-fellows says of him, "He was a general favorite; of a kindly but very lively temperament, he attracted sympathy and love with all, and was held in high esteem,—his happy and joyous face showed that he belonged to a race of hardy scholars, working and playing in earnest." To give them a classical training the Reynolds boys were sent from Litiz to Long Green, Maryland, about sixteen miles from Baltimore, where the Rev. Mr. Morrison, a Presbyterian clergyman, had established a very successful high school in an old colonial mansion of the Carrolls. Afterwards they returned to Lancaster, where they studied French and mathematics, and received their appointments, William going into the navy as a midshipman, John to West Point as a cadet. They received these from Mr. Buchanan, at that time a leading representative of Pennsylvania in Congress, and one of that strong body of able men who made the local reputation of Lancaster and carried it into the highest place in our government. With him as with his other contemporaries the elder Reynolds maintained a life-long intimacy,—the tie of Federalism bound them together for many years, and their friendship outlived their party, for they went together over to the new Jacksonian Democracy.

Reynolds was appointed a cadet at West Point on the 30th of June, 1837, being then nearly seventeen; he graduated on the 22d of June, 1841, number twenty-six in a class of fifty-two. Among his classmates were General Wright, now Chief of Engineers U.S.A., Lyons, Garesche, Tower, Whipple, Rodman, Howe, Totten, Garnett, all well known for their share in the late war, and in which like him they won honor and distinction.

He was appointed brevet lieutenant July 1, 1841, and second lieutenant in the Third Artillery October 23, 1841; first lieutenant June 1, 1846; was in the battery under T. W. Sherman in the battle of Monterey, and was for his services there brevetted captain September 23, 1846; was engaged in the battle of Buena Vista, on the 21st of January, 1847, and was brevetted major for his gallantry on that field. He was appointed captain March 5, 1855; was mentioned in general orders for his services in the expedition against the Rogue River Indians in Oregon; took part in the Utah Expedition, under General A. S. Johnston, in 1858; and in 1859 was appointed commandant of cadets at West Point. May 14, 1861, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fourteenth Infantry, and on the 20th of August, 1861, brigadier-general U.S.V. At the request of Governor Curtin he was assigned the command of the First Brigade of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, then under Major-General McCall, in front of Washington, Meade and Ord taking the other brigades. In May, 1862, he was made military governor of Fredericksburg, and it is characteristic of the man that when he was taken prisoner at the battle of Gaines' Mills, on the 28th of June, and sent to Richmond, the civil authorities of Fredericksburg went to Richmond to solicit his exchange. This was finally effected, and he was exchanged for General Barksdale, who was also killed at Gettysburg. Reynolds employed his enforced leisure in prison by preparing a careful report of the operations of his command in the campaign under McClellan, and on his release rejoined the army on the 8th of August, and was assigned command of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, taking a distinguished part in the campaign of the Army of Virginia under General Pope; at the request of Governor Curtin he was assigned command of the militia at the time of the first invasion of Pennsylvania; returning to the Army of the Potomac, he succeeded General Hooker in command of the First Corps; on the 29th of March, 1863, he was appointed major-general U.S.V.; and on the 1st of June, colonel Fifth United States Infantry; on the 12th of June he was assigned to the command of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of his own and the Third and Eleventh Corps, and of the cavalry division under Buford; and on the 1st of July, 1863, he fell at Gettysburg at the head of his troops, in the advance of the army, and at the very outset of the great battle.

The letters written by him during his busy career well illustrate his character. He writes from camp near Monterey, 6th of December, 1846, "In the first place, our battery was ordered into town on the 21st, with four guns, four caissons, and six horses to a carriage. It was discovered that only one gun could be brought into action, the remainder was therefore exposed to the fire from the enemy's works without being of the least use. It was therefore ordered back where

it started from, and which it never should have left at the time it did; afterwards the men were of some use in driving back the cavalry of the enemy. On the 23d we were again in town, and suffered more in the loss of men than we did on the 21st; in all we had twenty-two horses and about twelve or fourteen men disabled. My horse was shot on the 21st, but has entirely recovered, and is in much better condition than ever, inasmuch as he can go over his four bars and think nothing of it. There are but three of us now in the company, Thomas, myself, and French, Bragg having succeeded to the company poor Ridgeley commanded. What an unfortunate fate was his! A more gallant officer there was never in the service, or a more noble, generous companion; his death will be regretted by the whole army. He was looked upon as the real hero of the Resaca."

From camp near Monterey, May 16, 1847, he writes, "All I care for and all the reward I expect is the good opinion of my brother officers in the army. I have been gratified to my heart's content with all the honors of war, but I am in for the war and expect to see it through." Carleton, in his "History of the Battle of Buena Vista," makes frequent mention of Reynolds, who was in command of a section of T. W. Sherman's battery, and was with his two guns in May's cavalry operations, doing gallant service in repelling the attack of the Mexicans on Buena Vista, and aiding in turning the enemy's right at very close quarters.

In General Orders No. 14, of November 13, 1857, and No. 22, of November 10, 1858, from headquarters of the army, Brevet Major J. F. Reynolds, Company H, Third Artillery, is one of the officers "specially commended for skill, perseverance, and judgment in their conduct of the campaign of March, April, May, and June, 1856, in which, after traversing the mountains and valleys of the Rogue River, the troops had a number of severe conflicts, and compelled the Indians to surrender at discretion, thus terminating the war in Southern Oregon."

In September, 1859, he writes from camp at Fort Dalles, Oregon, describing the march of eight hundred and thirty-eight miles from Camp Floyd, Utah, having spent seventy-one days on the journey. He says, "And now we are at the end of the land route, about to ship the battery by water to Vancouver, ninety miles down the river. The march was tedious but very successful, and we are glad to get away from the despicable Mormons, whose hordes have seized the heart of the country and live in open defiance of the law." On the 18th of June, 1861, writing from West Point, he speaks of "the sorrowful condition of our only lately happy and prosperous country," and of the visit of Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the preceding September, with a committee of Congressmen "laboring to reorganize our national school, whose sons never, until the seeds sown by his parricidal hand had filled it

with the poisonous weed of secession, had known any other allegiance than that due to the whole country, or worshiped any other flag than that which waved over our youthful hopes and aspirations, and under which we marched so proudly in our boyish days. Who could have believed that he was then brooding over his systematic plan for disorganizing the whole country? The depth of his treachery has not been plumbed yet, but it will be." In a letter from Fort Trumbull, on the 15th of July, 1861, he says, "I left West Point on the 3d, and have been busy since dispatching officers of my new regiment on recruiting service. I would have preferred, of course, the artillery arm of the service, but could not refuse at this time, when the government has a right to my services in any capacity. We have just received the news of General McClellan's victories, and hope they are the harbingers of the ultimate triumph and vindication of the Constitution of our fathers." After he had gone to the field, on the 4th of November, 1861, he writes, "I put the division through a review, the form of which I arranged according to my idea of the proper formation and disposition of large bodies of troops; it was a decided success. We are to have a review of three divisions soon, and in the same manner, putting about thirty thousand men in, and allowing them to manoeuvre and pass in review in proper order."

He did his best to make the Pennsylvania militia as useful as possible in the emergency for which he was called to command them in the autumn of 1862, and his labors were fully appreciated by those most competent to judge, although he was also the subject of much adverse comment by persons unwilling or unable even then to appreciate the advantage and necessity of strict military discipline. On the conclusion of this service Governor Curtin wrote him the following letter of thanks:

PENNSYLVANIA EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, 26th September, 1862.

GENERAL,—Having relieved you from duty as commander of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, recently called out for the defense of the State, I deem it proper to express my strong sense of the gratitude which Pennsylvania owes for the zeal, spirit, and ability which you brought to her service at a period when her honor and safety were threatened. That for her security you left the command of your brave division, the Pennsylvania Reserves, thus losing the opportunity of leading this gallant corps at South Mountain and Antietam, is a just demonstration of the true affection you bear for your native State, which, be assured, her freemen reciprocate, and for which, in their behalf, I am happy to make you this acknowledgment.

(Signed) A. G. CURTIN.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN F. REYNOLDS, U.S.A.

In his letter from camp near Sharpsburg, Maryland, October 5, 1862, Reynolds says, "I finished up the militia just as soon as possible as far as I was concerned, though I was sorry to see they did not

escape without an accident, which I was apprehensive all the time might occur. They were impatient beyond any conception, and finally exhausted my patience in one or two instances. The President visited us on Friday last. My corps, for I am commanding Hooker's temporarily, were kept under arms waiting in the sun for so long a time as to have entirely melted out what little remained of their enthusiasm." And on the 14th of October, speaking of Stuart's raid, he says, "When I heard that the enemy's cavalry had got over into the State I rejoiced, because I thought they must be caught before they recrossed the river, but their escape has given me quite a shock. I did not think they could perform such a feat in our own country. On the Chickahominy it was different,—the very audacity of the thing was the secret of its success. The State should have an organized force on the frontier, of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to be posted on their exposed points, which could be moved with something like rapidity in a body. Militia without artillery would be good only to be paroled."

In his letter of November 30, 1862, from headquarters First Army Corps, camp at Brooks' Station, Virginia, he says, "The removal of General McClellan was a surprise to the greater portion of the army here, but, take it altogether, it created less feeling than I feared such a step would have done. I saw more of him on this march than I have done since he has been in command of the army; had been with him most of the time in the advance, and think the step taken by the authorities in Washington was as unwise and injudicious as it was uncalled for; yet the prevailing spirit, with few exceptions, is to obedience to the powers that be and a determination to do all that they are capable of under the new chief, who is as noble a spirit as ever existed, and who feels, no doubt, in his honesty of purpose, that he is fairly qualified to carry an army of such magnitude as this through a campaign. Very few are, that I know of, under all the circumstances. The country is not as favorable as Maryland, and the enemy are now in position where they can receive supplies and information *ad libitum*. We will have a hard campaign if we undertake to advance from this point, the roads and the country itself are not favorable."

Reynolds tells his own story in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as given on the 23d March, 1863 (vol. i., Part I., p. 593): "When the Rebellion broke out I was commanding the cadets at West Point, and joined the army in the field in September, 1861, when it was opposite Washington, under General McClellan. I was attached to McDowell's corps, in the division commanded by General McCall. I remained attached to that corps until the beginning of June, when the division was sent from Fredericksburg to General McClellan, by way of the Rappahannock and York Rivers.

The division joined the Army of the Potomac at the White House about the 10th of June. I was present at the battle of Mechanicsville, on the 26th of June; it began in the afternoon, between two and three o'clock. The forces engaged were two brigades of McCall's division, occupying a defensive position along the line of Beaver Dam Creek, which had been selected prior to our arrival or about that time by General Porter, and the troops disposed on it by General Seymour and myself, under General McCall's direction. The enemy attacked the position on the two roads leading to the left and right with quite a large force and with great vigor. The action continued until nightfall, when the enemy were repulsed in every effort that he made to assault or to turn the immediate position on the right. About twelve o'clock at night I received orders from General McCall to evacuate the position and fall back on Cold Harbor Road to Gaines' Mills. I was present at the battle of Gaines' Mills, and my brigade was engaged for the greater part of the afternoon, and until our line was broken on the left and the enemy succeeded in cutting off a portion of the troops engaged on the right, and I was unfortunately cut off myself, so that I was made prisoner the next morning. I rejoined General McClellan's army at Harrison's Landing, and immediately reported for duty, and took command of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves. The division was ordered to embark for Acquia Creek, and debarked there about the 20th of August, when I proceeded to Fredericksburg and reported to General Burnside. I was then ordered to Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock; reported to General Pope, who assigned my division temporarily to General McDowell's corps. On the morning of the next day I received orders from General Pope to join him on the march to Warrenton. We took part in all the operations of his army after that time, being engaged in the battles of the 29th and 30th, retiring with his forces to the defenses in Washington."

In his examination before the Fitz-John Porter court-martial, General Reynolds testified on the 30th December, 1862, "I was a brigadier-general commanding the division of Pennsylvania Reserves. I was attached to General Porter's corps in the Army of the Potomac. My command was the first from the Army of the Potomac to the Army of Virginia. After leaving Rappahannock Station, at which point my division joined the Army of Virginia, I was temporarily attached to General McDowell's corps. On the night between the 27th and 28th of August I was at Buckland Mills, between Warrenton and Gainesville. On the morning of the 28th, after passing Gainesville for a short distance, my column was directed to the right, to march on Manassas. On the 29th I was on the left of General Sigel's command, engaged with the enemy. I was on the extreme left of our troops, facing the enemy, and their right, towards sunset, had been

extended across the pike, with fresh troops coming down the Warrenton Pike. I made an attack on their right with my division, but was obliged to change front to meet the enemy coming down the pike. I was forming my troops parallel to the pike to attack the enemy, which was on the other side of the pike, but was obliged to change front from front to rear to face the troops coming down the pike. They continued to come on there until they formed and extended across the pike. The enemy's right outflanked my left towards evening. The division was manoeuvring almost all the morning, and indeed in action all that day. On the morning of Saturday, the 30th, I was up in the front, and found the enemy in heavy force to the front and left by personal reconnoissance. Between two and three the main attack was made by the enemy."

It was Reynolds's corps and Meade's division that, under Reynolds's orders, made the one brilliant success at Fredericksburg, attacking and breaking the enemy's line. That it was nugatory for want of prompt support was no fault of Reynolds or of Meade or of their troops. Their orders were carried out with impetuous and unhesitating courage, and it does not lessen the credit due them that so competent and impartial a critic as the Count of Paris, in his "History of the Rebellion," decides that the success of the movement would not have secured a victory for the Union forces. Reynolds, in his report, after describing the movements of his command, says, "Meade's division successfully carried the wood in front, crossed the railroad, charged up the slope of the hill, and gained the road and edge of the wood, driving the enemy from his strong position in the ditches and railroad cut, capturing the flags of two regiments, and sending about two hundred prisoners to the rear;" and concludes his account of the day's operations with marked emphasis: "The gallantry and steadiness of the troops brought into action on the left is deserving of great praise, the new regiments vying with the veterans in steadiness and coolness. That the brilliant attack made and the advanced position gained by them were not more successful in their results was due to the strong character of the enemy's defenses, the advantage he had of observing all our dispositions, while he made his own to meet them entirely under cover, and the loss of many of the leading officers of the command."

In the complicated series of operations at Chancellorsville, Reynolds, with the First Corps, made a demonstration in force on the extreme left, and then moved with great speed to the extreme right, arriving there in time to take the place in line of that part of the force under General Hooker which had been overcome. In all the operations Reynolds was distinguished for his untiring activity, and a characteristic story is told of him that, when exhausted by fatigue, he coolly went to sleep at a council of war, after saying that he was in favor of moving on the enemy at the earliest moment, and he asked General Meade to

vote for him, modestly adding, that as his corps had not been engaged, he thought the question of fighting ought to be decided by those who had been, but he was sure his men would fight as well as they had marched.

The report was current in the corps at that time that Reynolds had been summoned to Washington and offered the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that he refused it on the ground that there was too much interference from Washington; that no man could lead it safely or successfully without being freed from any such control, and that he preferred doing his duty as a corps commander rather than undertake an empty honor which carried with it no equivalent power or authority. It is characteristic of the man that even in his private letters to his family he never made any mention of the fact or in any way discussed the burning questions that were then making such sad havoc in the relations of the corps commanders and the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac and the authorities at Washington.

During the long and weary months spent on the Rappahannock, broken only by the unfortunate "mud march," Reynolds kept his corps in good heart; and at a time when it became a fashion for officers high in command to go to Washington to give advice as to who ought to be put at the head of the army, Reynolds remained steadily at his own headquarters, looking after his men, holding stoutly aloof from all personal or partisan quarrels, and keeping guardedly free from any of the heart-burnings and jealousies that did so much to cripple the usefulness and endanger the reputation of many gallant officers. His only utterances were his answers made under examination before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and in the long series of volumes of their reports, wherever Reynolds spoke, his testimony is clear, straightforward, direct, to the purpose, and entirely free from any criticism of those under and with whom he served. Those reports remain one of the most extraordinary features of the war, and make a surprising exhibition of the extent to which civilians sat in judgment upon military operations, and undertook to guide, direct, influence, and criticise them. It would be surprising, indeed, if soldiers in the field could have remained strangers to the partisan and personal influences thus directly brought to bear upon them, and it is perhaps equally plain that military headquarters in Washington were most injuriously affected by the necessity, real or imaginary, of conciliating the political leaders, who mistook the power and office of representatives of the people in Congress for a direct commission to control those who by military training, both at West Point and in the field, were best fitted to direct the movements of the armies, to select their commanders, and to give them that freedom of operation which alone can secure success. It was Reynolds's merit that he never would accept command unless it was unfettered and independent and absolute within its sphere.

When Lee began his second invasion of Pennsylvania, Hooker assigned Reynolds to the command of the right wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of his own corps, the First, the Third, under Sickles, and the Eleventh, under Howard. As soon as Hooker had crossed the Potomac, he directed Reynolds to send detachments to seize the passes of the South Mountain, and to follow and confine the enemy in its line of advance within the one valley in which he then was, promising to bring a strong force within supporting distance should the enemy turn back from Pennsylvania and offer battle to the force which Hooker was about to send upon its rear.

It is a tradition of the corps that when Hooker was about to be relieved, the command was again offered to Reynolds, who declined it in favor of Meade, and that it was only long after Reynolds's death that Meade learned this fact at the War Department. Meade and Reynolds had a long conference at Frederick City, Maryland, when the former assumed command, and the plans on which the army was operated were no doubt fully discussed between them. On the 28th of June orders were issued for the army to move on the following morning in three columns from Frederick, where it had been concentrated, the First and Eleventh Corps being directed to Emmettsburg, the cavalry under Buford on the left, covering the flanks and head of the infantry column.

On the 30th the order of march was issued for the movement of the army on the 1st of July,—the Third Corps to go to Emmettsburg, the First to Gettysburg, the Eleventh in supporting distance. Reynolds, in view of the near approach to the enemy, turned over the command of his own corps to Doubleday, and directed the general movement in close communication with Buford in the advance. Buford, with his division of cavalry, encamped at Fountain Dale on the 29th of June, and started at an early hour in the morning towards Gettysburg, but unexpectedly came upon a detachment of the enemy's infantry. It was a part of Pettigrew's brigade, of Heth's division, of Hill's corps. He moved towards Emmettsburg, and received orders to march to Gettysburg, and to hold the town, with the assurance of instant support from the infantry. On the same morning a portion of Heth's division, of Hill's corps, approached Gettysburg as near as the crest of Seminary Ridge, but after a short time countermarched, and by half-past ten had disappeared. In an hour after they had gone Buford arrived with his division, passed through the main street of the town, and out upon the Chambersburg Pike, and at a distance of a mile and a half went into position,—Gamble's brigade across the pike, Devin's across the Mumasburg and Carlisle Roads. Gamble threw out his pickets towards Cashtown, Devin his towards Hunterstown, scouring the country, capturing stragglers from the enemy, and obtaining information that satisfied Buford that the rebel army was converging on Gettysburg, and

that heavy columns were already near that place. The Union army too was moving in the same direction, and on the night of the 30th, Reynolds bivouacked on the banks of Marsh Creek, four miles away, with the First Corps. Howard was with the Eleventh a few miles farther back, on the Emmettsburg Road. Sickles was with the Third Corps at Emmettsburg. General Reynolds was kept fully aware of the movements of the enemy by Buford, who had reported to him in person on the afternoon of the 30th, and through an aide of Reynolds's, who had gone with Buford to the front and returned late at night with the latest news.

Reynolds formed his troops for the night on ground and in positions from which he could fight, if attacked, until he could gather together and hold in hand his whole force, and reported the condition of affairs to Meade. On the morning of the 1st, Buford's line extended from the point where the Millerstown Road crosses Willoughby Run, across the Chambersburg Pike, around the Mummasburg, Carlisle, and Harrisburg Pikes, and the railroad, thus covering all the roads entering the town from the north and west. The guns of his light batteries were placed on a ridge parallel with Seminary Ridge, about half a mile from it, where the rest of his forces were posted, dismounted, as a reserve. Lieutenant Jerome, Buford's signal officer, says that on the night of the 30th, Buford, in conversation with Devin, said the battle would be fought at this point, and that he was afraid it would commence in the morning, before the infantry could get up. Buford, in his report, dated August 27, says, "On the 1st of July, between 8 and 9 A.M., reports came in from the First Brigade, Colonel Gamble, that the enemy was coming down from towards Cashtown in force. Colonel Gamble made an admirable line of battle, and moved off to meet him. The two lines soon became engaged, we having the advantage of position, he in numbers. The First Brigade held its own for more than two hours, and had to be literally dragged back a few hundred yards, to a position more secure and better sheltered. Tidball's battery, commanded by Lieutenant Calif, Second Artillery, fought on this occasion as is seldom witnessed. At one time the enemy had a concentric fire upon this battery from twelve guns, all at short range, but Calif held his own gloriously and worked his guns deliberately, with great judgment and skill, and with wonderful effect upon the enemy. The First Brigade maintained this unequal contest until the leading division of General Reynolds's corps came up to its assistance, and then most reluctantly did it give up the front. A portion of the Third Indiana found horseholders, borrowed muskets, and fought with the Wisconsin regiment that came to relieve them."

Reynolds left his camp early on the morning of the 1st, and starting Wadsworth's division himself and putting the whole corps in motion, went on in advance, passing through the town to the Seminary, where

he had a short but significant conversation with General Buford. From him and from actual observation he ascertained the real state of the case, and requesting Buford to hold fast the position he had secured, and promising to bring up the whole force under his command as fast as it could be concentrated, he dispatched a staff-officer to headquarters to report to Meade, another to Howard to bring up his corps with all possible speed, another to Sickles to come forward at once, another to hasten on the divisions of the First Corps, and then rode back across the fields to meet the head of his advancing column. This he took by the direct route he had improvised, leveling fences and hastily breaking a straight road for the troops to the ridge in front of the Seminary, where he found the enemy pressing Buford's cavalry, and at once led his men to their relief. Cutler's brigade, of Wadsworth's division, had the advance; three regiments, the Seventy-Sixth and One Hundred and Forty-Seventh New York, and the Fifty-Sixth Pennsylvania, Wadsworth, by Reynolds's order, took to the right, facing westward, north of the bed of an old unfinished railroad; the two remaining regiments, the Ninety-Fifth New York and Fourteenth New York State Militia, Reynolds himself took, along with Hall's Second Maine Battery, to the south of the railroad, posting the battery on the pike, the cavalry withdrawing as the infantry went into position. The Fifty-Sixth Pennsylvania, under General Hofman, had the honor of opening the infantry engagement.

Colonel Dudley, who succeeded General Meredith in command of the "Iron Brigade," says, in his report, "At a point about one mile south of the town the column left the Emmetsburg Road, bearing away to the west, and moved at double-quick across the fields to the crest of the Seminary Ridge, along which it moved with celerity to the Hagerstown Road, then bearing away again to the west, came into the low ground or swale immediately west of the Seminary; hardly had the first regiment arrived upon this ground when Captain Wadsworth, of General Reynolds's staff, brought information that the enemy were advancing in strong force along and upon both sides of the Chambersburg Pike, and almost simultaneously the Second Brigade became engaged upon the right. The directions of General Reynolds to the 'Iron Brigade' were to hurry forward and over the ridge in our front, and attack the enemy then advancing up its western slope. The Second Wisconsin being upon the ground, was at once directed to charge, and moved with their accustomed steadiness into the northern edge of McPherson's woods, and became at once hotly engaged. The Seventh Wisconsin and the following regiments were hurried up, and striking the enemy, forced them to retreat down the slope upon which he had been so confidently advancing. Reaching Willoughby Run at its base, the Twenty-Fourth Michigan and Nineteenth Indiana were hastily thrown across into position to enfilade the enemy's line."

The result of this dash was the surrender of General Archer with the larger portion of his brigade. The keen prescience of General Reynolds comprehended at once the importance of holding in check the advancing enemy and preventing, if possible, their occupation of so important a position. General Reynolds was personally attending to the hasty formation for the charge of the "Iron Brigade" when he was fatally wounded by one of Archer's skirmishers, at a moment when his aides were riding to the various regiments carrying the instructions of the general "to charge as fast as they arrived." General Doubleday, in his report, says, "McPherson's woods possessed all the advantages of a redoubt, strengthening the centre of our line and enfilading the enemy's columns should they advance in the open space on either side. This tongue of wood was also coveted by the enemy, and Archer's brigade, of Heth's division, had been sent across the run to occupy it, and was already advancing upon its base when the 'Iron Brigade' arrived." Reynolds at once ordered it to advance at double-quick, and followed as the leading regiment, the Second Wisconsin, under Fairchild, hurried into the woods, full of rebel skirmishers and sharpshooters; as soon as the troops were engaged there, Reynolds turned to look for his supporting columns and to hasten them on, and as he reached the point of woods he was struck by a ball fired, it is supposed, by a rebel sharpshooter in one of the trees, and was fatally wounded; his horse carried him a few rods towards the open and he fell on the ground dead. Almost at the moment when his aides, Riddle and Wadsworth, had effected the capture of Archer's brigade, Reynolds fell, and the rebel brigadier-general and his men were marching to the rear while the dead body of Reynolds was carried in the same direction in a bier hastily improvised, a blanket swung over muskets, on the shoulders of his men. It was first taken to the Seminary, and when the fortune of the day was turning against us it was taken through the town to a little house on the Emmettsburg Road, where it remained until the final retreat of our forces was ordered, and then it was taken in an ambulance to Meade's headquarters and to Uniontown, whence it was brought by rail to Baltimore, on the next day to Philadelphia, and on Saturday, the 4th of July, to Lancaster, where it was quietly interred along side of his father and mother. Sixteen years later the body of his elder brother, Admiral Reynolds, was brought to the same spot.

There was a general expression of grief for the untimely death of General Reynolds, and an almost unanimous feeling that his services in seizing the position in front of the town and in boldly engaging the enemy with a largely inferior force went far towards securing the ultimate success of the battle of Gettysburg, and largely contributed to make it a crowning triumph for the Union cause. His name and fame are now indissolubly bound up with the history of the operations that

culminated in the battle which finally and forever freed the North from the fear even of an invasion in force.

In General Doubleday's "Military Memoir and Report of Service" he gives an itinerary, from which, with his permission, I have made the following extracts, as throwing light on the movements of Reynolds in his last campaign :

June 14, 1863, Reynolds was given the command of the First, Third, and Eleventh Corps, constituting the right wing of the army. After the army faced about, this became the left wing.

June 20, Ewell crossed the Potomac at Williamsport with Rodes's and Johnson's divisions of his corps.

June 24, Lee, Hill, and Longstreet crossed the Potomac at Shepardsstown and Williamsport, and the columns united near Hagerstown.

June 25, Hooker's army crossed at Edwards' Ferry. The cavalry moved to Frederick City.

June 26, Early occupied Gettysburg.

June 27, Lee determined to concentrate near Gettysburg. Hooker relieved by Meade.

June 28, Meade assumed command, Reynolds returning to that of the First Corps.

Meade ordered the First and Eleventh Corps from Middletown to Frederick City, and thence through Mechanicsburg and Emmetsburg towards Gettysburg. The First Corps, under Reynolds, went to Frederick.

June 29, The left of the army at Emmetsburg. Buford's division covered the left flank, moving from Middleburg towards Gettysburg. The First Corps at Emmetsburg bivouacked on the heights to the north of the town ; in the expectation that the enemy would advance in this direction, General Reynolds devoted several hours to selecting a position for a defensive battle ; he chose a battle-ground with a stronger position back of it to retreat to in case of disaster. Buford's division of cavalry was at Fountain Dale.

June 30, it was ordered to Gettysburg to occupy it, with the promise of ample infantry support ; he encountered part of Hill's division, and, having no orders to attack, made a circuit by way of Emmetsburg ; as he approached Gettysburg a foraging party of Pettigrew's brigade, of Hill's corps, retreated through the town and fell back upon the main body, who were in the vicinity of Cashtown and Mummasburg. Buford bivouacked a mile and a half west of the town, putting Gamble's brigade across the Chambersburg Road, and Devin's across the Mummasburg and Carlisle Roads towards Hunterstown. The First Corps moved to Marsh Creek, the Third to Taneytown and Emmetsburg, the Eleventh to Emmetsburg.

The orders for the next day directed the First Corps to Gettysburg, the Third to Emmetsburg, the Eleventh to support the First.

The First Corps marched three or four miles to Marsh Creek, and took up a defensive position against the enemy, who were supposed to be at Fairfield. Wadsworth's division, with Hall's Second Maine Battery, covered the Gettysburg Road, the Third (Doubleday's) Division, with Cooper's First Pennsylvania Battery, covered the Fairfield Road, and Robinson's division, with the remaining batteries, was posted on the left, towards Emmettsburg, as a reserve. Here at Marsh Creek Reynolds was again placed in command of the left wing of the army, consisting of the First, Third, and Eleventh Corps.

July 1, early in the morning, Heth and Pender's division of Hill's corps advanced to seize Gettysburg, but Buford determined to hold on until Reynolds's corps, which was six miles back, could come to his assistance. At 9 A.M. Heth's division, of Hill's corps, and Wadsworth's division, of Reynolds's corps, were each pressing forward to occupy Gettysburg. Davis' and Archer's brigades of the former came in contact with Buford's skirmish lines. Buford, with his batteries, kept them back until Reynolds arrived, at 10 A.M., with Wadsworth's division. The cavalry then withdrew, Gamble's brigade in rear of the left of our line. Devin's brigade picketed the roads to the north and east. After placing Cutler's brigade in position, Reynolds ordered Meredith's brigade to enter the woods and attack Archer's rebel brigade. Reynolds sent word to Doubleday, "I will hold on to the Chambersburg Road; you must hold on to the Millersburg Road." This was his last message to his second in command.

Still more valuable and interesting are the last dispatches that passed between Reynolds and Meade and Buford and Howard and Sickles. These, by the kindness of General E. D. Townsend, the adjutant-general of the army, and by the courtesy of Captain R. N. Scott, in charge of the war-records office of the War Department, I am enabled to add to, and thus complete, this sketch of Reynolds's last campaign. These have not hitherto been published, and therefore may have peculiar importance, as throwing light upon the events that crowded the last hours of Reynolds's life. It is characteristic of the affection with which his memory is cherished by his old comrades and companions in arms of the regular service, that they have all gladly given every aid in their power to contribute the material for this memoir. Reynolds's name is still dear to all who knew him in the army, and especially to his fellow-graduates, and to them all that he wrote and all that was written to him in reference to the last movements under his direction at Gettysburg will have a special interest that fully justifies this use of it in these pages.

Reynolds to Howard, June 30, 1863. "Buford is in Gettysburg, and found a regiment of rebel infantry there, advancing on the town, but which retired as he advanced,—reports a division of the rebels moving in direction of Berlin. I forwarded the dispatches to Meade. Buford sent a regiment to Fairfield. I have one division and a battery on the

Gettysburg Road, one division on the road to Fairfield from here, and one in reserve on the Gettysburg Road. I do not believe the report of the enemy's marching on Berlin. They are moving out into the valley, but whether to get to York or to give battle I cannot tell."

Reynolds to Howard, June 30. "Buford sends reliable information that the enemy occupy Chambersburg in force, and are moving over from Cashtown. I have taken position behind Marsh Creek."

Reynolds to Butterfield, June 30 (found on Reynolds's body). "I have forwarded all the information to you that I have been able to gain to-day. I think if the enemy advance in force from Gettysburg, and we are to fight a defensive battle in this vicinity, that the position to be occupied is just north of the town of Emmettsburg, covering the plank road to Taneytown. He will undoubtedly endeavor to turn our left by way of Fairfield and the mountain roads leading down into the Frederick and Emmettsburg Pike, near Mount St. Mary's College.

"The above is mere surmise on my part,—at all events, an engineer officer ought to be sent to reconnoitre this position, as we have reason to believe that the main force of the enemy is in the vicinity of Cashtown or debouching from the Cumberland Valley above it. The corps are placed as follows: two divisions of the First Corps behind Marsh Run, one on the road leading to Gettysburg, and one on the road leading from Fairfield to the Chambersburg Road at Moritz Tavern; the Third Division, with the reserve batteries, is on the road to Chambersburg, behind Middle Creek, not placed in position. This was the position taken up under the orders to march to Marsh Creek. I have not changed it, as it might be necessary to dispute the advance of the enemy across this creek, in order to take up the position behind Middle Creek, which is the one I alluded to, near Emmettsburg. Howard occupies in part the position I did last night, which is to the left of the position in front of Middle Creek, and commands the roads leading from Fairfield down to Emmettsburg and the pike below."

Meade to Reynolds, June 30, 11.30 A.M. "Your despatch is received. The enemy undoubtedly occupy the Cumberland Valley, from Chambersburg, in force; whether the holding of the Cashtown Gap is to prevent our entrance or is their advance against us remains to be seen. With Buford at Gettysburg and Mechanicsville, and a regiment in front of Emmettsburg, you ought to be advised in time of their approach. In case of an advance in force either against you or Howard at Emmettsburg, you must fall back to that place, and I will reinforce you from the corps nearest to you, which are Sickles at Taneytown and Slocum at Littlestown. We are as concentrated as my present information of the position of the enemy justifies. I have pushed out the cavalry in all directions to feel for them, and so soon as I can make up any positive opinion as to their position I will move again. In the

mean time, if they advance against me, I must concentrate at that point where they show the strongest force. . . .

“P.S.—If, after occupying your present position, it is your judgment that you would be in better position at Emmettsburg than where you are, you can fall back without waiting for the enemy or further orders. Your present position was given more with a view of an advance on Gettysburg than a defensive position.”

June 30, 1863, Reynolds assigned command of the three corps forming the left wing, viz., First, Eleventh, and Third, by order from Headquarters Army of the Potomac.

Sickles to Meade,—June 30, Bridgeport, on the Monocacy,—inclosing orders from Reynolds, as follows: “General Reynolds wishes you to camp upon Cat-Tail Branch with your command, and for you to send a staff-officer to his headquarters. General Reynolds wishes you to face towards Gettysburg and cover the roads leading from Gettysburg.” Sickles says, “It is in accordance with my written orders received from headquarters at 1 P.M., but in conflict with the verbal order given me by the general commanding while on the march. Shall I move forward? My first division is about a mile this side of Emmettsburg.”

Buford to Pleasonton, Gettysburg, June 30. Reports that he entered at 11 A.M., found everybody in a terrible state of excitement on account of the enemy’s advance to within half a mile of the town. “On pushing him back, I learned that Anderson’s division was marching from Chambersburg by Mummasburg, Hunterstown, and Abbotstown in towards York. I have sent parties to the two first-named places, towards Cashville, and a strong force towards Littlestown. . . . The troops that are coming here were the same that I found early this morning at Fairfield. General Reynolds has been advised of all that I know.”

Buford to Pleasonton, Gettysburg, June 30, P.M. “A. P. Hill’s corps, composed of Anderson, Heth, and Pender, is massed back of Cashtown, nine (9) miles from this place. His pickets, composed of infantry and artillery, are in sight of mine. There is a road from Cashtown. . . which is terribly infested with roving detachments of cavalry. Rumor says Ewell is coming over the mountains from Carlisle. . . . I have kept General Reynolds posted of all that has transpired.”

Reynolds to Buford, June 30. “Have you ascertained positively about the infantry force of the enemy at Fairfield, whether they have fallen back or are still in the position they occupied at Newpilsman’s Farm? Send me word by bearer.”

Buford to Reynolds, June 30, 10.30 P.M. “I am satisfied that A. P. Hill’s corps is massed just back of Cashtown, about nine miles from this place. Pender’s division of this (Hill’s) corps came up today, of which I advised you, saying ‘the enemy in my front was increased.’ The enemy’s pickets, infantry and artillery, are within four

miles of this place, at the Cashtown Road. My parties have returned that went north, south, west, and northeast, after crossing the road from Cashtown to Oxford in several places. They heard nothing of any force having passed over it lately. The road, however, is terribly infested with prowling cavalry parties. Near Heidlersburg, to-day, one of my parties captured a courier of Lee's; nothing was found on him. He says Ewell's corps is crossing the mountains from Carlisle, Rodes's division being at Petersburg, in advance. Longstreet, from all I can learn, is still behind Hill. I have many rumors and reports of the enemy advancing upon me from towards York. I have to pay attention to some of them, which causes me to overwork my horses and men. I can get no forage or rations; am out of both. The people give and sell the men something to eat, but I can't stand that way of subsisting. It causes dreadful straggling. Should I have to fall back, advise me by what route."

Mr. James Beale, formerly of the Twelfth Massachusetts (First Brigade, First Division, First Corps), a diligent student of the military history of the Rebellion, has made some important contributions from unpublished letters in his collection as to the exact details of the opening of the battle. G. B. Garrison, who was employed by General Buford as a scout, writes that "I find in my old note-book that Reynolds came on the field twenty-five minutes before nine, in advance of his corps; the first infantry came on the field fifteen minutes after nine."

General Weld, then a captain and aide-de-camp on Reynolds's staff, finds in his diary that "at eight o'clock Reynolds and his staff started for the front. . . . On the crest of the hills beyond we could see the enemy's guns going into position; . . . a few hurried words from General Buford showed the condition of affairs. . . . General Reynolds turning to me [Weld] said, 'Ride at once at your utmost speed to General Meade, tell him the enemy are advancing in strong force, and that I fear they will get to the heights beyond the town before I can. I will fight them inch by inch, and if driven into the town I will barricade the streets and hold them back as long as possible.'"

General James A. Hall, who commanded the Second Maine Battery, writes, "As to the selection of the position, Reynolds was *the* man. . . . Early on July 1st I heard Buford say, 'Reynolds, I have run upon some regiments of infantry near Gettysburg,—they are in the woods; I am unable to dislodge them.' Reynolds at once dictated a message to General Meade in my hearing, something like this: 'Buford just now reports that he finds a small force of the enemy's infantry in a point of woods near Gettysburg, which he is unable to dislodge, and while I am aware that it is not your desire to force an engagement at that point, still I feel at liberty to advance and develop the strength of the enemy.' I was at Reynolds's side for some little time at Seminary

Ridge, having gone ahead of my battery at his request, and I rode from Seminary Ridge out to the position taken by my guns, some half-mile beyond the ridge, by his side, and all his remarks and appearance gave me the impression that he had gone there to stay."

Reynolds's death was felt at once on the field, and while it is not possible to see how even his enthusiastic and inspiring gallantry could have overcome the immense numerical majority of the enemy, there can be little doubt that his skill and courage would have done much to lend strength to the forces in hand, and that his fiery impatience would have quickened the arrival of the rest of his command. As it was, the first day's battle at Gettysburg gave time for the concentration of the rest of the army on the hills back of Gettysburg, the heights which Hancock at once strengthened, and Meade afterwards defended, with such admirable appreciation of the vantage-ground that Reynolds had secured, by sending Buford to seize the hills in front of the town, and by bravely putting his slender infantry force against the overwhelming strength of the enemy. Such is the record of a life spent in the service of his country and sacrificed in the defense of the Union. His whole career is marked at every point by indefatigable zeal and distinguished ability, by the hearty approval of his superiors in command, the affection of his fellow-officers, the confidence of his men, the perfect trust of all who knew him.

In reply to the address accompanying the presentation of a sword of honor to General Meade by the Pennsylvania Reserves, after Reynolds's death, Meade said, "Reynolds was the noblest as well as the bravest gentleman in the army; when he fell at Gettysburg the army lost its right arm." Professor Kendrick, an instructor at the Military Academy when Reynolds was a cadet at West Point, and still actively engaged there, his dear friend through life and still full of tender sorrow for his loss, thus sums up in the eloquence of truth the leading characteristics of his pupil,—“Although Reynolds entered the Military Academy as one of its youngest members, he quickly took a very prominent place in the confidence and esteem of his classmates, many of whom have since loyally written their names high in the military annals of the country, while his frank and manly bearing gained him the respect of the corps of instructors. Independent in thought and action, of clear and definite perceptions, his opinions, on all subjects within the range of a young man's discussion, were well formed and well maintained, and yet so calmly and courteously as to leave no sting in the breast of an opponent, but rather higher respect and greater friendship. He worshipped truth and duty in the highest acceptance of those words; with all these great qualities he went forth from the Academy to the wider field of army service, and as word came back again and again of his enviable progress, it was recognized as the expected fulfillment of his early promise. It was

his good fortune to serve in the beginning of his military career in intimate connection with that other great man and soldier, George H. Thomas. Together and in the same battery they served in the gallant defense of Fort Brown, at the commencement of the Mexican War; together they fought successfully at Monterey, and together they struggled in the desperate and important battle of Buena Vista, which largely aided in the capture of Vera Cruz and the victory of Cerro Gordo. In all these conflicts on General Taylor's line, Reynolds was greatly distinguished for his calm courage, his modest self-reliance, and his military conduct. Of him General Taylor's accomplished chief of staff, Colonel Bliss, wrote, 'Your young friend has the general's high regard, and he is the idol of his men.' In his great and varied service in Florida, in Texas, in Mexico, California, Oregon, Utah, Reynolds always showed himself without fear, without reproach, and without an enemy. When he yielded up his life, still so full of promise, in the defense of his native State and of his country in the turning victory of the war at Gettysburg, it was but the fitting termination of his whole life. England 'almost regretted the victory of Trafalgar,' since it cost her the death of Nelson; our army and 'thinking men' throughout the North, who knew his high worth and high prospects, regretted that Gettysburg could not be won without the loss of General John F. Reynolds."

General Devens, in his oration on General Meade and the battle of Gettysburg, said, "Reynolds was known to the whole army as a soldier in whose bravery and skill the most implicit confidence might be placed. Modest and simple in manner, with no trace of affectation or boasting, reliable as steel, a true soldier, he died a soldier's death, grandly contributing to the triumph he was never to share. Where could man better meet the inevitable hour than in defense of his native State, waiting with eager zeal and dauntless heart the advance of the coming foe?"

General Heth spoke, in his address at Bunker Hill, of the respect and admiration felt on his, the Southern side towards Reynolds, "at whose death the nation well might mourn, and in doing so honor herself."

General Meade himself never ceased to bear witness to his sense of personal loss at the death of the fellow-soldier with whom he had gained his first distinction in the division of Pennsylvania Reserves.

The "History of the Pennsylvania Reserves," almost an official record of the brave men who served in that splendid body, is full of the gallant deeds of Reynolds in his successive steps as brigade, division, and corps commander. It tells in detail the story of the eventful 30th of June, 1862, when "the Reserves, greatly outnumbered, were only able to hold the enemy in check by rapid and unceasing firing; their left was pressed back, and to the consternation of their mounted officers, who from their position had a view of the field, the troops on the right of

the Reserves gave way in utter confusion. At this critical moment the gallant Reynolds, observing that the flag-staff of the Second Regiment had been pierced by a bullet and broken, seized the flag from the color-bearer, and dashing to the right, rode twice up and down his entire division line, waving the flag about his head and cheering on his men. The effect upon the division was electrical; the men, inspired by the intrepidity of their leader, rent the air with cheers, plied their tremendous musketry fire with renewed energy and vigor, and in a few moments the thinned ranks of the rebel regiments gave way before the steady and unrelenting volleys poured upon them." Gordon, in his "Army of Virginia," says that "Reynolds's division like a rock withstood the advance of the victorious enemy and saved the Union army from rout." The sword of honor voted to General Reynolds by the enlisted men of the Division of Pennsylvania Reserves, at the close of the Peninsula campaign, was a natural expression of the affection and confidence with which his men always honored him.

The men of the First Corps, emulating the example of the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, soon after the death of Reynolds, set on foot the plan of a heroic statue on the field of Gettysburg; and now a bronze figure of Reynolds by Ward, one of the first artists of the country, fitly marks the part taken by Reynolds in that decisive battle, and his pre-eminent services in securing the ultimate victory, by seizing the position commanded by the spot from which his noble monument now looks out over the field where he gave up his life. At a later day, the First Corps placed in the library at West Point a portrait of Reynolds by Alexander Laurie, who, besides being an able artist, had served under Reynolds, and therefore was especially well fitted to portray his features, that they might recall to future students of the Military Academy the example of one whose life and death are alike among the most sacred traditions and the most instructive lessons of West Point. Reynolds's was a face and figure worthy the sculptor's chisel and the painter's brush,—fully six feet in height, he was so well proportioned that he did not seem to be beyond the average; his dark hair and eyes, his ruddy cheeks, tanned by constant exposure, his pearly teeth, shining through his tawny moustache, his high cheek-bones that gave him almost the look of an Indian, his long, lithe figure, his almost perfect horsemanship, his quickness in motion, his simplicity in dress and demeanor, his watchfulness and incessant activity,—these live in the memory of the thousands who are proud to recall their gallant leader. General Reynolds was a true hero in life and in death,—his one purpose was to do his duty, and he did it without regard to cost or consequences. The affectionate confidence of all under whom he served and of all who served under him, and the honors freely conferred on him, are the best evidences of the well-founded reliance on his soldierly qualities. Rising steadily to the demands made upon his skill and military genius, he

was as perfectly master of himself and all his faculties when he was in charge of a section of artillery in his first engagement in the Mexican War as when he commanded the left wing of the Army of the Potomac in his last battle. What he was as a boy he was to his last hour,—bright, cheerful, hopeful, earnest, zealous, enthusiastic, courageous, modest, and unassuming. These are all homely virtues, but their perfect union made and marked General Reynolds as a man fitted for the highest honors, yet seeking none. In the long roll of the sons of Pennsylvania who have won honor for the State and for the Union, none served with more unselfish devotion and a higher aim; and coming as he did of a purely Pennsylvania stock, commanding largely Pennsylvania troops, and falling on Pennsylvania soil in defense of his State from invasion, it must be borne in mind that he was a soldier of the army of the United States, with no tincture of ultra State loyalty, and with no hesitation in doing his duty, wherever his lot was cast, in defense of the flag of the Union.

It is especially gratifying to those who are nearest to these gallant brothers in blood and name that Admiral Reynolds's bequest of the portrait of General Reynolds to the Historical Society was accepted with such fitting solemnities. Henceforth the visitor who looks for the worthies of the Commonwealth, whose portraits adorn its hall, will turn with reverent eye

"To him whose loyal, brave, and gentle heart
Fulfilled the hero's and the patriot's part.
To public duty true,
Mild in reproof, sagacious in command,
He spread fraternal zeal throughout his band,
And led each arm to act, each heart to feel.
These were his public virtues; but to trace
His private life's fair purity and grace,
To paint the traits that drew affection strong
From friends, an ample and an ardent throng,
And more, to speak his memory's grateful claim
On those who mourn him most and bear his name,
O'ercomes the trembling hand,
O'ercomes the heart, unconscious of relief,
Save placing this memorial o'er his dust."

Gettysburg has his heroic statue, West Point his portrait, and now Philadelphia has enshrined him in a place of honor, to keep successive generations mindful of the noble life and the heroic death of John Fulton Reynolds.

NOTE.—General James L. Reynolds died in Philadelphia on April 5, 1880. The following, from the Philadelphia *Times* of the 6th, gives the leading characteristics of the third and youngest of this notable group of brothers :

James Le Fevre Reynolds was born in Lancaster on the 8th of March, 1822. He was the youngest brother of the late Admiral William Reynolds, who died in 1879, and of General John F. Reynolds, who fell at Gettysburg. Their ancestry was fully traced out in a memoir of these two gallant officers lately read before the Historical Society, and "Le Fevre" was a name that James Reynolds inherited from his Huguenot forefathers. James Reynolds was educated with his brothers at the Moravian village of Litiz, and afterwards at the first public school established in Lancaster. He was originally intended for West Point, but the appointment was given to his elder brother, John F., whose record is so brilliant a part of the military history of this State and of its share in the Rebellion. James Reynolds graduated at Marshall College, Mercersburg, now Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, and he testified his interest in his alma mater by long service as a trustee and by valuable gifts to its library. He began studying law with John R. Montgomery, one of the leaders of the Lancaster bar, and was admitted in 1844. He was principally engaged in the active litigation growing out of the complications of the great Coleman estates, of which his father had been manager for one branch of the family, and he argued some of the most important questions at issue in it at a comparatively recent period before the Supreme Court. He had been offered by Governor Packer the appointment of a judge on that bench in 1854, but he preferred the absolute independence of a practitioner, and, indeed, his nature fitted him better for political and forensic triumphs than for the bench. He inherited from his father a strong admiration for, and great personal intimacy with, Mr. Buchanan, and largely contributed to his nomination and election to the Presidency, but his outspoken opposition to the extension of slavery soon brought about its natural and necessary result. He left the Breckenridge, or pro-slavery, wing of the Democratic party, voted in 1860 for Douglas, and when the Rebellion broke out threw himself with all his strength into the Republican party, voted for Lincoln in 1864, and thenceforth allied himself with its leaders. He served as quartermaster-general of the State under Governor Curtin, and labored with all his great ability to second the government in every measure necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, serving as a private soldier for a time with the "emergency men." In 1872 he was a Republican member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, but, with characteristic independence, he declined to sign the new Constitution because he disapproved of many of its provisions. He remained an active counselor in all the movements and management of the Republican party in the State until his health broke down, and his last illness, a period of long and weary suffering, borne with great patience, was softened by the sympathy of friends of all political parties and men of all pursuits. He was an indefatigable reader and a diligent student and collector of books, and his bachelor quarters in Lancaster were so crowded with his library that he hardly left himself room for ordinary comforts. He had a large circle of warm personal friends and admirers, and his ability, especially in conversation on high topics of political and legal interest, won the applause of all with whom he was brought in contact, without regard to party or profession. His prodigious reading was freely at the service of all his listeners, for he had an accurate and retentive memory for the smallest events of any historical and literary importance, and his minute acquaintance with the political and personal history of the country, and especially of his State, made him an invaluable ally. In law and in politics he was a mine of information for his colleagues and his associates, and, as he was singularly unselfish and free from any personal ambition, he was

always ready to help those who came to him for assistance. His affectionate regard for the memory of his gallant brother, General John F. Reynolds, made him a diligent student of his whole military career, and he looked with sovereign contempt on those who tried to lessen the services by which General Reynolds contributed so largely to secure the great and important victory at Gettysburg. James L. Reynolds was fitted for a much larger space than that he filled in the public estimation, and it was by those who were nearest to him in his political and his professional career that his great abilities were best appreciated. He was a man of uncompromising fidelity to his party, to his friends, and to his country, and he had an unshaken faith in its future that carried him far beyond those who were wrapped up in the small incidents of its immediate daily history. His career of usefulness and activity was cut off at a comparatively early age, but he was too sturdy in his independence and too outspoken in his judgments of men and measures to subordinate himself to party leaders for the sake of place, and he preferred his profession to any political office, so that to the last he was free to speak and act as he thought right.

WILLIAM REYNOLDS,

REAR-ADMIRAL U. S. N.

JOHN FULTON REYNOLDS,

MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. V., COLONEL FIFTH U. S. INFANTRY.

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A M E M O I R

BY

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

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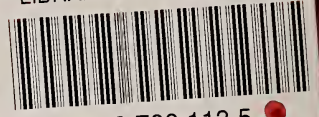
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