





THE HISTORY

OF THE

NINETEENTH REGIMENT

OF

MAINE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

1862-1865,

BY

JOHN DAY SMITH

LATE A CORPORAL IN COMPANY F

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE
NINETEENTH MAINE REGIMENTAL
ASSOCIATION

WITH AN INTRODUCTION WRITTEN BY BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL

ALEXANDER S. WEBB

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

PRINTED BY
THE GREAT WESTERN PRINTING COMPANY
1909

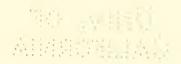
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BY

JOHN DAY SMITH,

MINNEAPOLIS.



THIS VOLUME IS REVERENTLY DEDICATED TO THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE NINETEENTH MAINE REGIMENT OF INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS

TO THE LIVING AND THE DEAD,
IN MEMORY OF
THEIR SACRIFICES, THEIR BRAVERY, THEIR SUFFERINGS AND THEIR DEATH





Colonel Francis E. Heath.

INTRODUCTION

Hon. John Day Smith, Minneapolis, Minn.

My Dear Judge Smith:

It is not only a high compliment to be asked to write a few words of introduction to the history of the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, a typical Second Division, Second Corps Regiment, but it is to me a welcomed opportunity to express, nearly fifty years after the severance of the ties that were characterized by mutual confidence and respect, the admiration and esteem I have on every occasion endeavored to manifest when I have recalled your patriotism and sacrifices.

A history of the Nineteenth Maine is a history of the army of the Potomac. A record of your deeds is the record of the patriotic services of the highest type of the Union Volunteers. It was to such as you that was due the final obliteration of the false impression that the northern farmer or mechanic, school teacher or lawyer could not be made the equal of any soldier in the world.

You proved your capacity and your personal bravery on every opportunity, at every encounter with your enemies, and you were appreciated and honored by your associates.

When, at Gettysburg, July 3rd, 1863, my Brigade was almost overwhelmed, you and the remainder of the Second Division, came to the midst of that fearful struggle and carnage, and made good the resolve, that none of that 15,000 self-confident misguided Corps of Rebels should come within our lines, save as prisoners and without arms. Without earthworks, with silenced batteries, you withstood the final attack as we knew you would, and you joined in the final triumph.

Your historian will tell the story of this, our first service together, and however strong may be his claim for the recognition of this most opportune and most necessary support, rest assured that I, as commander of the Second Brigade, remain a grateful and willing witness to your efficient and gallant support.

Well do I remember your coming on the run, upon the field of battle at Bristoe Station, in the afternoon of October 14th, 1863. For sixty hours, with only six hours rest, you had either been in line of battle, skirmishing with the enemy or hurrying north by forced marches. General Lee was trying to get between the old Second Corps and the rest of the army, and then hoped to fall upon us, thus separated. I was then in command of your Division, and General Warren commanded the Corps—General Hancock being absent by reason of his Gettysburg wound. Your Brigade, with Arnold's Rhode Island Battery, led the Corps on that day's march, and your Colonel Heath commanded the Brigade. You arrived none too soon. You ran into position beside the railroad, the right of the Brigade resting near Broad Run. The Rebel Brigades of Cooke and Kirkland of Heth's Division, Hill's Corps, consisting of nine regiments of North Carolina troops, supported by Davis' and Walker's Brigades of eight regiments more, of Mississippi and Virginia soldiers of the same Division, were already charging down upon the position held by your own and the Third Brigade of our Division. The enemy reached the railroad in front of your Brigade, but the Rebel soldiers were driven back with shot and bayonet and your Regiment captured the flag of the Twenty-second North Carolina Regiment and a number of prisoners. Heth's Division lost, according to their own admission, nearly one thousand men in killed and wounded. besides many prisoners and five guns. You may well look back upon that engagement with pride.

From that period, during the long season of my command of the Second Division of our Corps, you were with me a valued and efficient Regiment. Always reliable and most trusted, it was natural that I should be gratified at your retention in my command when our Division was consolidated and became the First Brigade of the new Second Division.

But you were destined to perform a part in the struggle of the Wilderness which was of so great importance to me, as the General commanding the Brigade, that to this day, I think with dismay of what might have happened had you not remained alone as a Regiment, to stop the pursuit of the twelve Regiments of my command which had been, after six hours of bitter conflict, outflanked by General Wilcox's Rebel Division.

I talked over this half days contention with General Wilcox, several times during the first ten years after the war, and he always spoke of the splendid fighting qualities of my Brigade; since we, holding the right of the Corps, without the Commander of our Division to appeal to for more support, were made the point of attack by Field's Division on our left front and Wilcox's Division on our main front and right. We held it until I was ordered to leave you to go to the left and to try to rally the broken Regiments of the Brigade of another Division, which was falling back before Longstreet's midday attack.

It was an unfortunate order and it was followed by a more injurious and improper order i. e. the order for you to break the line you had so strongly held, and to charge the reinforced lines of the enemy. That order caused the repulse of May 6th.

During my absence of about fifteen minutes, General Wadsworth, who had assumed command of the right, had ordered this charge and had fallen, leading my men.

I came from the left front and found my line in possession of the Rebels; but, on the plank road, formed across it, was the Nineteenth Maine under Colonel Connor.

What a grand sight that was! Your Regiment was to hold back that Rebel advance and I had the opportunity to be with you.

No wonder that General Wilcox concluded that a new line of battle had been formed—no wonder that the Rebels halted to prepare a strong attack on the men they had fought for five hours without success.

The Nineteenth Maine remained at that point until time had been allowed to remove Colonel Connor, and the other wounded, to the Brock Road; and then, under my order, the Regiment left like skirmishers, and came to the remainder of the Brigade from the front. It was a noble service.

Of the charges and fighting on the several days up to the 12th of May, others will write. I must be allowed to add that I was wounded near your Regiment in the morning charge at the Angle at Spottsylvania Court House and I do not think it is possible to ask of any troops to perform a more hazardous duty than to charge those fully manned, strong, well protected breastworks. You took them as I was carried back.

May these few words remind you of my service with youremind you of one who was and is proud of his association with you.

ALEXANDER S. WEBB,
Brevet Major-General U. S. A. and U. S. V. .
New York City, January 2nd, 1909.

PREFACE

A History of the Nineteenth Maine Regiment was discussed in the reunions of the Regimental Association more than twenty years ago. Spasmodic efforts were made from time to time to have a history of the organization written and printed, but nothing tangible came of it. Sergeant Silas Adams, the long time Secretary of the Regimental Association, began to speak and work for the history many years ago. The great difficulty has been that when members of the old Regiment who were qualified to prepare a history became interested in the project, they sickened and died. Had Captain Charles E. Nash lived, the work should and probably would have been undertaken by him. He was best equipped for this labor.

Some five or six years ago the Regimental Association decided that a history should be prepared by the different members of the old organization, and funds solicited for the printing and binding of the same. Certain periods of our army service were assigned to different men. A very few of these assignments were prepared, some of the men who were to write died before completing their work and some were too busy to undertake the task. The author was appealed to and urged to take these contributions, fill up the gaps made by the missing assignments, make the necessary corrections and prepare a history of the Regiment. After going over the material, he came to the conclusion that it was a hopeless task. A history thus prepared would have been a medley-a hodgepodge—having neither uniformity, continuity nor coherence. Different writers varied greatly in their recollection of events, in their appreciation of certain crises in the history of the Regiment and in their estimation of the service and ability of commanding officers.

The author then went to Washington and examined all of the original records of the Regiment. Two years ago he began the preparation of this volume, and from

such time as he has been able to take from his somewhat arduous official duties, he has prepared and submits this history this former comrades in arms.

Many of the men of the Regiment who were unjustly reported as deserters the author has traced into Confederate prisons, where some of them died.

It is not claimed that the Roster of the Regiment, which appears at the end of the volume, is entirely accurate, but it is urged with some degree of assurance that it is more nearly correct than anything which has ever been printed.

Hundreds of letters have been written in the preparation of this work. The replies to those letters would convince one, if proof were necessary, that the survivors of the Regiment are growing old. Inability to recall events that a person would suppose could never be forgotten characterize the greater part of the answers to these letters of inquiry.

The author was fortunate in keeping and preserving a daily record of important events, which has been of great service to him in this undertaking.

General Selden Connor furnished the material for the greater portion of the chapter on the Battle of the Wilderness. The complimentary allusions to himself in that chapter were written by the author. In all other cases credit is given for material furnished and used.

The author has been free in his comments and criticisms, and for these he alone is responsible. He has not intentionally written an unkind word with respect to anyone, nor has he wished to wound the susceptibilities of any. He has had in mind the words of General Grant: "I would like to see a truthful history written. Such a history will do full credit to the courage, endurance and ability of the American citizen, no matter what section he hail from or in what ranks he fought."

In the preparation of this work some material was collected which is not pertinent to a history of the Nineteenth Maine. The author has regarded it as of sufficient interest to the people of Maine to insert the same in an Appendix to this volume.

The undersigned desires to express his sense of obligation to Brevet Major-General A. S. Webb, of New York City, for

his complimentary Introduction to this volume; to Sergeant Silas Adams, without whose co-operation this history would never have been written; to the late Colonel I. W. Starbird and Captain Charles E. Nash, for valuable information; to Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Spaulding, of Boston, whose diary covering the last year of the war was placed by him in the hands of the writer; to Lieutenant George R. Palmer, through whose aid maps of the battlefield of Gettysburg were obtained, which may be found in the chapter on Getysburg; to Mr. E. S. Hughes, for reading proof; to Mr. Frank L. Bowler, Court Reporter, for taking in shorthand and transcribing these pages, and to his wife, Laura B. Smith, who has patiently examined authorities, read proof and verified tables and statistics.

Conscious of typographical errors that have crept into these pages, and fully realizing that this volume may not meet the expectations of all, the author submits it with some degree of trepidation to his old comrades of the Nineteenth Maine Regi-

ment.

JOHN DAY SMITH.

Minneapolis, July 26th, 1909.



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CHAPTER I.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIMENT AND SERVICE IN THE FORTS AROUND WASHINGTON.

War is a terrible curse. Some wars are justifiable; most are not. The War of the Rebellion—now generally called the Civil War—was a conflict that could not have been avoided by the North, except by the giving up of the old Union. Revolution or rebellion is justifiable only when the existing government becomes oppressive and intolerable or when the rights of the people are disregarded. Surely there was no just ground for rebellion on the part of the Slave States. The prosecution of the war on the part of the North was for the preservation of the Union—the maintenance of the best government in the world. The outcome of the war was never seriously in doubt. except upon the unlikely contingency of the intervention of foreign powers. The length of the war depended upon the skill or incompetency with which it was prosecuted by both sides. The North was rich. While money will buy provisions and munitions of war, it will not buy skillful leadership. ever the Army of the Potomac accomplished in the four years of its eventful history, was not won by the military genius of its commanders, but by its own blood.

The war had been in progress more than a year when the Nineteenth was organized. President Lincoln had issued two calls for troops. Under the call of April 15, 1861, 75,000 threemonths men had been raised. By authority of the President's proclamation of May 3, 1861, and acts of Congress, approved July 22nd and 25th, 1861, 500,000 volunteers entered the service for three years. On July 2nd, 1862, there was another demand made for 300,000 men for three years, and it was under this call that Maine furnished five infantry regiments, the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth. Authority for raising the "Nineteenth of Maine Volunteers" was contained in the following General Order:

Headquarters, Adjutant General's Office Augusta, July 8, 1862

General Order No. 18.

In pursuance of requisition and authority from the President of the United States, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief orders and directs, that an additional regiment of infantry, for the service of the government, the Nineteenth of Maine Volunteers, to rendezvous at Bath, be raised and organized forthwith. Instructions in detail are prepared for recruiting agents, who will obtain their authority, with all the requisite blanks for making enlistments, from the Adjutant General at Augusta, and such other persons as may hereafter be designated.

The Nineteenth was exceptionally strong in many respects. Its members were almost exclusively natives of Maine. There was scarcely a foreigner among its original members. Then the Regiment was raised at a time when the idea so fondly indulged in at first, that the war would only last a short time, had been thoroughly dissipated. Within two weeks, prior to the time the Governor of Maine had designated the Nineteenth as one of the Regiments to be raised in Maine, the disastrous battles of Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Savage Station and Glendale had been fought and McClellan's army had been driven back from in front of Richmond, to Harrison's Landing on the James river. From soldiers, sick and wounded, returning from the theater of war, the men who constituted the Regiment had the opportunity of learning from the experience of others, that the war was no holiday affair. They knew something of what enlistment meant in hardship and suffering. Large bounties appealing to mercenary motives, had not yet been offered. Men who entered the service at this time were generally prompted by patriotism.

The men who composed the Regiment came principally from the counties of Somerset, Kennebec, Sagadahoc, Waldo, Knox and Lincoln. More came from the county of Waldo than any other one county. Practically all the men in companies B and E, three-fourths of Company D, and one-third of

Company C, were residents of Waldo county. All the counties in the State, however, had representatives in the Regiment.

In the early days of August, boys and young men, in squads and singly, were found wending their way toward the city of Bath, coming from up and down the Kennebec, along the sea-shore from Bath to Thomaston, and the towns bordering on the Penobscot. These young men came principally from farms, but some came from stores, factories and schools. Some had already learned trades, others were learning them. and some few were in professional life. The neat dress of the city fellow, as well as the plain garb of the farmer's boy, was soon exchanged for the soldier's uniform. Who will ever forget those trousers, in color somewhere between sky blue and pea green, that did not bag simply at the knees but bagged the whole length? The shoes were made for feet of all shapes and sizes, but when a soldier had selected a pair which he thought came nearest to his size, there was always plenty of room to spare in all directions, except one or two places where they pinched. The coats and blouses were of a dark blue, and the black hats, fastened up the side with brass eagles, were too gaudy to describe. We began at once to drill, perform guard duty, have Sunday inspections, daily dress parades and, in fact, learned to be soldiers. Chaplain Eliphalet Whittlesey rounded the men up on Sundays and preached patriotism and religion. Colonel Sewell also called us together occasionally and talked patriotism and temperance, and urged us to be loyal, temperate We had occasion to remember his address on and religious. temperance two or three months later at Warrenton.

The following is a list of the commissioned officers of the Regiment:

Frederick D. Sewell, Bath, Colonel Francis E. Heath, Waterville, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry W. Cunningham, Belfast, Major Adoniram J. Billings, Freedom, Surgeon Eliphalet Whittlesey, Brunswick, Chaplain James W. Wakefield, Bath, Quartermaster Frank W. Haskell, Waterville, Adjutant Henry C. Levansaler, Thomaston, Assistant Surgeon

COMPANY A.

James W. Hathaway, Mercer, Captain J. Whitman Spaulding, Richmond, First Lieutenant David E. Parsons, Norridgewock, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY B.

Lindley M. Coleman, Lincolnville, Captain William Clements, Monroe, First Lieutenant Levi Rackliff, Lincolnville, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY C.

George H. Rowell, Fairfield, Captain Joseph H. Hunt, Unity, First Lieutenant Francis M. Ames, Fairfield, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY D.

William H. Fogler, Belfast, Captain Horace C. Noyes, Belfast, First Lieutenant Edward R. Cunningham, Belfast, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY E.

Daniel L. Dickey, Stockton, Captain James Johnson, Searsport, First Lieutenant John S. Tapley, Frankfort, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY F.

Isaac W. Starbird, Litchfield, Captain George L. Whitmore, Bowdoinham, First Lieutenant Charles E. Nash, Hallowell, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY G.

James W. Welch, Augusta, Captain Everett M. Whitehouse, China, First Lieutenant George C. Hopkins, Mt. Vernon, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY H.

Joseph Eaton, Jr., Winslow, Captain Willard Lincoln, China, First Lieutenant Albert Hunter, Clinton, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY I.

Edward A. Snow, Rockland, Captain Gershom F. Burgess, Camden, First Lieutenant George D. Smith, Rockland, Second Lieutenant

COMPANY K.

Charles S. Larrabee, Bath, Captain Joseph Nichols, Phipsburg, First Lieutenant Dumont Bunker, Fairfield, Second Lieutenant

Colonel Sewell had served for a short time as Assistant Adjutant-General on the staff of General Howard. Lieutenant-Colonel Heath had been promoted from Captain of Company H, Third Maine Regiment. Major Cunningham had seen service as Captain of Company A, Fourth Maine. Adjutant Haskell had been Sergeant-Major in the Third Maine. First Lieutenant Whitehouse, of Company G, was promoted from Corporal of Company B, Third Maine Regiment. Second Lieutenant Bunker, of Company K, had served as a private in Company F, Third Maine Regiment. A few men in the ranks had also been in other Regiments.

Sewell, Heath, Billings, Starbird, Fogler, Spaulding, Parsons, Hopkins, and many others among the non-commissioned officers and privates were college men. The keen intelligence of the educated volunteer was of the utmost value. Illiteracy was reduced to the minimum in the Nineteenth.

James L. Merrick, of Company C, writes as follows:-

"The boys had considerable fun those first days at Bath, and, with the fun, some mischief. A gentleman had an ambrotype gallery on wheels within the encampment and had taken so many ridiculous pictures of members of the Regiment in their new uniforms, the boys

thought they had better have a little sport with him; so one dark night they set the establishment on fire and burned it to the ground. A few years after the war this same gentleman, still sore over his loss, sent a bill to the Nineteenth Maine Regimental Association, hoping to get his pay, but the men thought that was one of the losses of the war and that he must stand it."

The Regiment was mustered into the United States service August 25th, 1862, by Captain C. J. Bailey, 17th U.S. Infantry, for a term of three years. The Regiment numbered at the time of the muster, thirty-nine officers and nine hundred and sixty-nine enlisted men. Early on the morning of Wednesday, August 27th, we were ordered to be ready to move from camp, and marched through the streets of Bath to the railroad station. We were a sight to behold on this morning. The men had put everything in their knapsacks that they thought there would be any possibility of their needing in the future. Indeed, some had nearly everything necessary to set up housekeeping, except a cookstove. Our overcoats and rubber blankets were strapped to the top of our knapsacks, and the straps cut pretty deep into the shoulders before we reached the railroad station. It was rather a pathetic sight as the train moved out of the station at Bath, leaving behind the fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters and sweethearts there assembled, waving with their handkerchiefs a brave farewell to the menmany of whom they would never see again. The Regiment arrived at Boston at two o'clock in the afternoon and marched across the city to the Providence station, where we took the train for Stonington Neck. From Stonington, some time in the night, we took the steamer "Commonwealth" for Jersey City. We arrived in New York harbor about nine o'clock in the morning, and there had a fine view of the ship "Great Eastern." It was an immense affair and in those days created considerable excitement and comment, on account of its enormous size. The Regiment arrived in Philadelphia at ten or eleven o'clock, and took supper that night at the "Cooper Shop" refreshment saloon. It was a place of bountiful refreshment, maintained throughout the war by the patriotic people of that city. The "Cooper Shop" was notified by signal whenever a regiment arrived en route to the city of Washington. The boys long

remembered the splendid repast in that place, and some of them remembered for a longer time the embraces of the girls on the streets after supper, while waiting for the cars. We arrived in Baltimore about ten o'clock the next day, and marched across the city, where we took the train for the seat of war. The Regiment arrived at Washington, Friday evening, August 29th and that night we went into a camp called "Soldier's Rest."

Washington was then a very different city from the Washington of today. Its streets were unpaved and most of its stores and residences were old wooden structures. The dome of the capitol was unfinished. Outside of the public buildings there was not much to interest one. Pennsylvania avenue, its principal street, was cut into ruts and after a storm was almost impassable. It was no unusual sight to see heavily loaded army wagons stalled on that avenue. Everywhere were seen hurrying troops and staff officers arrayed in gorgeous uniforms. No one seemed to have encouraging news to impart. Disorder and gloom reigned supreme.

James L. Merrick thus describes the movement of the Regiment during the next day.

"The following morning, August 30th, orders were received to move into Virginia, and the order to 'fall in' came early. We marched through the city of Washington, over the famous Long Bridge, to the foot of Arlington Heights, where we halted and ate our frugal midday meal. The second battle of Bull Run was raging, and we could hear the roar of the cannon all day, and as we lay there the cannonading grew louder and clearer. General Pope was retreating. Suddenly we heard a great noise like a large body of cavalry marching toward us. The boys began to wake up and became somewhat frightened, thinking that the whole army must be upon us in rapid retreat. We were all ready for the occasion, when, to our surprise, a drove of runaway mules came tearing down the hill upon whose side we were resting. We did not know but it was Pope's whole army, with the Rebels at their heels. So much dust was raised by the mules in their flight that we could not see what the force was so rapidly approaching us. It is needless to say that we yielded the road to the mules without any controversy. We were squelched indeed. Not much blood was shed in this action and it did not take long to bury our dead. The boys got somewhat scattered but the lines were soon reformed. Colonel Sewell then received orders to countermarch the Regiment back to Washington, across the branch of the Potomac and up the ridge to Fort Baker. Here we encamped about dark. The boys were pretty well tired out and thought they had seen enough of war for the first day. We ate our rations and lay down on the ground between the rocks and had for our covering the canopy of heaven."

Mr. Merrick, also contributes the following information as to the forts occupied by the different companies of the Regiment.

"Companies A and F went into Fort Greble. Companies B and D occupied Fort Baker. Fort Mahan was garrisoned by Companies C and G. Company E went into Fort Carroll, and Company H into Fort Meigs. Fort Stanton was occupied by Company I, and Company K went into Fort Dupont. Later some of the companies were transferred to other Forts. Company A went to Fort Baker, and Company F was transferred to Fort Mahan. On September 12th Company E, was transferred to Fort Meigs, and, some time later, Company I was transferred to Fort Davis and afterward to Fort Baker. These forts were armed with heavy cannon—32 and 36 pounders, with eight inch howitzers, and some of the forts had mortars. The companies were kept busy drilling on heavy artillery and with small arms, doing guard duty, fatigue duty, on inspection and dress parade, until September 30th."

At some time during our stay at the forts one or two companies were in Fort Snyder. These forts were strung up and down the Eastern Branch of the Potomac river, with two on the Potomac, below the point where these two rivers united. Begining at a northern point on the Eastern Branch, the forts were located in the following order:—Mahan, Meigs, Dupont, Davis, Stanton, Snyder, Carroll and Greble. Fort Carroll was near the junction of the Eastern Branch and the Potomac, and Fort Greble was down the Potomac, nearly opposite Alexandria. While occupying these forts the Regiment was under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Daniel P. Woodbury.

Amidst the drilling, camp-guard, picketing, policing the grounds and inspections, it was a goodly sight to see the negroes, early in the morning, following the winding roads that lead up to our forts, laden with melons of all kinds, peaches and other fruits. Many a boy in the Regiment had never tasted peaches and some of them had never even seen melons. Old, black women would climb the hill on the road that led to Fort Greble, with a basket of peaches on their heads, a basket of vegetables in one hand and a large bag of fruit in the other, and never wink. How good that fruit tasted! A comrade from Company E writing of this period says, "I have never eaten sweeter or better fruit than in September 1862, when we were fooling around in the forts. I can taste it yet."

The time spent in the forts was enjoyed by the boys. All lived well and the duties were not burdensome. Generally on Sunday mornings the soldiers had baked beans to eat, thus keeping up the old home custom. These beans were cooked in the ground. Holes were dug two or two and a half feet deep and wood burned in them until they were half full of live coals. Then the beans having been well parboiled, were put into iron kettles and baked in these improvised ovens. The beans thus cooked were fine.

The Nineteenth Maine arrived in Washington on August 28th. The echoes of the guns from the battlefields of Groveton and Gainesville had not yet died away. The day we marched into the forts east of Washington, we could hear the heavy guns from the battlefield of Bull Run, and two days later from Chantilly. We had enlisted to aid in suppressing the rebellion. The outlook for the Union cause at this time was dark. McClellan's army had been defeated and driven back from in front of Richmond. Banks had been forced back from the Rapidan. After the withdrawal of McClellan's army from the Peninsula, the remnants of the two armies, under Pope, had been beaten in the region around Bull Run. The Union army was superior in numbers and richer in resources than the Confederates. The Confederate soldiers were no better disciplined and were no braver than the Union soldiers. Why was it then that we had won no important victories in the Army of the Potomac, and suffered so many defeats up to this time?

The cause of our defeats, or, at least, the lack of success, is not far to seek. At this time the following general officers had important commands in the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia: R. E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, Longstreet, the two Hills, Ewell, Anderson, Wilcox, Mahone, McLaws, Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee and "Jeb" Stuart. All of these officers, except those who were killed, remained in the service until the close of the war. The very mention of their names suggests their fitness to command.

Now just compare the above list with the Major-Generals we had on hand, east of the Alleghanies: McClellan, Hunter, Banks, Dix, Morgan, Fitz John Porter, Burnside, Sigel, Cad-

walader, Heintzelman, Keyes, Casey, Schenck, Franklin, McDowell, Fremont and Wool. In a few months, Butler came from New Orleans and his name was added to this list. Instead of wondering why the war lasted four years, the wonder is that we ever crushed the rebellion. Some of the officers in the above list had, in their younger days, rendered valuable service for their country. Some of the others were nice, estimable old gentlemen. The grizzled, heroic Sumner is not included in this list because he does not belong there, and a few months later he left the army and went home to die. Through blundering experience and sacrifice, the officers who were dependable and qualified to command, gradually advanced to the front and took up the work. Meade, Hancock, Sedgwick, Reynolds, Gibbon, Humphreys, Buford, Wright and Newton were Brigadier-Generals, September 1st, 1862. Warren, Barlow, Brooke Hunt, Torbert, Carroll, Devens, Getty and Gregg were Colonels. Miles, Kilpatrick, Webb and L. A. Grant were Lieutenant-Colonels. Smyth was a Major, Wesley Merritt a Captain, and Wilson and Custer were First Lieutenants. The brilliant R. S. Mackenzie was a Second Lieutenant.

The South had few political generals and none with important commands. The woods were full of them in the North. The South was especially fortunate in discerning their great leaders at the beginning. Political influence was a potent factor at Washington, in army appointments, in the first years of the war. Officers best fitted to command were sidetracked for political favorites. We were then too near the events that greatly strained the success of the Union cause to be able to bring a judicial temper and judgment to the selection of the best officers for important commands.

The late Captain Charles E. Nash, during the first two years of the war, wrote many letters from the front to his home paper, the Hallowell Gazette. The author feels at liberty to quote freely from these letters. They are written in the usual felicitous style of Captain Nash and describe more accurately than could the author, the scenes and incidents with which he was familiar. Under date of September 15th, 1862, Captain Nash wrote:

"Fort Greble, like its neighbors, is comparatively new, constructed of earth thrown up in a very neat and substantial manner, and surrounded by an almost impenetrable abattis. It mounts thirteen 32 pounders (barbette) and two heavy siege guns, a number of which point in an insinuating manner toward the semi-rebel city of Alexandria, just across the river. The fort is situated on an eminence directly opposite and overlooking the city, and is about six miles distant from the city of Washington. It is surrounded by innumerable rifle pits, well calculated, to keep the enemy at bay from the fort, even should he ever show himself in this region. There are about a dozen fortifications of this kind extending up the eastern branch of the Potomac, for a distance of ten or twelve miles. The face of the country is very broken, and almost every hill of any considerable size is surmounted by one of these forts. They are all well constructed, and the heavy black guns scowling above the parapets present a striking contrast to the peaceful forest-clad hills far away in New England. The trees have been felled for precautionary purposes, within target distances of the forts, and hundreds of cords of timber and wood are lying prostrate, untouched, and wasting away by decay."

A member of the regiment, who is unwilling to have his name used for fear he might be blamed for the recital of an event that might properly be omitted from this history, furnishes this incident:

"While the Regiment was encamped in the forts around Washington and before the battle of Antietam, the boys of my Company were given to understand that there was great danger of an attack by the enemy from the east. It never occurred to us that it might be a difficult matter for the enemy to get around in that locality. We were reading about the "Black Horse Cavalry," which never existed except in the imagination, and we were led to believe most anything. The order came for posting a strong picket force some two miles east of the fort we were occupying. A heavy detail was made from our Company and we started out some time before dark. After establishing the picket reserve, we were posted across the country some distance through the woods and low ground covered with bushes north of the road that led to Upper Marlboro. The sentinels were posted some ten or fifteen rods apart. I was with the reserve post until nearly midnight, when it came my turn to go on the outpost. When the Sergeant left me on my post, I remembered our careful instructions that in case of an attack, we were to fire at the enemy and then fall back on the picket reserve. Left alone, I thought every stump and bush looked like men creeping toward me with murderous design. A little after midnight the man on the post north of me and beyond where I could see, challenged a slowly approaching cow which had been disturbed by our movements and whose outline could be dimly seen in the distance. The cow, not speaking the same language as the sentinel and not understanding the challenge, kept advancing, with evident hostile intent, and the soldier fired and after hallooing, started on a run to the rear. I took up the alarm and fired my rifle in the direction of the supposed enemy and started for the picket reserve. There were some scattering shots and a scurrying through the bushes heard in the distance. I made a satisfactory run until I struck a swamp into which I ran and sank ahout two feet every jump I made. How I ever got

across the swamp has always been a mystery to me. The reserve picket was not where I thought it ought to be if it was to be any service to me in my present predicament. I heard dogs barking away to my right and it was a sort of a welcome and homelike sound. After a while I heard men calling in different directions, but in my somewhat demoralized condition, I reasoned that men's voices would sound a good deal alike, whether the men wore the blue or the gray. So I did not propose to be fooled by unwisely answering. I never found that picket reserve, but I did find the fort soon after daylight. It was a sort of a comfort to me that some of the other pickets found the fort before I did. But they were not delayed by swamps and had a better instinct as to directions. I have often felt that I would like to look at that swamp in daylight and see if I could find my tracks there now."

Major A. R. Small, in his excellent history of the Sixteenth Maine, gives the best description of the green private soldier and his trials, which I have ever seen. I have his permission to quote it here.

"Boys of today may think it fun to be a private soldier, but it The picturesque blue and scarlet uniform and jaunty laced cap, or symetrical helmet, seen in cuts, are very deceptive, and the whole

soldierly make-up of a picture is misleading.
"Be a man ever so much of a man, his importance and conceit dwindles when he crawls into an unteaseled shirt, pants too short and very baggy behind, coat too long at both ends, and a cap shapeless as a feed bag. And the brogans! Weren't they just lovely, with soles six inches wide and heels like firkin covers. The ideal picture of a soldier makes a veteran smile. He knows the knapsack, which is cut to fit in the engraving, is an unwieldy burden with its rough coarse contents of flannel and sole-leather and sometimes twenty rounds of ammunition extra. Mixed in with those regulation essentials, like beatitudes, are photographs, cards, 'housewife,' Testament, pens, ink, paper, and oftentimes stolen truck enough to load a mule. All of this crowned with a double wool blanket and shelter tent rolled in a rubber blanket. One shoulder and the hips support the 'commissary department'-an odorous haversack, which often stinks with its mixture of bacon, pork, salt-junk, sugar, coffee, tea, desiccated vegetables, rice, bits of yesterday's dinners, and old scraps husbanded with miserly care against a day of want sure to come.

'Oh, the perfume of that haversack!

"Loaded down, in addition to the above, with a canteen, full

cartridge-box, belt, cross-belt, and musket, and start on a gunning tour wasn't fun. No, it wasn't.

"A graduate of West Point in his nobby uniform is a thing of His carriage is superb. beauty, made to inspire a boy's admiration. His posing in the position of a soldier makes an unfledged aspirant for military honor green with envy. Under the most trying circumstances he preserves an immobile face. No amount of abuse or insult will cause him to forget himself. But the recruit in his baggy contract suit, practicing 'eyes right,' is an object of both pity and ridicule. He has lost his identity, and all his claims to equality with even a fife-major are ignored. He finds it harder to hold his temper than to hold his little fingers on the seams of his trousers; hence, the first day's drill usually ends with solemn promises to lick seven or eight corporals and a

lieutenant when the war is over'-and a night in the guard tent for calling the drill-sergeant offensively arbitrary, and needlessly particu-

lar in rehearsing such d—d nonsensical gyrations.

"A 'private' is anything but private. There is nothing in or about him that is respected as exclusive. The day that he is enlisted sees his whole person exposed to the critical eye of the surgeon—his lungs sounded, bowels manipulated, limbs bent, joints cracked, teeth examined, eyes tested, while he undergoes the closest scrutiny, in search of cutaneous eruptions and varicose veins.

"After a few short months the lice claim close acquaintance,

and the wood-ticks explore the second and third cuticle.

"In camp, his tent is ransacked. His knapsack opened every Sunday morning to the view of some inspector. His gun, equipments, and all there is on or about this private, is made conspicuously public. Although the United States Army Regulations guarantee him the exclusive privilege of keeping his opinion of officers and measures as his private property, he is tortured into expression, and then is published throughout the army as 'prejudicial to good order and military discipline,' and he gets into the guard-house.

"There was no aristocracy among the 'privates.' They were thoroughly democratic. A graduate from Harvard and an illiterate from the wilds of Maine were often seen affectionately picking lice

together.

"Polished scholars and ex-convicts, Christians and Heathen bounty-jumpers from the slums of New York would cheat each other at 'seven-up.' All would bathe in and drink from the same stream, whether prior or subsequent to the watering of the brigade mules.'

General McClellan, under Special Orders No. 3, dated September 6th, 1862, assigned the Nineteenth to "Franklin's Corps, near the Theological Seminary, Va." as a "new regiment." For some reason nothing ever resulted from this assignment. The Regiment, with other troops, was ordered on September 20th to Frederick, under the command of Brigadier-General Henry S. Briggs, to be assigned to General Sumner and the strength of the Regiment is stated to be 916 men. On the next day, September 30th, by special order No. 267, among the "new Regiments, now en route for Frederick," the Nineteenth was assigned to the second Corps (Sumner) at Harper's Ferry, and to Howard's Brigade. This was an error, as it should have been Howard's Division. General Sedgwick had been in command of the Division until the battle of Antietam, where he was wounded and General Howard, who was then in command of the Pennsylvania Brigade, (Owen's) succeeded to the command of Sedgwick's (Second) Division.

CHAPTER II.

Harper's Ferry, Bolivar Heights, and the March to Warrenton, under General McClellan.

The letter of Captain Nash under date of October 28th, written from Camp Bolivar near Harper's Ferry, with a few unimportant omissions, is here inserted.

"At an early hour on Tuesday morning, September 30th, the Regiment evacuated the forts near Washington (in which for a month it had been stationed employed in heavy artillery practice) en route for Frederick, Md., with orders to report to General McClellan. We arrived at the close of the day following, having accomplished the journey principally by railroad. Here we bivouacked for two days, until the evening of October 2nd, and in the meantime were assigned to the Second Corps, Second Division of the army, under Generals Sumner and Howard, (now Generals Couch and Gorman,) whose headquarters are at Bolivar, Va. On the Friday evening following our arrival at Frederick, the Regiment took the train for Harper's Ferry, arriving there at midnight,—rather weary, and exceedingly pleased at another opportunity of sleeping a few hours on the fair bosom of mother earth, with the starry canopy for a covering. Owing to the then recent destruction of the railroad bridge across the Potomac, the Regiment alighted from the cars and crossed on the pontoon bridge, when we found ourselves in the heart of the desolate vilage of Harper's Ferry,—amid the relics of the veritable old John Brown, and before the walls of his celebrated engine house, where a sentinel, pacing his beat in the dim moonlight, looked very much like the old martyr's ghost 'marching on.' We picked our way through the narrow street, viewing the ruins of the town which has been the center of so many tragical associations, as best we could,—the once stately but now charred and crumbling walls and few remaining windowless and deserted houses, making it a scene of rather melancholy picturesqueness, while the stern sides and heavy overhanging bluffs of the adjacent heights, colored the whole with a romantic grandeur similar to that which poetizers are wont to adore but seldom witness. We bivouacked the remainder of the night about a mile distant from the village, and at early dawn set out again for our destination. An hour's march brought us to the summit of Bolivar Heights, where we remained two days, and then removed to the foot of the Heights, where Colonel Miles completed his inglorious surrender a few weeks since. Here we are 'settled down' to rest, patiently waiting for the celebrated 'onward movement' to take place.

"About forty men are now on the sick list. Several deaths have occurred since leaving Maine, two of which were in Company F, viz: privates Loring P. Donnell, of Monmouth, and Charles H. Adams, of Litchfield,—two as noble fellows as ever took up arms in their country's

defense—universally respected and beloved by their comrades, and their loss is deeply mourned by the officers and members of their company. Their ages were twenty-three and eighteen, respectively. We have also recently been called to mourn the death of Captain Coleman, Company B, of Lincolnville, an excellent officer, an honor to the Regiment,—and who, after a brief illness, has been called by the Great Commander to serve in a higher sphere than any of earth. Our quarters are situated a few rods from the street leading through the once neat and pleasant hamlet of Bolivar, and about two miles distant from Harper's Ferry. On the east the huge summits of Maryland Heights loom up against the sky, at the base of which the landscape is dotted with the encampments of several brigades; while on the south of us, a half mile distant, flows the shallow Shenandoah, which joins the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, and walled on its further bank by the stern sides of Loudon Heights, from whose lofty summits savage batteries look down grimly upon us, as if wishing at one fell swoop to wipe out the recent reverse of our army under Colonel Miles, at this place. On our west, a few hundred yards distant, Bolivar Heights tower above us, the summit and sides of which swarm with infantry, artillery, cavalry, baggage trains, and all the appurtenances belonging to a campaign. Many of the veteran regiments are encamped here, and, suffice it to say, that one regiment occupies an infinitely small space compared with the whole. It is interesting after nightfall to witness the innumerable camp-fires glimmering in every direction, and to listen to the jargon of bugles and drums which at stated times call out the army for roll-calls. One who has never witnessed it can only imperfectly comprehend the details of a day's service in a division of our army.

"The weather since we have been here has been beautiful, much resembling a New England autumn, although at times rendered a little oppressive by heat. Nights are almost invariably chilly and

uncomfortable.

"There are but few 'natives' hereabouts, having nearly all skedaddled, or been crowded out of their homes by the deluge of men passing through this military channel. It is a sad spectacle, painfully suggestive of the desolating nature of war, to witness the shattered and decaying dwellings, prostrate forests and ruined works of art, visible in the vicinity. Harper's Ferry is almost a bed of ashes, and all that remains of its once splendid armory are a few crumbling walls, which will soon fall to the ground. I have passed twenty-four hours among its ruins,—where in future years the traveller and tourist will eagerly resort, and which history will point out as the spot where many acts in the great tragedy, not yet closed, took place."

While the Regiment was encamped on Bolivar Heights, there was a pile of old, unexploded shells, piled up at one side of the camp, which were left over by Colonel Miles at the time of the surrender of Harper's Ferry, some weeks before. The boys had sense enough, from their experience in the forts, to know that they were dangerous to fool with. One day while they were cooking their dinners, there came up one of those showers, so common in the south. The shower consisted of "nine parts wind and one part water." Well, the wind carried

the fire and the coals into the pile of shells and several of them exploded. Flying fragments were hurled in all directions. The soldiers from the old regiments in the Brigade accused us of trying to cook on the ends of the shells. It was noticed, however, that they were first in the race down the hill to get out of the way of what they imagined to be a flank attack. The Philedalphia papers the next day had an exaggerated and ludicrous account of the affair. The boys of the Regiment never heard the last of it.

Sometime in October, General Gorman, our Brigade commander, applied to General Halleck, to be relieved from duty with the Army of the Potomac and to be assigned to some command in the West. On October 16th, General McClellan, in wrting to Halleck, stated that he had been informed of Gorman's desire and he urged him to send him away. He stated that the commander of the Division to which Gorman was attached was ill and would not probably be able to do duty for sometime. General McClellan wrote, "General Gorman is the next officer in rank, but I do not consider him in every respect suited to such a command. If you can order him to some command in the West, I shall be glad." After writing to Halleck, urging this matter upon his attention on three separate occasions, McClellan carried his point. On the first of December following, we find General Gorman serving in the Department of Missouri, under General Curtis,

General Gorman was the first Colonel of the First Minnesota Regiment—an organization that furnished the service with three Brigadier-Generals. There was no better regiment in the service and more than one hundred of its original members were natives of Maine. Gorman had been a prominent Democratic politician in the Minnesota Territory in ante-bellum days. He had the reputation of being willing to fight even before the war broke out. He was "eloquent in vituperation." The men of the Nineteenth, when on brigade drill in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, frequently heard him swear and curse regimental and line officers so that he could be heard half a mile away. He was a brave officer, however, and was solicitous for the wel-

fare of his soldiers and manifested great affection for his regiment. He was succeeded in command of our Brigade by General Sully, another First Minnesota officer, on the 29th of October, the day before we left Harper's Ferry.

By noon, October 30th, the Regiment took its place in the line and the column moved down the Shenandoah river, near its junction with the Potomac, and crossed over. The column then passed around the northerly end of Loudon Heights, and moved south up the beautiful Loudon valley. This was a splendid fertile country. Grain had been harvested and was in stacks. Forage was plentiful and cattle and sheep could be seen upon every side. The first day's march was only about ten miles. The sound of cannonading in the distance indicated that our cavalry, scouting in advance, had come upon small bodies of the enemy. We camped near Hillsborough, where we remained all the next day. The Regiment started just before noon on the 1st of November and proceeded about five miles and formed in line of battle on the left of the road. After waiting for the cavalry to clear the way for us, we marched a few miles further and went into camp. Fine rail fences abounded on every side and large fires were kept burning far into the night. While the days were warm and comfortable for marching, the nights were frosty and the fires kept the men from suffering. We marched November 2nd to Bloomfield, some distance south of Snicker's Gap, and on the 3rd we reached Upperville, near Ashby's Gap. Our march had been up the valley near the Blue Ridge Mountains. When between Upperville and Paris. we ran up against the rear guard of the enemy, but General Pleasonton's cavalry made short work of clearing the road for us. We formed in line of battle but were again disappointed in having no serious work to do.

Horace L. Smith, of Company F, furnishes the following

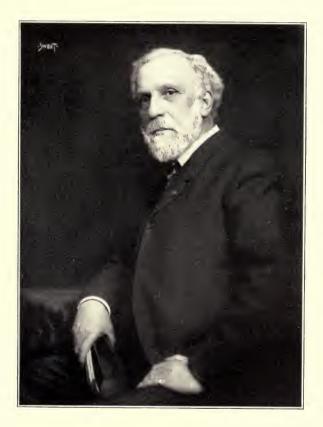
amusing anecdote:

"When two or three days out from Harper's Ferry a laughable incident occurred, which many of the men will remember. We were marching in a sunken road, up a long hill with woods on our right and clear land on our left. We could see nothing on our left but the submerged side of the road and a high rail fence at the top. We were moving along very slowly while the cavalry was skirmishing at a distance in front. Suddenly a deep rumbling sound was heard up the

hill and troops were seen rushing pell-mell from the road in front as though to escape some impending catastrophe. No orders were given, but there was a fierce struggle between the line officers and the boys as to who should first reach and climb over that fence at the top of the embankment. In an incredibly short space of time the road was cleared for any old purpose for which anybody might want to use it. Not only were the boys of the Nineteenth, with a full complement of officers over the fence and mingled in confusion, but Massachusetts vied with Minnesota and New York in reaching the coveted elevation. And the old regiments, we had been told, never ran! Before many explanations had been exchanged to account for the sudden flank movement, the officers sheepishly requested the men to resume their places in the road below. The rumbling sound had been caused by throwing down a stone wall, to permit batteries in advance to go into position. It was one of those unaccountable, ludicrous stampedes that sometimes occur among large bodies of men. We soon went into camp in the woods on the right of the road and around camp-fires that night the boys rehearsed the incidents connected with the Regiment's first charge by the left flank."

Thus far it had been fine Indian summer weather since we had left Harper's Ferry. The soldiers lived well, but the farmers on the line of march contributed liberally to the boys, commissary department. Despite most stringent orders against foraging, every morning, the ground between the different encampments of the regiments was covered with sheep skins and feathers from turkeys, geese and hens that had given their lives, during the preceding night, for the relief of the hungry soldiers. Officers threatened, and occasionally a soldier was arrested and compelled to march with the provost guard for a day or two. His well stuffed haversack and smiling face indicated however that the punishment was not regarded as very serious. The soldiers simply could not resist the temptation. We were marching through a region of country that had never been desolated by war. When this region was visited by a member of the Regiment more than thirty years after the war, the old inhabitants attempted to describe the march of McClellan's Army through their country in the fall of '62. During the recital of their wrongs their faces did not wear an especially pleased or benevolent expression.

The Regiment reached Paris and the vicinity of Ashby's Gap on Tuesday afternoon, November 5th. Here fifty or seventy-five Confederate prisoners, captured by General Pleassonton, came back from the front. Paris contained about forty or fifty old houses, many of them in a very dilapidated



John Day Smith, Historian.

condition. We had not seen an able-bodied man among the citizens since leaving Harper's Ferry. They were absent with Mosby and in the Confederate Army.

On the night of the 3rd, our Regiment was on a skirmish line part of the night, supported by other regiments. While at Paris, Generals McClellan and Burnside visited our Corps. We passed the 7th of November in the woods some four miles from Ashby's Gap, having spent the preceding night in an open field. There was a northeast snowstorm of several inches and it was a bitterly cold night. The most of the time was spent by the men outside of their tents around the camp fires. Water froze in our canteens. We continued on our march through Rectortown and Salem, arriving at Warrenton on Sunday, November 9th, where we pitched our shelter tents, remaining there several days wondering what the next movement would bring forth.

On the night of November 7th, General McClellan was relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac and General Burnside placed in command. Rumors of this change in commanders reached the Regiment the next day.

McClellan took leave of our Corps and the Fifth, at Warrenton, on the 10th of November. The Second Corps, under General Couch, was drawn up on one side of the Centerville pike, and the Fifth, under General Butterfield, on the opposite side. General McClellan, with his large body of brilliantly dressed staff officers, rode between the lines, and this was the last the boys ever saw of "Little Mac." The soldiers who had long served under him greatly regretted his departure. He was respected and loved by them.

The President could not be blamed for desiring a change in the commanders of the Army of the Potomac but no one has ever been found who could give a good reason for placing Burnside in that responsible position. The removal of McClellan was deserved and right but inopportune. The right thing done at the wrong time is sometimes as harmful as the wrong thing done at any time. At least two propitious occasions had occurred for such action, one at Harrison's Landing

in the midsummer of 1862, after McClellan's disastrous campaign before Richmond and when he wrote his impertinent letter to the President and the other after the battle of Antietam, at the time he refused to move with his army after having been positively ordered to do so. It seemed now as though having started out on an advanced movement with the army, he ought to have had a chance to show what he could do with his plan of campaign, if he had any.

"McClellan would have been an excellent Chief-of-staff but was unfit for the command of an army. He was as utterly without audacity as Lee was full of it. His one fine quality was his ability to organize and discipline. He constructed a superb machine, which, being once constructed, would fight a battle with skill and courage if only let alone. McClellan during the Seven Days, let it alone, absenting himself as if by instinct. Never but at the battle of Shanpsburg was he present on any field, and his presence there, by keeping Porter's Corps out of the action, made a drawn fight of what would otherwise have been a Federal victory."

On the 20th of September after the battle of Antietam, General McClellan reported his aggregate force present for duty as 82,233 and as absent from command 75,000 soldiers. reported as present for duty on the 10th of October 1862, 120,000 men, and as present and absent a total of 200,000 men. All of these statements are exclusive of the Third and Eleventh Corps. After General Stuart had ridden completely around the Army of the Potomac, President Lincoln suggested to McClellan that if the enemy had more occupation south of the Potomac his cavalry would not be so likely to make raids north of it. McClellan had been an engineer officer in the regular army and the President is reported to have said that he seemed to be best fitted for a stationary engineer.

General Longstreet states in his Military Memoirs that when General McClellan was removed, General Lee remarked to him that he regretted to part with McClellan, "for," he said, "we always understood each other so well. I am afraid they will continue to make these changes until they find some one whom I do not understand." General McClellan had never won a decisive victory with the Army of the Potomac. He was bold in conception but terribly slow in execution. He never

¹ Military Memoirs of a Confederate, by General E. P. Alexander, p. 224.

sought to win a battle by his inspiring presence on the battle-field. When on the Peninsula, he claimed to have information that the enemy had 200,000 men. He was entirely destitute of the ability to form a just estimate of the strength'of his opponent. He always saw double, when he looked toward the enemy. He was continually calling for reinforcements. Even on Sepetmber 23rd, after the battle of Antietam, he notified the War Department that "General Summer, with his Corps and William's, occupies Harper's Ferry and the surrounding heights. I think he will be able to hold his position till reinforcements arrive!"

McClellan certainly did not lack confidence in his own ability. After being relieved of his command, he wrote his wife as follows:

"They have made a great mistake. Alas for my country!

* * * The order depriving me of the command created an immense deal of deep feeling in the army—so much so that many were in favor of my refusing to obey the order and of marching upon Washington to take possession of the government!"

The question often arises in the minds of the student of history as to what would have been the fate of McClellan, Buell, Rosecrans, Banks, McDowell and other discredited military leaders had they become prominent as commanders, late in the war. It is generally conceded that we had skillful and competent officers who were scrificed in 1861 and 1862 to the nation's ignorance of war. No doubt General McClellan would have suceeded on staff duty or in the cabinet of the President. His ability as an organizer is universally recognized. He was a courteous gentleman and his character was above reproach. He recognized that he commanded men, not machines. He had the rare faculty of captivating others—a quality that comes to a man by nature, when it comes at all. The dignity of his position did not prevent him from visiting hospitals and kindly greeting there the wounded or speaking a word of cheer on the march to a sick or exhausted soldier by the roadside. Here, to a great extent, lay the secret of the enthusiastic devotion of his soldiers. Many of his admirers

¹McClellan's Own Story pp. 624, 652 and 660.

and partisans during the war were ignorant of the reasons which actuated the government in the removal of McClellan. Very many of these same men, after the war, acknowledged the wisdom of the President's action.

CHAPTER III.

BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

UPON assuming command, General Burnside formed the army into three Grand Divisions. The Right Grand Division was commanded by General E. V. Sumner and consisted of the Second Corps, General D. N. Couch, and the Ninth Corps, General O. B. Willcox. The Center Grand Division was commanded by General Joseph Hooker and was composed of the Third Corps, General George Stoneman, and the Fifth, General Daniel Butterfield. The Left Grand Division had for its commander General W. B. Franklin and consisted of the Sixth Corps, General W. F. Smith, and the First Corps, General J. F. Reynolds. General Pleasanton commanded the cavalry. The strength of the army was about 125,000 men. With this magnificent army. Burnside decided to move to the left and seize Fredericksburg, on the lower Rappahannock. After sending the sick and disabled to Washington, the o'd Second Corps struck out in advance for Falmouth, leaving Warrenton Junction on the morning of November 15th and reaching the vicinity of Falmouth in the afternoon of the 17th. The distance covered was forty miles, and through a deso'ate looking country, with occasional farm houses. The Corps marched in three columns, one Division on the road and the other two through the fields on either side of the road. Our Division was on the left.

It appears that when we left Warrenton, Burnside's plan was to move to Falmouth, cross the river there and occupy Fredericksburg at once. Then he proposed, after supplying the army with provisions from Acquia Creek, to push south, in the direction of Richmond. At that time one-half of the Army of Northern Virginia was clustered around Culpepper Court House, under Longstreet, and the other half in the valley

of the Shenandoah, fifty miles away, under Jackson. When the Second Corps reached Falmouth, Fredericksburg was occupied by a regiment of cavalry, four companies of infantry and a light battery. The promised pontoons were not at Falmouth when we arrived. Indeed, the very day we left Warrenton. Burnside was informed that our pontoon train might be ready to start from Washington by water on the 16th or 17th. That was the time that Burnside ought to have recalled Sumner's Grand Division and not developed his plan of action to the Confederates until his pontoons were ready for immediate use. The pontoon train did not arrive at Falmouth until eight days after the head of the Second Corps had appeared on the heights of Falmouth before the eyes of the astonished Confederates. A small Confederate battery of four guns was stationed north of Fredericksburg, and General Couch ordered forward one of our batteries, which, in a few minutes, put to flight the Confederate gunners, who hastily hauled their guns behind buildings out of sight. General Sumner sought permission from Burnside to cross troops at one of the fords and take possession of the city. This was refused. So through one of those frequent and wretched blunders that stand out on the pages of our history, we were compelled to wait for our pontoons and watch Longstreet's troops, who began arriving on the 10th, constructing intrenchments, which would later cost us thousands of lives in our vain attempt to capture.

The Confederate army was now divided, and ours was concentrated. Jackson, with one-half of the Confederate force, was in the Shenandoah valley, nearly one hundred miles away. The opportunity to get between the widely separated Corps of the Confederate army and attack one before the other could come to its relief, never appears to have suggested itself to General Burnside. It was such an opportunity as General Lee would not have failed to profit by.

Falmouth consisted of a small collection of old houses under a bluff on the north side of the Rappahannock about a mile above Fredericksburg. It was noted as being the birthplace of the Confederate Secretary of War, J. A. Seddon, who had served in Congress, years before the war. One of the houses in this little hamlet was pointed out as having been the residence of Duff Green, a member of President Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet" and who was sent as a confidential messenger by Buchanan to Lincoln near the close of the former's administration. Buchanan asked Lincoln to come to Washington ostensibly for the purpose of counsel and advice, but really that Lincoln might share in the odium of the vacillation and cowardice of the closing months of Buchanan's administration. Mr. Lincoln was too shrewd to be caught in this little trap. Oliver Wendell Holmes, then a Captain in the Twentieth Massachusetts, now a member of the Supreme Court of the United States, was provost marshall at Falmouth during the time between the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

Who of the boys will ever forget "Smoky Hollow"? It rained a great deal and we tried to make fires out of wet wood. The smoke settled to the ground and sometimes one could scarcely see his neighbor ten feet away, by reason of the smoke. Some of the time it was bitterly cold and much sickness prevailed in the Regiment.

On the 22nd of November, the Regiment marched about eight miles on the road to Belle Plain landing, on the Potomac Creek, where all our supplies came now, and went to building corduroy roads. This work was done by cutting small logs, some fifteen or eighteen feet long, placing them side by side and covering them with branches and dirt. It was over this road that our supplies came until the railroad was in operation. The Maine regiments had their full share of this kind of work, because most of the men from Maine knew how to handle an axe. was rich entertainment to watch the New Yorkers in our Brigade trying to cut down a tree. They would hack a circle about six inches wide around the tree and keep at it, hitting as near the center of the circle as they could, until the tree yielded. was still more entertaining to see some green, officious Lieutenant of our Regiment, from the city, instructing some lumberman soldier as to the proper way to do this work.

Thanksgiving day came on Thursday, November 27th,

and it was a cheerless day. The boys' dinner generally consisted of hard bread and salt pork. Thoughts of home and loved ones and the gloomy outlook in camp, did not add to the day's enjoyment. It was here that the cheerful optimist and the company joker, more necessary to the health of the army than surgeons, got in their work. One of these useful individuals would come up to a large, smoky camp-fire, surrounded by gloomy and disconsolate soldiers, and in a few minutes a shout of laughter would be heard and the scene would change from one of despondency to cheerfulness. On December 5th the Regiment returned and went into camp near Falmouth. It was bitterly cold on December 7th. The ground was covered with snow and ice and there was much suffering among the men.

The casualties of the Nineteenth were so small in the battle of Fredericksburg that no detailed description of the battle is necessary in writing the history of the Regiment. Indeed, it was not a battle, it was a slaughter. The Colonel's report would add nothing to our information if quoted here.

Lee's army in this engagement contained about 80,000 men. The bulk of his army occupied a circling ridge, beginning on our right above Falmouth near the river, and extending southeasterly some six miles to the neighborhood of Hamilton's Crossing on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, and near the Massaponax river. The right of the Confederate line was within about a mile of the Rappahannock and some five miles south of Fredericksburg. Between the Rappahannock and this ridge was a wide plain sloping upwards to the base of this ridge. Fredericksburg, a city of some 4000 people, lies in this plain next to the Rappahannock and less than a mile distant from Marye's Heights. Before the war, Fredericksburg was remembered as the home of Washington's mother and of that revolutionary hero, General Mercer, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Princeton.

Washington's mother lived for many years in a small stone house, still standing, on the corner of Charles and Lewis Streets. She died and was buried from this house. Her unfinished monument stood in the open space above the town as a rebuke to the Confederate forces, facing her grave, who were attempting to destroy the government her son did so much to establish.

General Burnside did not seem to have any definite plan of battle, or if he did, no one has ever yet been able to find out what it was. General Hunt, chief of artillery, began to occupy our side of the Rappahannock with guns after dark on the 10th of December. One hundred and forty-seven cannon were placed in position to cover the crossing of our troops. General Franklin, with more than one-half of the army, crossed on the left, some two miles below Fredericksburg, upon two pontoon bridges. General Sumner, with his own Grand Division, one Division of the Third Corps and two of the Ninth crossed at Fredericksburg and held the right of the line. Sumner's losses in this battle comprised seven-tenths of the killed and wounded of the army.

Our Regiment was called up long before daybreak on the morning of December 11th and marched with the Division to the vicinity of the Lacy House. The Engineer Corps undertook to lay the pontoon bridges. Some Mississippi troops, under Barksdale, in rifle pits and cellars on the opposite side of the river, permitted our engineers to construct the pontoon bridges to the middle of the stream, when they concluded to put a stop to the work. They soon drove every one of the engineers from their post and from the river, killing and wounding several. Then our artillery opened, poundingthe city with shot and shell and the cannoneer opposite the point where the bridges were building, depressed their pieces so as to rake the rifle pits and the troublesome houses, where the Confederates were secreted. Then the artillery would suspend firing and the engineers attempt to resume their work on the bridges. The concealed Confederates would drive them off again. Over and over again this was repeated. At last General Hunt or Colonel Hall com-

¹Norman J. Hall, a West Point graduate, was a Second Lieutenant under Major Anderson at Fort Sumter in April, 1861. He was made Colonel of the Seventh Michigan July 7th, '62, but was compelled by ill health to leave the service in June '64. Colonel Hall was a fine officer and generally commanded the Second Brigade of our Division until the Wilderness campaign.

manding the Third Brigade of our Division, suggested what ought to have been done in the early morning. That was to have men row across in the pontoon boats and drive the small force of riflemen away. Upon the advice and consent of General Hunt this method was now adopted. The Seventh Michigan, Colonel Hall's regiment, volunteered for the work to a man. and the Nineteenth Massachusetts, under Captain Weymouth. volunteered to support the Michigan men. So the matter was arranged and the Seventh Michigan led the way across the river in boats. They lost some men in crossing. The Massachusetts men hurried across as a support. They cleared the streets of the city next to the river and the pontoon bridges were hastily completed. Our Brigade was the second to cross the river. The Thirty-fourth New York had the lead and the First Minnesota brought up the rear. Companies B and D, under command of Major Cunningham, were detached to support Battery E. Second U.S. artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Benjamin, and did not cross the river with us. We marched up Fauguier street a short distance in a direct line with the bridge until we came near Caroline street, where there was some firing. The Regiment spent the night in the streets of the city. a memorable night in the history of the Regiment. recrossed the river at the close of the battle without bringing back some trophy by which to remember the city. Some of the boys slept on feather beds spread in the streets. There were no very stringent orders—certainly none that were obeyed against going into the residences and helping oneself. There were some amusing spectacles resulting from our indulgence in the various intoxicants found in the cellars of residences, but to the honor of our soldiers it can be said, that no woman or child was insulted or treated with disrespect while we occupied the city.

After the first night south of the river, the Regiment moved from place to place on the extreme right of the line with great frequency. The 12th of December was a very foggy day. The Second Corps held the extreme right of our line, with a portion of the Ninth Corps on its left. In the morning of the 12th,

the Regiment moved out toward the front and was placed, with the Brigade, behind a small ridge near the town. The next morning two companies of the Regiment were detailed to relieve a portion of the Fifteenth Massachusetts on an outpost. The Regiment moved out Hanover street early in the afternoon of the 13th, following Owen's Brigade.

Marye's Heights was held by Longstreet and during the terrific storm of lead and iron, where thousands of brave men were uselessly sacrificed, our Regiment was comparatively unharmed. Perhaps a postscript in General Burnside's order for battle had something to do with saving us. The postscript was as follows:—"As Howard's Division led into the town, it is proper that one of the others take the advance." Marye's Heights was held by Longstreet's Corps, but the greater part of his troops were as much spectators of the battle as were the Union troops around the Lacy House.

It would be unprofitable to attempt to describe the sickening details of the unprecedented and criminal slaughter of our troops as they charged hopelessly against the impregnable Confederate works along Marye's Heights.

On the morning of December 13th, our Brigade was moved with the Division to the right of the city, our Brigade being on the extreme right of the army. The fog lifted about ten o'clock, so that we could see the Confederate works, and the useless slaughter began just before noon. We could dimly see through the smoke the attacks of the Divisions of French and Hancock of our Corps, as they bravely crossed the canal and the plain swept by the enemy's batteries and charged against the stone wall at the foot of Marye's Heights. One lone Union soldier got within thirty yards of the Confederate lines and fell dead, a sacrifice to Burnside's incompetency. The dead bodies of a few others were found after the battle from fifty to a hundred yards distant from the Confederate fortifications. The great bulk of our losses was received when our men were within from two to four hundred yards of the enemy's lines.

The stupidity and obstinacy of Burnside led him, late in the afternoon of the 13th, to issue urgent orders that the Confederate works must be carried before night.

At the beginning of the battle, General E. P. Alexander, Chief of Artillery in Longstreet's Corps, said to General Longstreet, with reference to the plain over which our troops must charge: "General, we cover that ground so that we will comb it as with a fine-tooth comb. A chicken could not live on that field when we open on it." General Alexander was pretty nearly right.

Less than one-half of the troops in Lee's army was actually

engaged.

Sergeant Samuel Smith, of Company F, contributes his experience in this battle:

"My experience in the battle of Fredericksburg was something I shall not soon forget and a part of which I will relate. The few of us now left that were there at that time will remember the first night that we crossed the river into the city of Fredericksburg. Street fighting was going on all night and, although we were not in advance, we had plenty to do and none of the boys got any rest. Well do I remember the old wooden pump at the corner of the street, where I stopped to get water and counted seven of our boys stretched on the ground about the pump, where Rebel sharpshooters concealed in a building near by had picked them off as fast as they came there for water The next day we were on duty all day, though not much fighting was done on our part of the line. The whole army seemed to be preparing for the struggle of the 13th, in which part of our Brigade took an active part. That night found us on the firing line and after it became quite dark, an officer came walking along in front of our line. As the men would raise their heads to see who it could be, the officer would say, 'General Howard, boys, General Howard;' and the sound of his voice and the knowledge that he was there seemed to give the men some assurance. A little later we had orders to fall into line quietly, which we did and fell back a short distance. We were then told that we could get some rest, which the men felt that they needed. Not all of us had the good fortune to remain there long. About nine o'clock I heard an orderly inquiring for our Orderly Sergeant. Sergeant Rideout made his appearance and the orderly said to him, 'Sergeant, detail a resolute man from your company to go on an outpost in the face of the enemy.' Well, I thought I was safe. None of the boys seemed to want that job. geant Rideout came down the line, where most of the men were already asleep and touched me with his boot and said, 'Get up and report for duty with this man.' I did as ordered, and as we went along, he gathered up one man from each company in the Nineteenth and I think some more in the rest of the Brigade. We were conducted to a house well up on the right, where a reserve picket was quartered. At about twelve o'clock I was taken out by the Sergeant to a position well up on the side of a hill and very close to the rebel pickets. I was stationed behind a large, square, white oak gate post, such as was common in that part of the country, the sides of which were well torn and splintered by rebel bullets that had hit it the day before. This was some distance in front of a residence which I have since learned belonged to a Dr. Taylor. I was not placed there to fight, but to watch, and my orders were to remain there until relieved, unless driven in. The time of my

relief was very uncertain, and, as may be supposed, I remained on my side of the gate post. In the morning it was very unsafe to relieve me and it would have been very unsafe for me to have gone back to our lines, While lying there that forenoon, I was in plain view of our artillery on the other side of the river and which was firing more or less during that time. Their shells dropped about on a line with the place where I lay, and not a shot, as far as I could see, reached up to the rebel works

on the heights.

"Sometime in the forenoon, General Howard and his staff rode out to a residence in the outskirts of the city and below my position and in about one minute a rebel battery got their bearing and sent several shells in quick succession down through the trees and shrubbery where these officers were watching, whereupon they vacated their point of observation in a hurry. I remained on that post until about twelve o'clock, when a Sergeant from the Fifteenth Massachusetts came out to my post and conducted me back to our lines. This was well up to our right, and I immediately started to hunt up the old Regiment, which I found down toward the center and just drawn up for an advance to the front. I had been forty-eight hours without sleep and twelve hours under fire."

It is almost miraculous that no citizens were wounded in Fredericksburg, so far as is known. Few women were seen, as the few who remained there kept within the houses. At one time when our boys were attempting to get out of the range of shells which came ricochetting and bursting down over Hanover Street, a young woman of respectable appearance was seen walking along the street, apparently unconcerned, paying no attention whatever to the bursting shells. The contrast between her attitude and that of the soldiers was at least interesting.

In General Sully's official report of the battle, he makes the following complimentary allusion to the Regiment:— "It would be impossible for me to make any distinction in the conduct of the regiments of the Brigade; but it may, however be my duty to especially notice the Nineteenth Regiment Maine Volunteers, who for the first time smelled gunpowder, and apparently did not dislike the smell of it."

Lieutenant-Colonel Heath commanded the Regiment from Saturday, December 13th, until we recrossed the river,—Colonel Sewell being sick.

The losses in the Union Army in this battle were about 12,500 men. The Confederate losses were about one-third of this number, the greater part of which occured on our left, where our men had at least some chance of success. The casualties

in the old Second Corps were 3850, the largest loss which any corps suffered.

The following is a list of the wounded of the Nineteenth Maine in the battle of Fredericksburg:

Company F.

John E. Brann, Dec. 13th, slight.

Company G.

First Lieutenant Everett M. Whitehouse, Dec. 13th, shell wound, slight.

Gilmore T. Barter, wounded in foot, Dec. 13th. Horace Holmes' wounded in hand, Dec. 12th.

Company I.

Corporal William E. Evans, wounded Dec. 13th.

Under date of January 1st, Captain Nash wrote as follows:

"The enemy are still in the Sebastopol behind Fredericksburg, and continue to strongly picket their shore of the river. They appear to be fortifying their present almost impregnable position, with considerable industry. Until the recent order from headquarters, prohibiting communication between pickets, the rebels would manifest a very fraternizing disposition, and frequently forded the river for the purpose of paying our soldiers a friendly visit. These specimens of the rebel army complain much of being in need of blankets, and evince a strong regard for Federal overcoats, frequently opening conversation by striving to barter for one. Tobacco, of which they are abundantly supplied, is their standard commodity, and which they gladly exchange for coffee, jackknives, pipes, portemonnaies, etc. Our soldiers have had instruction to let them have no clothing, under any circumstances.

"A few weeks since, our Regiment was picketing a portion of the Rappahannock, when a detachment of greybacks came down to the shore and inquired if they might cross. They were told that if they brought no weapons with them they would not be detained, so over they came, loaded with tobacco. They were of the Tenth Alabama Regiment. A lieutenant came with them. Tobacco is an article continually in demand among soldiers, and of which at that time our Regiment was nearly destitute. It is needless for me to say, that a good supply of the stuff was husbanded by the Nineteenth on that day. All officers, of course, discountenanced such proceedings and burned all they could get. If the rebels are not open to the crime of conveying comfort to their enemies, I am no judge. Since the return of the Nineteenth from Fredericksburg, we have occupied our old quarters and kill time by company and battalion drills. Our camp is two miles above Fredericksburg and but a short distance from the little village of Falmouth. We are near the river, and within shelling distance of the rebels. Three lines of rebel fortifications can be distinctly seen.

"There has been considerable sickness in this Regiment since the cold weather set in and its numbers have decreased sadly. The sick and wounded have been sent to Washington, and other places. Our Brigade is composed of the Nineteenth Maine, Thirty-fourth New York, Fifteenth Massachusetts, Eighty-second New York and First Minnesota Regiments; and is at present commanded by Colonel Morehead,

of Pennsylvania. General Howard commands our Division. He frequently visits us, and is ever warmly welcomed. That empty

sleeve speaks volumes.

"As to the recent battle of Fredericksburg, I have little to write. We were there, and came back again. The Nineteenth has elicited much praise for its coolness. While the dead were multiplying by scores, all around, not a soldier of the Nineteenth was known to flinch, notwithstanding a whole brigade, only a few paces in the rear, broke and ran. Our brigade was the second to cross the river, and remained in front nearly the entire four days, hourly exposed to the murderous shells of the enemy, as they crashed through the buildings. Probably a more dangerous, important and honorable position we will never again be called upon to occupy for so long a period. The greatest calamity of all to our cause, was the fact that our army was obliged to retire from the hard-fought field. But this need not discourage us. The rebels will not meet us in open field. They know, from very sad experience, that the Yankees can fight as well and die as nobly as the best of chivalry. We will cage them by and by. So let us continue to trust in Providence and General Burnside. Colonel Sewell of our Regiment is at present absent from his command. Lieutenant-Colonel Heath fills his place."

After the battle of Fredericksburg, the moral spirit and confidence of the army were greatly impaired. A gloomier or more disconsolate body of men it would be difficult to find. The lack of confidence in General Burnside was general throughout the army. The men were willing to fight and sacrifice where they had a fair show, but they objected to giving their lives an unavailing sacrifice to the blundering stupidity and incapacity of their commanders. The newspaper conception that soldiers were "eager for the fray" was more of a fiction than a reality.

During the gloomy days at Falmouth after the battle of Fredericksburg it was a welcome sight to see Tom Child, the regimental postmaster, on that old, white horse, come cantering across the plain below our camp. It meant to many letters and papers from home. Child afterward became First Lieutenant of Company E, Thirty-first Maine Regiment.

The interesting comments and reminiscences of Lieutenant George R. Palmer, who during this period was acting Orderly Sergeant of Company I, are worthy of insertion here.

"A general of ancient times made himself famous for building a bridge known in classic literature as the 'Pons Asinorum.' If instead of boats, General Burnside had utilized the backs of asses upon which to lay his bridges, and the asses had run away before the army crossed the Rappahannock, the result would have been much better for the Union forces. It has been affirmed that this pontoon bridge crossed by our Regiment was laid in as hazardous a place as any position used for such crossing during the war. The buildings along the river bank

that were struck by the shot and shell of our artillery before we crossed, upon our return were gazing provokingly at our rear. We marched into quarters at Falmouth upon a gentle rise of ground and on the up-river side of our crossing. While the hill was in view from the river bank below, the fact that we were to pass the winter there was not thought of when we had taken our position. Could we have known earlier, much better would we have fitted the situation and made the environment

fit ourselves.

"Fredericksburg, our first battle, had been a discouraging introduction to the real conflict of war. Before the battle, General Howard the Havelock of the army, addressed the Regiment in a speech, the design of which was to raise our hopes that in a short time we should drive the enemy from the heights of Fredericksburg. As the soldiers had been in sight of that semi-circle of strong fortresses commanding the situation, probably the hopes of many were mingled with fears. But as the enemy had been on the retreat and we had little knowledge of military strategy, we knew no better than to believe trustworthy men, even when forecasting the slippery contingencies of war. The descent from elevated anticipations only brought the men to lower depression.

"With little experience in marching, the Regiment made the distance from Harper's Ferry, were exposed to heavy rains and were assigned to work on the Belle Plain corduroy. When men who had never seen lumber regions, girdled trees, hacked them down and felled them criss-cross as though they were playing jack straws, the Maine soldier,—the man with the axe, was brought into service where he had not the best chances to take care of himself. This being our first winter in army life, we had not become acclimated. With little to sustain the mind of the men in a state of expectancy, with all the features of the holiday now gone, and gone forever, with homesick yearnings weighing heavily on the heart after the disappointment and chagrin of defeat, and with little knowledge of how to live in winter quarters, the body and mind of many of the soldiers lost tone and in this debilitated condition became easy victims of disease.

"In winter quarters the log houses of the soldiers were built on company streets, at right angles with the road that ran along the regimental line. Some of the buildings had tent roofing and at the ends or sides of the buildings were chimneys, constructed of pieces of wood and plastered with Virginia mud. If the plaster did not stand the winter, it was replaced with new mortar. Northern contractors and builders have since taken up the fashion of outside chimneys. were built in various ways, some being made with poles and some with barrel staves resting upon side pieces, and these resting upon sticks driven into the ground. These simple cots answered for beds and seats, and on them many soldiers found hard rest, and suffered comfort. Upon them, alas too many were mustered out of the warfare of The growing timber was used for company barracks, and at first rather lavishly used for fires in the open, and it may be easily imagined that with 100,000 soldiers within a radius of a few miles, within a short time, there would be nothing of trees but stumps, and the men must make chips of these stumps or carry wood long distances on their backs. Large details were made for picket and special duty, and company and regimental drills were kept up when the weather permitted. Sickness made its encroachments, and the mettle of the men was severely tested. If not in cold and exposure, in other forms of trial our Falmouth camp was our Valley Forge of the civil war.

Visiting the surgeon's quarters soon became a regular and somewhat prominent part of the day's duties. During the winter, the Regiment lost about one hundred men by sickness, and the burial of the comrades was a pathetic sight. Some one from an adjacent regiment said that 'the Nineteenth Maine men are building a railroad to the graveyard.' One by one, one by one, these men were borne along that track. The expiring comrade 'wrapt the drapery of his couch about him,' and that drapery was the army blanket. In this he was buried, and his only headstone was a piece of hard bread box. Later some boxes were provided in which the dead were buried. The signal of the burial was given by the muffled drum, the powerful pathos of which went through all the camp. Amid the sadness of a burial a peculiar incident occurred which may be remanded to the realm of the serio-comic. Several regiments used the same cemetery, and a detail from one regiment (and because of the high respect for the honor of our own, let it not be designated), was ordered to dig a grave. Arriving at the burial lot, they found a grave already dug for a departed comrade of another regiment. As this discovery relieved them from the necessity of digging in hard pan, they appropriated the grave, and the best thing for the other regiment to do was to accept the situation and dig another grave, which they did with muttered curses. Two things with interrogation points may be said in palliation of the ridiculous act of stealing a grave. One is that it is not uncommon for men among soldiers and soldiers to have an unwritten law that it is their privilege to appropriate anything not under guard. The other extenuation is the late claim of science that in embryo a person may be vaccinated with lazy bacteria that convinces him that he should not work for anything that his ingenuity can extract from the other fellow.

"In winter quarters at first one or more of the companies had company cooks, and from large kettles burnt rice and other unrecognized foods not tempting to epicures, were served. So the soldiers soon messed in groups and cooked their food according to their own skill and tastes, and found that more satisfactory. The commissary supplied a preparation called 'desiccated vegetables,' and as the name was unfamiliar, the men persisted in calling it 'desecrated' vegetables, and they seemed to have a prejudice against it. Doubtless this oddly flavored ration was healthful for those who would eat it. articles for comfort and luxury were sent from friends at home, and as transportation was insufficient for extras in addition to the enormous freight, perishable articles were often delayed, with damage to the goods and disappointment to the soldiers. Not only were the choicest delicacies spoiled, but those cure-all, home-made wines and other restoratives and delicious drinks were sometimes missing from the cases. One explanation of this was that the boxes were inspected at Division headquarters, and that the officers, thinking the thirsty soldiers might inbibe too freely and suffer for it, and thinking it wrong to waste delicacies, devoted the libations in honor of Bacchus by the modern method of appropriating it to themselves. However this may be, the lasting gratitude of the veteran is due to the friends at home who spared no pains to relieve the want of soldiers and provide them supplies for emergencies in the form of lint, bandages and medicines The government tried hard to make connection between the Northern home and the Virginia camp. The hearts of the dear ones at home were with the absent ones, and oftimes in the thought and dreams of the soldier, the home and the camp were nearer together than were the comrades who touched elbows.

"While in winter quarters the commissary somewhat enlarged the bill of fare and bighearted Uncle Sam tried to do his best for us. Sometimes rations were delayed, hard bread was piled up by the stations and exposed to rain. Many of the men could testify to their sorrow that when the meals were served, uninvited guests would appear, and their presence had a peculiar effect. The more the guests the more dinner was left when the meal was ended, for they came 'not to eat but to be eaten,' and they always failed to bring any appetizer with them.

"Crawling worms were not the most humiliating visitors in an old camp. The great body of our men (for this was before we had the city bounty-jumpers) were men from good families, who had been taught that cleanliness was next to godliness, and there may have been more who were making a brave fight to get next to their godliness than there were seeking the attainment itself. Alas, before the warm spring returned one of the plagues of Egypt appeared. In Egypt the dust was changed to living things, but whence these visitors came the soldier knew not and little cared if they could rid themselves of the hateful, abominable creatures. The veterans engaged in a war of extermination and the only sure cure was the boiling of garments in camp kettles."

Two abortive attempts to advance with the army were made by General Burnside after the battle of Fredericksburg and before he was removed. The first of these was made near the close of December, when Burnside planned to cross the Rappahannock some seven miles below Fredericksburg and attack the right flank of Lee's army and at the same time to send a cavalry expedition around the Confederate right flank and rear to cut the railroad communications of the enemy. The cavalry expedition had already started. President Lincoln telegraphed Burnside on December 30th not to undertake active operations without consulting him. This put an end to the movement, and Burnside, chagrined by the instructions of the President, went to Washington. Upon visiting the President, Burnside was informed that certain officers from the army had represented that owing to the feeling of distrust and general demoralization of the troops any advance of the army then would be unfortunate. Burnside returned to the army and resumed the humiliating position of commander without the confidence of his subordinate officers or the administration at Washington. He ought not to have been required to occupy this position, under the circumstances, for a single day.

It appears that Generals John Newton and John Cochrane of the Sixth Army Corps, the latter part of December, 1862, went to Washington and represented to the President the condition of the army and its lack of confidence in Burnside. General Burnside received some information from the President and afterwards learned fully of this clandestine visit of Newton and Cochrane, He then prepared what he called General Order No. 8, dismissing from service Generals Hooker, Brooks and Newton, and relieving from duty Generals Franklin, W. F. Smith, Sturgis, Ferrero, Cochrane and Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Taylor. The President disapproved the order and directed Burnside not to advance with the army again without his consent.

During the next month a half-hearted assent for another advance movement was obtained from General Halleck with the tacit approval of the President. This contemplated crossing the army at Bank's Ford, some seven miles above Fredericksburg. Feints of crossing were to be made at different points above and below the city in order to mask the real intent. This was the celebrated "mud march" of January 20–23, 1863. Second Corps, being encamped in sight of the enemy, was to remain in camp until the other troops had effected a crossing of the river. On the 17th and 18th of January the weather turned cold and the ground froze hard. Unusual activity prevailed throughout the army. On account of the weather, the movement was postponed for twenty-four hours. Early on the morning of the 20th, the army, except Sumner's Grand Division, started out. It was a cloudy, threatening day. Infantry, batteries, artillery, ammunition wagons and pontoon boats mingled in some confusion, and staff officers hurrying forward and back, all pressed forward toward the place of crossing. Early in the evening a cold rain set in and, with heavy wind prevailing much of the time, it rained incessantly for thirty hours. It seemed as though the very bottom had dropped out of the earth. soldiers sunk to their knees in mud, which resembled sticky paste. Cannon and wagons sank to the hubs of the wheels. Long ropes were obtained and hitched to carriages on which were the pontoons and men were detailed to pull them out of the mud. But it was mud everywhere and men were set at work building corduroy roads over which wagons and cannon might be drawn. The "Johnnies" goodnaturedly offered to come over the river and help us out of the mud. The movement was abandoned and the disgusted and bedraggled troops waded back to their camps. The Nineteenth Maine remained in their tents, discussing and commenting on the proper way to conduct the war.

There was a review of the Second Corps by Generals Sumner and Burnside on the 17th of January. It was a cold, perfunctory affair. General Hooker superseded General Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac late in January and General Sumner, the old commander of the Second Corps, retired from active service and went to his home in Syracuse, New York, where he died two months later. General Sumner was not a West Point officer. He had been in the military service continuously for upwards of forty years, having served in the Mexican War and in Kansas during its bloody history, where he incurred the displeasure of Jeff Davis, the then Secretary of War. Before the commencement of the Civil War he was Colonel of the First United States Cavalry and among the subordinate officers of that regiment were Joseph E. Johnston, J. E. B. Stuart, John Sedgwick, Frank Wheaton and David S. Stanley. General Sumner accompanied President Lincoln from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, in February 1861. having been selected for that duty by General Scott. He was regarded as one of the ablest and most loyal officers in the Union Army.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN

General Hooker was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, succeeding General Burnside, on the 25th of January, 1863. The Grand Division organization introduced by Burnside was abandoned. General Franklin was relegated to the rear because of charges made against him by Burnside of showing lack of energy on the 13th of December. General Hooker introduced "Corps badges," which became so convenient and popular and they continued to be used until the close of the war. The device for the Second Corps badge was a trefoil or cloverleaf,—the First Division being red in color, the Second white and the Third blue. So the Nineteenth boys sewed upon their caps this badge, a clover-leaf shape made of white cloth. Some had silver badges, as they were more aristocratic in appearance.

The army was reinforced by the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, under Generals Howard and Slocum, from other departments, to compensate for losses incurred in the battle of Fredericksburg. General Howard did not assume the command of the Eleventh Corps until some time in April, and he was succeeded in command of our Division by Brigadier-General John Gibbon, from the first corps.

Whatever may have been Hooker's shortcomings, he was an excellent organizer. The men's rations were improved, new clothing was issued and regular battallion and brigade drills were instituted. New life was instilled into all departments of the army. The cavalry was for the first time brought forward and used as an important arm of the service, desertions practically ceased and a new spirit was infused into the body of the soldiery. Orders were given on January 30th from the head-quarters of the army that furloughs might be granted for fifteen days to one regimental and two line officers to each regiment

and two enlisted men for every one hundred men present for duty. This gave each company a furlough for one enlisted man.

Sergeant Samuel Smith, of Company F, gives his experience in obtaining a furlough at this time.

"About ten or twelve men in Company F put in an application for a furlough, and the Captain decided to determine who was entitled thereto by drawing lots. One evening the applicants gathered about his tent and he put into a hat as many tickets as there were applicants for furloughs, all of the tickets being blanks but one, and that was marked 'furlough.' The men began to draw out blanks but when it came my turn, I put my hand into the hat and took out the 'furlough.' Well, this was a new sensation, as I had never thought of going home until the expiration of my term of service. The names of the applicants were sent to headquarters and in due time the papers came around, with all necessary red tape attached. On my furlough appeared the following signatures with their approval: Captain I. W. Starbird, commanding Company; Major H. W. Cunningham, commanding Regiment; Colonel F. D. Sewell, commanding Brigade; Brigadier-General Joshua T. Owen, commanding Second Corps; Major-General D. N. Couch, commanding Right Grand Division. I have the furlough yet and in good state of preservation. It is dated near Falmouth, Virginia, February 4th, '63, and in it I was directed to report back to my Company at the expiration of fifteen days or be considered a deserter. The next morning a large company of us started for Belle Plain Landing, where, we were told, a steamer would be in waiting to take us to Washington. There was a small steamer waiting for us, but it did not take a very keen observer to see that when the steamer was loaded to the gunwales there would still be a big crowd on the shore. Every man must go to a little office window, present his furlough and have it leisurely looked over by the one clerk, before he could get his ticket for the boat. I decided that if I was left it would not be my fault. So when the steamer had taken about the last man she could carry, I was on board and we started north, leaving many disappointed men on the wharf."

Before the battle of Chancellorsville there had been several changes among the commissioned officers of the Regiment. Colonel Sewell resigned February 19th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Heath was promoted to be Colonel, March 2nd, 1863. Chaplains Whittlesey and Palmer had both resigned and left the Regiment, the former in September, 1862, and the latter in February, 1863, and Rev. George W. Hathaway, a Congregational minister from Skowhegan, was commissioned Chaplain and remained with the Regiment until the close of the war. James M. Hathaway, Captain of Company A, resigned Nov. 5, '62, and Lieutenant Spaulding was promoted to fill the vacancy.

Captain Horace C. Noyes, of Company B, resigned February 20, '63, and Lieutenant Parsons was promoted to fill the vacancy some months later. Charles H. Rowell, Captain of Company C, had resigned October 12, '62, and Lieutenant Whitmore, of Company F, was promoted to the vacancy. Daniel L. Dickey, Captain of Company E, resigned January 1, '63, and Lieutenant Richards of the same Company was promoted to the vacant Captaincy. Joseph Eaton, Jr., Captain of Company H, resigned October 31.'62.and Lieutenant Lincoln of the same Company was promoted to be Captain. Captain Edwin A. Snow, Company I, resigned February 23, '63, and First Lieutenant George D. Smith became Captain of the Company. Charles L. Larrabee, Captain of Company K, resigned March 3,'63, and Lieutenant Bunker became the Captain of the Company the same month. William Clements and Jasper Gordon, Lieutenants of Company B, resigned, the former, October 17, '62, and the latter February 17, '63. Lieutenants Joseph H. Hunt and Francis M. Ames, of Company C, resigned October 21 and November 18, respectively. Lieutenant James Johnson, of Company E, resigned October 2, '62. Lieutenant Gershom F. Burgess, of Company I, resigned February 10, '63. Lieutenant Almon Goodwin, Second Lieutenant of Company C, resigned, by reason of ill health, December 17, '62. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College and very highly respected. Second Lieutenant B. B. Hansen, of Company K, resigned January 23, '63. Many of these resignations of Lieutenants were filled by promotion from the ranks. The efficiency of the Regiment was in no way diminished by these changes.

First Lieutenant Joseph Nichols, of Company C, was tried by courtmartial and cashiered February 16, '63. He had resigned, urging as a reason that he did not approve of President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. The resignation was disapproved and forwarded to Brigade and Division headquarters. Either at Division or Corps headquarters the resignation was returned with orders to place Lieutenant Nichols under arrest, confine him in the guard house and immediately prefer charges against him. Lieutenant Nichols was from Phippsburg,

a democrat in politics and when he entered the service his democratic friends laughed at him for going into the army to "fight for the d——d niggers." Nichols did not expect his resignation to be accepted. He expected a reprimand and then having placed himself right with his democratic associates at home, he would gladly and loyally serve his country in the field. He was a pleasant and lovable man and the officers and a great many of the men were very fond of him. Captain Fogler defended him before the court martial. He left the Regiment regretted by all who knew him.

From the time of our arrival at Falmouth, much sickness prevailed and the losses in the Regiment by death was something fearful. Many were discharged from the service that first winter by reason of disease. Within two months from the battle of Fredericksburg, ten boys sickened and died in Company A, and nine in Company I. The death rate was nearly as large in some of the other companies. Many of these lives might have been saved could they have had proper medical advice and nourishing food in the early stages of their illness.

When the men of the Regiment awoke on the morning of February 22nd, they were surprised to find a foot of snow on the ground. It snowed nearly all day and the weather became very cold. On the 31st of March another cold snowstorm occurred.

The records of the Regiment disclose that Captain Lincoln of Company H, overstayed his leave of absence in February, '63, was tried and acquitted by a military court. The same kind of treatment was accorded Lieutenant Hunter the same month. In early April, '63, Major Welch overstayed his fifteen days' leave of absence by one day and after a laborious session of the court-martial, he was acquitted. Enlisted men paid the penalty for like offense by a sojourn in the guard house. Adjutant Haskell overstayed his leave of absence from March 17th, to 21st, '63, and a court-martial in his case resulted in a forfeiture of four days' pay. The records disclose that Adjutant Haskell was frequently under arrest and always by order of Lieutenant

Colonel Cunningham. He would generally be released from arrest upon the return of Colonel Heath. In fact, the relationship between Cunningham and Haskell was not of the David and Jonathan type.

The letter of Captain Nash dated February 15th, 1863, contains the following:

"The Nineteenth has very comfortable winter quarters, and affairs move along pleasantly. A recent injection of the Regiments, in accordance with orders from General Hooker, gives us the following report:

"There is no better Regiment of its age in the service. Well drilled, well disciplined, in excellent condition, and well cared for.

George W. Macy, Inspector First Brigade, Second Division, Second Corps,

Major, Twentieth Massachusetts Vols.,

A fine regiment. A. F. Devereux, Division Inspecting Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Nineteenth Massachusetts Vols.

"The Regiment has earned its enviable reputation and will maintain it untarnished. Its rolls show a larger number of men for duty than any other Maine Regiment now in the field, whose term of service is three years. It is considered by the boys a thing of considerable bigness to have their Regiment stand the highest among the thirteen regiments composing the Second Division."

In accordance with the provisions of General Order No. 18 from the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, dated March 3rd, '63, the Regiment was granted one-third more furloughs by reason of the high commendation of inspection officers. This distinction was given to the Nineteenth as one out of twelve regiments in the army thus honored. The First Minnesota, of our Brigade, was one of the twelve regiments. The Tenth Maine was also in this list.

Late in March, Governor Andrew G. Curtin came to the army and the Pennsylvania troops in our Division were drawn up in a hollow square to receive him. Governor Curtin delivered to them a patriotic address. He was a fine looking man and an excellent speaker. Many of the men from our Regiment went over to listen to his speech and joined in cheering at its close.

Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts attended the dress parade of the Fifteenth Massachusetts on April 16th, and some of our boys had an opportunity to hear him speak. He was a

swarthy man, with a clean-shaven face, and was an attractive speaker.

The use of balloons was first employed, in a practical way, by the Union Army on the Peninsula in April, 1862. The usual height of observation was some less than a thousand feet. The enemy sometimes used a Whitworth gun on the balloon when poised in the air about three hundred feet high. The men of the Nineteenth will remember how rapidly the observation balloon descended several times in the vicinity of Falmouth when fired at in the spring of 1863. About this time their use was abandoned. The writer could never understand why the employment of these military balloons was given up. Their use made it possible to observe the position and movements of the enemy when atmospheric conditions were favorable. Even if the observers never saw very much, they were worth all they cost by the annoyance and delays they caused the enemy in trying to keep their movements concealed.

Early in April, President Lincoln, his wife and son Thomas ("Tad"), came down to visit the Army. On the 6th of April the President reviewed the Second Corps and some other troops. Mr. Lincoln, his son, General Hooker, Couch and many other officers rode along our lines and then we marched in review before them. The President, instead of having a very large horse to ride, corresponding in some degree with his own great height, had a horse rather below the average size, thus compelling the President to ride in an awkward position. He wore a high silk hat. Little Tad, now ten or eleven years of age, who had become the President's almost constant companion, was mounted upon a small sized horse and rode like a veteran. President Lincoln seemed intent upon looking into the faces of his soldiers. The writer will never forget the President's anxious expression, the deep lines of care and suffering upon his face, the great furrows marked upon his patient features by long months of suffering and disappointment. He looked, indeed, as though he was carrying a great burden.

General Hooker gave the Presidential party a great dinner, at which all the Corps commanders were present. Before

leaving for Washington, President Lincoln called General Hooker and General Couch, his senior Corps commander, aside, and while endeavoring to impress upon them certain things, which he desired, these were almost his last words: "In your next battle, *put in all your men*." If this injunction had been obeyed, the humiliating history of Chancellorsville need never have been written.

The Second Corps had been called upon to perform no duty outside of picketing and camp guard since the middle of December, except that our Division had gone out on the Hartwood Church road as far as Berea Church, some ten or twelve miles, on the 25th of February. This movement was for the purpose of intercepting a body of Confederate cavalry, raiding on the right flank of our army. The Regiment left camp about nine o'clock at night and a little after midnight it began to rain. A short time previous to this there had been a fall of snow to the depth of six or seven inches, which had turned to slush and water. The boys just waded in slush and by daylight the next morning the rain was coming down in torrents. We simply marched out and then marched back through this pelting storm. The enemy was not disposed to wait for us, so we did not meet him. We got back from this disagreeable expedition about noon the next day.

The movement of the troops under General Hooker preparatory to the battle of Chancellorsville began as early as April 21st. The real movements, however, began on the 27th of April. General Hooker's army at this time comprised seven Corps of three Divisions each and numbered about 118,000 men. The number of the Corps and their commanders were as follows:—First Corps, General Reynolds; Second, Couch; Third, Sickles; Fifth, Meade; Sixth, Sedgwick; Eleventh, Howard; Twelfth, Slocum. For the first time the cavalry was organized into a separate Corps and numbered about 12,000 men, under command of General Stoneman. The batteries, comprising some four hundred guns, were distributed among the infantry divisions, excepting some ten or fifteen batteries held in reserve for emergencies. The Confederate army at this time was

divided into two corps, one commanded by Jackson and the other by Longstreet. These corps had four divisions each. General Longstreet himself with two divisions of his Corps was not present at the battle but was operating in the region about Suffolk. It is pretty difficult to state accurately the strength of the Confederate forces at Chancellorsville. They claim that they did not have to exceed 60,000 men of all arms. General Stuart commanded their cavalry, numbering between 3,000 and 4,000 men. The field batteries of the Confederates comprised about 175 guns.

Our task is to tell what Hooker did, and not what he might have done. It is not within the proper scope of this history to trace and analyze all the marvelous blunders which turned the battle of Chancellorsville into a disgraceful defeat. Some outline of the battle, however, must be given in order that the reader may the better understand the movements of the troops in our own Brigade.

It is generally conceded that the plan of the battle originally was excellent and everything moved as designed until the troops were all in their appointed places on the afternoon of Thursday, the 30th of April. Then and during the next few days there were manifested a series of blunders, a working at cross-purposes, vascillation and incompetency, hardly paralleled during the war. The Corps commanders were all loyal to Hooker and endeavored to carry out his vascillating instructions. Outside of the shameful rout of the Eleventh Corps on the 3rd of May, the men stood bravely by their guns and fought well. For the surprise and rout of the Eleventh Corps the men in the ranks were in no wise responsible.

The cavalry, except one Brigade, was all sent off under General Stoneman, some days before the battle of Chancellors-ville, to cut the railroad communications of the enemy. General Hooker was thus deprived of an important branch of his army when he most needed it. As the cavalry under Stoneman had no more influence on the results of the battle than as though they had been in camp on the north side of the Rappahannock, it will not be necessary to mention this arm of the ser-

vice while discussing Chancellorsville. Before two o'clock p.m., Thursday, April 30th, the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, having crossed the river some distance to the northwest, arrived at Chancellorsville. The troops were in fine condition. greatly elated over the fact, that without fighting, they were upon the flank of the enemy, taking in reverse his entire system of river defenses. Chancellorsville is on the eastern border of that "wilderness" in which the Army of the Potomac was caught a year later—a region of tangled thickets, of stunted pine, scrub oak, blind paths, ravines and swamps. No enemy of any account was in front of the troops. Less than two miles to the east, the country was open and the ground high, affording an opportunity for the use of artillery. The troops around Chancellorsville on this afternoon (some 40,000 in number) were under command of General Slocum, the senior officer present, who had been ordered by General Hooker to advance far enough to uncover Banks' Ford, if the enemy was not in any "considerable force" in his front. Why was this not done? Because General Hooker himself, at 2:15 p. m., issued another order reading, "No advance beyond Chancellorsville until columns are concentrated." It does not appear why this order modifying the former instructions was issued. General Hooker arrived upon the field late in the afternoon, and issued his bombastic order reciting that "our enemy must either ingloriously fly or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." This was a statement not warranted by the facts and a prediction, unfortunately, that was not fulfilled.

On Friday, May 1st, late in the morning, the Union forces at Chancellorsville, under orders from Hooker, pushed out toward Fredericksburg. On the day before our troops might have advanced beyond the confines of the wilderness without any serious fighting. An hour or so was now consumed in reconnoitering the ground to the front. Two divisions of the Second Corps were present. The Union forces moved out in three columns and gained the high ground beyond the limits of the wilderness where the country was open and artillery could

be used. This advanced position was obtained after some spirited fighting on the turnpike. Everything seemed to be moving to the advantage of the Union forces. A little after noon, and after one hour's time consumed in the advance movement, an order came from General Hooker to withdraw the lines to Chancellorsville! Couch, Hancock, Sykes, Warren and other officers sent a staff officer to represent to General Hooker the favorable position and condition of our troops and begged that he would reconsider the order to fall back. General Meade, some of whose troops were in sight of Banks' Ford, but who himself was with Couch, Hancock, Sykes and other officers where the fighting was, exclaimed, when Hooker's orders for retreat came: "My God! if we can't hold the top of the hill, we certainly can't hold the bottom of it." Hooker, now seized with hesitation and doubts, the forerunner of disaster, returned positive orders to fall back. From that moment, the Army of the Potomac was defeated. The position abandoned was excellent; the ground to which our troops retreated was untenable. The Confederates, with wild cheers, followed some portion of our forces. They did not have enough men to extend along our whole front and for some of the distance had only a skirmish line. There were present under General Hooker on May 1st, when this retrograde movement was ordered, more than twice as many men as in the Confederate army confronting him. It would have been a good thing for the Union cause if Hooker could have been "stunned" before twelve o'clock May 1st. rather than later in the battle. From the time that Hooker ordered the troops to retreat from the open country between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, on May 1st, into the tangled underbrush of the wilderness, our forces were on the defensive.

On the night of May 1st, General Jackson, in company with General Lee, planned a flank attack upon the Union forces around Chancellorsville. Early on the morning of May 2nd, he started with his Corps toward our extreme right flank, held by General Howard. Jackson took his troops around considerable distance in the direction of Todd's Tavern, then swung

around on the Brock road, following it up to the Wilderness Tavern. From the Wilderness Tavern his forces, keeping out of sight as much as possible, turned eastward and followed the general direction of the Orange turnpike, feeling their way cautiously toward Howard's lines. In order to deceive General Hooker and occupy his attention, the Confederate skirmishers upon our left were pushed forward against our intrenchments. General Hooker seemed to be possessed by the idea that the Confederates were going to run away. There had not thus far appeared any special reason why General Lee should run away. He had not been harmed except when he attacked the fortified position of General Hooker. The illusions to which Hooker was subject were rashly dispelled before the sun went down that day. When the Eleventh Corps, the smallest in the army, under Howard, was crushed, and when down the road from Dowdall's Tavern came the wreck of the Corps, rushing pellmell to get away from Jackson's men, General Hooker must have thought that possibly he was deluded in his view of the situation. Our Regiment was not there, and it is not the historian's purpose to describe this attack of Jackson and after his wounding, the fight of Jeb. Stuart, who succeeded in command. It is probable that no body of troops, in such a position, could have withstood the attack led by Stonewall Jackson.

Let us see what General Sedgwick was doing in the meantime. Partisans of General Hooker seek to lay the blame of the disaster at Chancellorsville, first, on the stampede of Howard's Eleventh Corps and, second, on the lack of co-operation on the part of Sedgwick. On the 28th of April, Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps moved down the Rappahannock to Franklin's old crossing. The First Corps, under Reynolds, took position about one mile farther down the river and the Third Corps, under Sickles, was placed in the rear and between the other two corps. During the night, a part of the Sixth Corps crossed in boats and laid a pontoon bridge. On the 30th of April, (the day the Third, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps reached Chancellorsville,) Sickles' Third Corps was hastily detached from Sedgwick's force and hurried to the United States Ford to join Hooker. On

Friday, May 1st, at five p. m., an order was received by Sedgwick from Hooker, instructing the former officer to make a strong demonstration against the enemy and when just beginning the advance the order was countermanded. Reynold's First Corps was detached and sent to Hooker on Saturday, the 2nd of May. At 5:25 in the morning of the same day, Sedgwick was ordered to take up all the bridges at Franklin's crossing and below before daylight. Had this order been obeyed, Sedgwick would have retreated back across the river, taken up the bridges in plain sight of the enemy and released the troops in and about Fredericksburg so that they might hasten north and join the bulk of Lee's army. At half past six in the afternoon of May 2nd, Sedgwick was ordered to pursue the enemy by the Bowling Green road, which order was obeyed. At eleven o'clock p. m., he received another order, written fifty minutes earlier than its receipt, directing him to cross the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg upon receipt of the order. move in the direction of Chancellorsville until connection was made with Hooker, to destroy any forces on the road and to be in the vicinity of Hooker by daylight. This was indeed a most remarkable order and impossible of execution. Sedgwick at this time was out on the Bowling Green road, forcing back the Confederates, as ordered by the commander of the army. General Hooker had represented to Sedgwick during the two preceding days that the force of the enemy in his front was insignificant. General Sedgwick believed he could obey the spirit of Hooker's order best by marching up to Fredericksburg without recrossing the river, capture the enemy's works there and hurry on to join Hooker. In endeavoring to carry out this purpose, he was compelled to assault and carry the works in front of Marye's Heights. These were the same fortifications that Sumner's Grand Division had unsuccessfully assaulted so many times the 13th of the preceding December. He would have been obliged to carry these same works had he crossed the river twice and attempted to literally carry out Hooker's order. The trouble was, Hooker underestimated the force opposed to Sedgwick. General Lee in his official report of the battle states that "Early's

Division of Jackson's Corps and Barksdale's Brigade of Mc-Law's Division, with a part of the Reserve artillery under General Pendleton, were entrusted with the defense" of the Confederate position at Fredericksburg. This force, exclusive of the artillery, included twenty-five regiments. On the night of May 1st. General Lee stated that Wilcox's Brigade, consisting of five regiments, was sent to Banks' Ford. General Wilcox in his report says that on May 3rd, when near Salem Church opposing the advance of Sedgwick, he was reinforced by three Brigades of McLaw's Division. General Lee further represented that he sent one of Anderson's Brigades also to reinforce Wilcox, and General Lee himself superintended this movement. It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy as to the number of men opposed to Sedgwick's advance at any particular time. We know this: that the losses in the Sixth Corps during this engagement were nearly five thousand men, of whom five hundred were killed outright. The capture of the works at Marye's Heights was accomplished by Sedgwick in a sharp engagement, in which the Sixth Maine under Colonel Burnham bore a conspicuous part. Gibbon's Division, except Owen's Brigade which was at Banks' Ford and the Nineteenth Maine, crossed the river at Falmouth and occupied Fredericksburg. Gibbon's men were not in position to render any substantial aid to Sedgwick. While the greater portion of the Confederate army, under General Lee, was fighting Sedgwick at Salem Church, and pounding the life out of his Corps, nothing but a skirmish line confronted the left of Hooker's line at Chancellorsville, but Hooker never found it out. He had decided upon a defensive campaign for his own troops and a vigorous offensive campaign for Sedgwick's lone Army Crops, fighting its way from Fredericksburg to Chancellorsville. It may be that General Sedgwick ought to have been more expeditious in his movements on the morning of May 3rd. Whatever may be said as to that, it may be safely asserted that Hooker was defeated before Jackson annihilated the right detached wing of his army at Chancellorsville.

The unfortunate flanking and defeat of the Eleventh Corps was a disaster which ought to have been prevented. The evi-

dence appears to be almost conclusive that General Howard, commanding that Corps, was warned by General Hooker of the impending danger and urged to examine the ground and strengthen his position. This was communicated to Howard in a letter, dated May 2nd at nine-thirty in the morning. Immediately after the battle, the cry was raised that the "Dutchmen" of the Eleventh Corps had caused our defeat. There must be a scapegoat, and the shameful shortcomings of the officers in command were piled upon that unfortunate Corps. The fact is, only about one-third of the Corps were Germans. It it doubtful, if any corps in the army would have done any better under such trying circumstances. The men had no show. They had their choice between being run over and captured and running to the rear, with some chance of escape.

General Hooker's friends have attempted also to unload some of the responsibility for the disaster at Chancellorsville upon General Couch, the senior Corps commander, who was then at the head of the Second Corps. It appears that Hooker was injured about half past nine o'clock in the morning of May 3rd. After a recovery from his brief stupor he sent for Couch and gave him explicit instruction to withdraw the troops to the new and contracted line, and then Hooker rode to the rear. Couch was ordered by Hooker to do a specific thing, with specific troops, but he had no authority over Meade or Howard or Reynolds. It was too late then to accomplish anything. There were more than 30,000 soldiers lying on their arms in the rear of the battlefield who had not fired a shot. Hooker was urged to resume the offensive on May 4th with these new troops, but he refused to fight.

The Regiment left its camp on the night of May 1st and was strung along between Falmouth and Banks' and United States Fords, guarding the telegraph line. The Regiment was relieved and assembled near the Lacy House on May 3rd. The other regiments of the Brigade crossed the river, entered Fredericksburg and supported the Sixth Corps. Not a man in the Brigade was killed. From the heights above the Lacy House much of Sedgwick's battle at Salem Church could be plainly

seen. The Sixth Corps was slowly forced back during the afternoon of May 3rd toward Banks' Ford. It was pitiful to see the greater part of the Confederate army concentrated to crush that Corps and we helpless to aid and Hooker on the defensive at Chancellorsville with three-fourths of the Army of the Potomac.

The battle af Chancellorsville was not a single engagement but was fought on four different fields—at Fredericksburg, at Salem Curch, on the east of Chancellorsville and Jackson's flank movement to the west of Chancellorsville. The engagement on the lines east of Chancellorsville was fought early on the 1st of May, Jackson's fight to the west of Chancellorsville took place in the early evening of May 2nd and was continued by General Stuart the next morning. The intrenchments at Fredericksburg were captured by Sedgwick May 3rd, and the battle at Salem Church was fought on the afternoon of May 3rd and on the 4th day of May. Sedgwick recrossed the river at Bank's Ford on the night of May 4th and Hooker with his baffled troops recrossed the next night.

The writer takes great satisfaction in quoting the following from Swinton's excellent History: "Amid much that is dastardly at Chancellorsville, the conduct of Colonel Nelson A Miles, the young but gallant and skillful officer, shines forth with a brilliant luster." General Hancock was so elated at seeing the splendid behavior of Miles' skirmish line when repulsing the enemy that he said to one of his staff officers: "Ride down and tell Colonel Miles he is worth his weight in gold." General Couch, commanding the Second Corps, said to General Hancock and French, his two Division commanders: "I tell you what it is, gentlemen, I sha'l not be surprised to find myself some day serving under that young man." This same Miles rose from the rank of First Lieutenant to Lieutenant-General commanding the army. His body scarred with wounds received in his country's service, but crowned with honor and the love of his countrymen whom he had served, he was permitted to retire by operation of law, August 8th, 1903, without the usual words of commendation from the then President of the United States, who was a boy in short dresses living in a fashionable section of New York City, when Miles entered the service of his country.

Major-General Hiram G. Berry, commander of the Second Division, Third Corps, was killed in the battle of Chancellorsville. He entered the service from Rockland, as Colonel of the Fourth Maine Regiment. General Berry was an exceptionally fine officer and his native state may well take pride in his record.

On the 4th day of May, Governor Coburn of Maine and one of our Congressmen, John H. Rice of Foxcroft, came to visit the Regiment. They were introduced to many of the officers and men. Governor Coburn was visiting the different Maine regiments and so far as possible looking after their welfare. He witnessed the repulse of the Sixth Corps at Salem Church from the grounds about the Lacy House. Governor Coburn was not a Chesterfield in manners or speech, nor a Webster in knowledge of constitutional law; but he was a hard-headed, sensible business man, blunt in speech, knowing what he wanted and usually getting it. He made a good Governor of Maine.

One of the results of the battle of Chancellorsville was the irreparable loss to the Confederacy of Stonewall Jackson. General Jackson was wounded on the night of May 2nd and died in the afternoon of May 10th. After Jackson's death and perhaps on the day of the funeral, the bells in the Fredericksburg churches were tolled and the sad funeral dirge played by the bands in the various Confederate camps, all of which were plainly heard on our side of the river. History will accord General Jackson a position among the Confederate officers second to none except General Lee. At the time of his death he was the leader most trusted by the Confederates and most feared by us. After Jackson's death, John W. Forney, editor of one of the Washington papers, wrote an editorial eulogizing Jackson's ability and commending some traits of his Christian character. President Lincoln wrote Mr. Forney a letter thanking him for the fairness of his editorial comments.

CHAPTER V.

THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN

On the 29th day of May the Regiment was paid two months' pay. It is wonderful how having money in the pocket improves the appearance of a soldier. He stands straighter, walks prouder, looks happier, acts more independent and enjoys better health.

Early in June General William Harrow was assigned to the command of our Brigade. Harrow had been formerly Colonel of the Fourteenth Indiana. He remained as commander of the Brigade until the following September, when he resigned his commission. He was subsequently appointed Brigadier-General by the President, and we find him in command of the Fourth Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, in the Atlanta campaign. General Harrow was regarded as an excellent army officer, but he had acquired the unfortunate habit of resigning. He had resigned as Colonel of the Fourteenth Indiana and afterwards he was reappointed to the same position.

Major-General W. S. Hancock was assigned to the command of the Second Corps on the 10th of June, 1863, succeeding General Couch, who had been assigned to the command of the Department of the Susquehanna. Surely the Second Corps was fortunate in its commanders. Sumner, Couch, Hancock, Warren and Humphreys—these were no ordinary officers.

We broke camp on Sunday evening, June 14th, and marched out about two miles and then marched back to camp again. We left the old camp for good at three o'clock Monday morning, June 15th, and started out on our long tramp toward Gettysburg. The first day or two we were in Stafford County. This county appeared to be poverty stricken. Poor soil and shiftless human nature had obstructed all enterprises. The country was destitute of public improvements. Dense

woods and thickets of jack pine and scrub oak with occasional clearings, poor roads and old tumble down houses, describe the country of our first day's march. We crossed Acquia creek at a little hamlet called Acquia, marched through Stafford Court House which was a smoking ruin, going into camp about half a dozen miles north of that point. The day's march was about twenty miles, but owing to the intense heat and clouds of dust and heavy marching order of the soldiers, it was one of the most trying days in the whole summer's campaign. It is pretty hard for a soldier to throw away a new overcoat, a nice woolen blanket or a change of underclothing, especially when nobody knows how far he is going or how soon he may need these articles. When human endurance is exhausted, the highly prized merchandise is reluctantly dropped by the roadside. The next day's march was upwards of twenty miles and carried us across Ouantico creek, near Purcell's mill, through Dumfries and thence north by the Telegraph road, crossing Neabasco creek and going into camp near Occoquan, on the Occoquan river. Here we found the first good water since leaving the Rappahannock. The next day, the 17th, we had a short, comfortable march of some ten miles to Fairfax Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. We were now some four miles south of Fairfax Court House and about five miles from Bull Run. The Regiment rested here one full day and on the 19th proceeded about ten miles to Centerville.

While the Regiment stopped at Centerville, the boys had a good time in joining in a raid on a sutler belonging to one of the Massachusetts batteries. General William Hayes ordered two guns and a small force of infantry into position to disperse the mob. Before they got ready to act, however, not only the "mob" but the contents of the sutler's tent had been "dispersed." It was noticed in the Regiment that the boys' supply of tobacco had been increased during our stop at Centerville.

We started for Thoroughfare Gap at noon, June 20th, and arrived at our destination a little after midnight. The march took us across the old Bull Run battlefield, where many evidences of the battles of former years were visible. Parts of human skeletons were seen protruding from the ground and

splintered trees were upon every side. The last part of the march was very trying and in the darkness the boys of the Regiment stumbled over stones and into ditches. They knew from talk in the Regiment that we were bound for Thoroughfare Gap, but no one seemed to know how far away that place was. While the Regiment was plodding along, slowly picking its way in the dark, one of the boys fell into a deep ditch and when inquired of as to what he was doing down there he answered back, "Boys, here's the gap. I've stopped it up!" The next day we could hear the guns through the gap from the cavalry fight at Upperville.

General Hooker, like all his predecessors, in the race north after General Lee, was required to keep his army between the enemy and the city of Washington. Sometimes writers have attempted to ridicule the anxiety of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton for the safety of the Capital. It was felt by the administration that the city of Washington must be protected at all hazards. The capture of the Capital, in the then condition of foreign affairs, might have proved fatal to the Union cause. The fear of foreign intervention, which purposely was not much talked about, hung on the horizon like a dark, threatening cloud. Had Washington been captured by the Confederates, that fact would very likely have furnished the excuse for foreign intervention. It is doubtful if the National Government could have recovered from the loss of Washington; hence the great and justifiable anxiety of the administration for its security and protection.

The Regiment had four days of rest while in the vicinity of Thoroughfare. During this time the boys of the Regiment gathered and cooked green apples which afforded a change in the monotony of their diet. The apples of course were very small, but when cooked, they were very palatable. Other changes in diet also were noticeable, to which changes the farmers in that locality unwillingly contributed.

General Alexander S. Webb was assigned to the command of the Philadelphia Brigade of our Division at Thoroughfare Gap. He had been an officer of ability in the regular service, and his force of character and personal gallantry at Gettysburg, Bristoe Station, Wilderness and Spottsylvania contributed in no small measure to the renown of the Second Corps.

The Corps left Thoroughfare Gap on the 25th, our Division taking the rear in the line of march. The Regiment proceeded as far as Haymarket, an insignificant hamlet where the road turned north in the direction of Gum Springs. As the Regiment was proceeding quietly on its way, and when at Haymarket, from a lofty eminence to the right and rear came bursting shells into the midst of our Brigade and we lost one man in our Regiment, Israel D. Jones, of Company G, the first soldier in the Regiment killed by the enemy. In less than ten minutes from the time that Mr. Jones was chatting cheerfully with the man marching at his side, he was buried by the roadside and left to sleep his last sleep. A private soldier in the Fifteenth Massachusetts and several others in the Division were wounded. The attack was so unexpected that it created some confusion in our Division. Let the Confederate General Stuart give his account of this affair.

"Moving to the right with my brigades, we passed through Glasscock's Gap without serious difficulty and marched to Haymarket. I had previously sent Major Mosby with some picked men to gain the vicinity of Dranesville, find where a crossing was practicable and bring intelligence to me near Gum Springs on June 25th. As we neared Haymarket we found that Hancock's Corps was enroute through Haymarket for Gum Springs, his infantry well distributed through his trains. I chose a good position and opened with the artillery on his passing column with effect, scattering men, wagons and horses in wild confusion; disabled one of the enemy's caissons, which he abandoned, and compelled him to advance in order of battle to compel us to desist. As Hancock had the right of way on my road, I sent Fitz Lee's Brigade to Gainesville to reconnoitre and devoted the remainder of the day to grazing our horses."

This was the beginning of Stuart's famous raid in the rear of our army prior to the battle of Gettysburg.

We went into camp that night at Gum Springs in the midst of a terrific shower, having made a march of twenty-five miles that day,—the longest march we had ever made. While at Gum Springs, a brigade consisting of four New York regiments, under the command of the gallant General Alexander Hays, joined our Corps. General Hays immediately took command of the Third Division. General Gibbon had commanded our

¹War Records, Vol. XXVII, Part II, page 692.

Division since the assignment of General Howard, in April, to the command of the Eleventh Corps.

The next morning, June 26th, gave promise of a beautiful summer day, and the Corps started for Edward's Ferry on the Potomac, a distance of twelve miles. After arriving at the Potomac, the Regiment waited until nearly midnight, when it crossed the river on a pontoon bridge and encamped for the night. Twenty-four hours later the Confederate General Stuart with his cavalry crossed the Potomac at Seneca, between Edward's Ferry and Washington. The Regiment on the next day marched through Poolesville and Barnesville, to the southeasterly slope of the Sugar Loaf Mountain, where it went into camp for the night. The next day's march of eighteen miles took the Regiment through a beautiful and fertile country, to Monocacy Junction.

In their march from Virginia to Pennsylvania the Confederate cavalry did not keep upon the flanks of their army, as is usual, but started on a wild goose chase and went northeast of the Union Army and as a consequence, General Lee was not advised as to the movements of our troops as he would have been had his cavalry been at hand. Their cavalry, however, was able to create consternation in the Northern cities by their appearing upon the banks of the Susquehanna in sight of Harrisburg and levying tribute upon the villages in southern Pennsylvania.

While the Union army was in the vicinity of Frederick City, General Hooker applied to General Halleck, General-in-Chief, for the 10,000 men, doing garrison duty at Harper's Ferry under General French. Halleck positively refused Hooker's request. Hooker desired the troops to unite with Slocum's Corps in order that they might attack Lee's communications, following up in his rear. General Hooker went to Harper's Ferry on June 27th and while there he received a dispatch from General Halleck saying, "Maryland Heights have always been regarded as an important point to be held by us and much expense and labor incurred in fortifying them. I cannot approve their abandonment except in case of absolute necessity." To which General Hooker replied, "I have received your telegram in regard to

Harper's Ferry. I find 10,000 men here in condition to take the field. Here they are of no earthly account. They cannot defend a ford of the river and as far as Harper's Ferry is concerned there is nothing of it. As for the fortifications, the work of troops, they remain when the troops are withdrawn. No enemy will ever take possession of them for them. This is my opinion. All of the public property could have been secured tonight and the troops marched to where they could have been of some service. Now they are but bait for the Rebels should they return. I beg that this may be presented to the Secretary of War and His Excellency, the President." General Hooker's request, which then seemed and now after the lapse of so many years, appears to have been reasonable, was curtly refused by General Halleck. General Hooker promptly offered his resignation, which was as promptly accepted. Major-General George G. Meade, then commander of the Fifth Corps, was assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac. He was a general of fine intellect, personal bravery and popular in his own Corps, but had never achieved any brilliant success or met with any serious reverse. While dangerous to change the commander of an army on the eve of battle, the new commander was one who had served in that army from the beginning of the war. General Couch, in a diary kept by him, stated that he had a long private conversation with President Lincoln after the battle of Chancellorsville and advised the President to make a change in commanders of the army, remarking that "Meade is the man for the place." In the General Order relinquishing command of the army, General Hooker commended General Meade to the soldiers as a "brave and accomplished officer who has nobly earned the confidence and esteem in this army on many a wellfought field." His order was closed with an earnest prayer for the success of the Union arms. General Hooker was ordered to report in Baltimore and when he appeared a few days later in Washington to explain his action he was immediately put under arrest for visiting the Capital without Halleck's permission. This was a piece of petty and contemptible persecution, which might well have been omitted under the circumstances. It was, however, a short and easy method of replying to questions that

would have otherwise been inconvenient to answer. General Halleck immediately placed the garrison at Harper's Ferry under Meade's control, as he ought to have done in the case of Hooker and the troops were withdrawn—something Hooker begged for but which was denied. General Hooker was right. The refusal of Halleck (who never liked Hooker) to permit the withdrawal of French from Harper's Ferry has no defenders at this time.

It was the intention of General Meade to have the Second Corps set out early on the morning of the 20th and proceed to Uniontown. By a strange oversight or blunder of the orderly delivering the order it was not brought to the attention of General Hancock until between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. So the Corps set out on the longest day's march in its history, on the hot, sultry morning of the 20th of June, between eight and nine o'clock. Our Division took the advance of the Corps in the line of march. Sometime in the forenoon. after being three or four hours on the road, the Division came to a considerable creek, which could be crossed by fording kneedeep. There was, however, a timber thrown across the creek at the side of the road, hewn on top, which made a very respectable crossing for pedestrians. If the men crossed singly on this timber it would impede the march of the men, and strict orders were given that the men should ford the creek. in the rear saw the bunching of the men in the road ahead and then knew, without being told, what was coming. Many of the men dropped by the side of the road and removed their shoes and stockings and rolled up their trousers. Others kept in line, while still others scurried to the side and ran over the log crossing. No one need be told that the reason for the reluctance of the men fording this creek was that marching with one's shoes filled with water, over a dusty road, in the middle of a hot June day not only would cause much inconvenience in marching but it would also result in blistered feet and disabled men. One of the Division staff-officers rode back and forth near the crossing place and urged the officers to compel their men to ford the creek. Colonel Colvill, of the First Minnesota, gave the order for the men to wade through the water. His men, however,

interpreted the manner of giving the order to mean for them to do as they pleased, which they proceeded to do. When the Division had passed this point and the staff-officer was returning to the head of the Division, the Nineteenth Maine, Fifteenth Massachusetts and First Minnesota joined in groaning at and hooting the staff-officer. He evidently thought that the First Minnesota was the chief sinner, and placed Colonel Colvill under arrest. When the First Minnesota was going into the action at Gettysburg Colonel Colvill asked to be released from arrest, and he went into the action with his gallant regiment on the 2nd of July, where he was dangerously wounded.

This day's march was through one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the whole country. It was through a long, beautiful valley, shut in on both sides by hills and settled by prosperous farmers. It seemed like paradise to the soldiers who had for so long a time tramped over the desolate and barren soil of Virginia. Cherry trees, loaded with rich cherries, were upon the roadsides, and the hospitable people brought bread and milk to the tired and hungry soldiers. There was no time for eating or drinking. The column pressed forward. The soldiers knew that some emergency had arisen which required this prolonged and painful march. When the column reached the beautiful town of Liberty, regiment after regiment filed into the fields and groves just north of the town and it was supposed that we were going into bivouac for the night. Hardly had the men thrown themselves upon the ground when the order to fall in came, and the men of the Nineteenth stretched their aching limbs, endeavoring to again take the swinging gait which they had kept up since morning. Late in the afternoon it was a little cooler. Occasionally stars appeared in the heavens, but still the tramp kept up. Just before nine o'clock on that night we reached Uniontown and filed into a beautiful grove to rest for the night, having made a march of thirty-two miles on that day. General Hancock issued an order which was read to the Corps the next morning thanking the men for their endurance in making their great march.

All of General Lee's infantry had marched up the Cumberland valley west of the Blue Ridge, having crossed the Potomac

at Williamsport, above Harper's Ferry. General Hooker had previous to his asking to be relieved detached Slocum for the purpose of assailing Lee's communications. As to Hooker's policy, I quote the following paragraph from General Doubleday's history of Gettysburg:

"The wisdom of Hooker's policy in desiring to assail the Rebel communications is demonstrated by the fact that Lee immediately turned back. The head of the serpent faced about as soon as its tail was trodden upon. He came to the conclusion to prevent an attack against his rear by threatening Baltimore with his whole force. This would necessarily cause the Union army to march further east to confront him and thus prevent it from operating in heavy force in the Cumberland valley. Accordingly, on the night of the 28th, Lee sent express to all of his corps commanders to concentrate at Gettysburg. If he had known that Meade was about to withdraw all the troops acting against his line of retreat, he would probably have gone on and taken Harrisburg."

Lieutenant Palmer writes with respect to wading the stream north of Frederick City as follows:

"On reaching the northern bank of the stream the soldiers intuitively caught the new high step. The sole of the foot was raised to the rear, and the higher the step the better the drainage and the smaller the number of parboiled feet at supper time. There was no opportunity to stop there near the bank to remove the footwear or to use nature's wringers, for an army was upon our backs. We left some more of the stream when deployed in the field and made up our time by the strenuous push that followed. With all the disadvantage of wet clothing and soaked feet, the Regiment made the longest march that day that it ever made."

Captain E. A. Burpee, in a letter written to Lieutenant Palmer, relates an incident which occurred at the close of this day's march, which is worth preserving.

"When night came we had marched thirty-two miles, and a portion of the Regiment was ordered out on picket. You remember Captain Smith, yourself and myself lay in a little shelter tent together. Captain Smith said, 'I think we are on the eve of a terrible battle and I feel that I shall be killed or wounded.' I said, 'Don't think that way. We all feel as if we might get hit.' He replied, 'No; but I have a presentment that something is going to happen to me and I hope I shall be prepared to die.'"

Three days later Captain Smith fell on the battlefield of Gettysburg.

During the 30th the Regiment remained in camp and was mustered for pay. Early on the morning of July 1st the Second Corps started for Gettysburg and after stopping a short time

¹ Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. p. 116.

at Taneytown made a forced march the balance of the distance. While halting at Taneytown, General Meade learned of the disaster which had befallen the First Corps and he sent General Hancock forward to represent him on the field and to assume command of all the forces there. Late in the afternoon we started out and made good time until we arrived at our destination. Just after dark the Corps was halted by order of General Gibbon and was directed to get into position where the head of the column then was. Our Second Division took position on the left of the Taneytown road, our left being near the southeastern base of "Round Top," and the right near the road. The Third Division was posted upon the right of the road abreast of the Second, and the First Division in the rear of the other two. Arms were stacked and the men dropped down on the ground to sleep, and to many of them it was their last sleep on earth. At midnight General Meade and his staff rode by General Gibbon's headquarters on their way to the battlefield and General Meade stopped and conversed with General Gibbon for some little time. Gibbon commanded the Corps on the afternoon of July 1st. Some twenty or twenty-five men, the pitiful remnant of the Sixteenth Maine, lay down to rest with us that night. Their Regiment had been nearly annihilated in the day's battle. A large portion of their Regiment had been captured. Their account of the day's experience was not reassuring.

The battle of Gettysburg has been described more fully and minutely than any other battle of the war. Gettysburg is the county seat of Adams County and at the time of the battle had a population of about three thousand. The town is in the center of the battlefield. Ten roads diverged from the town almost as regularly as spokes of a wagon-wheel from the hub. These roads lead to Hagerstown, Chambersburg, Mummasburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, York, Hanover, Baltimore, Taneytown and Emmitsburg, and are named for the places to which they severally lead. Because of these unusual facilities for the concentration of an army and the "lay of the land" in the vicinity, it would almost seem that Gettysburg had been designed for a battlefield.

Every loyal state east of the Mississippi except Kentucky, together with Minnesota west of that river, and every one of Confederate states were represented by troops on the battlefield of Gettysburg.

The Army of the Potomac had present for duty and on the battlefield, 83,000 men. This, however, included the Sixth Corps of 14,500 men, only a small portion of which was actively engaged. The Confederate army had upon the field and engaged about 70,000 infantry and artillery. In addition to these figures, each side had about 10,000 cavalry. This would make the number actually engaged approximately equal.

General Buford, with two cavalry divisions, went into camp, the night of June 30th, on the Chambersburg pike west of the town. He had discovered the enemy's camp-fires and had predicted that the next day the Confederates "three lines deep" would charge his forces. He was right in his prediction. His men on July 1st most gallantly held their ground until the First Corps, under General Reynolds, came to their relief. Afterwards two divisions of the Eleventh Corps came upon the field and went into position on the right of the First Corps, but not until General Reynolds had been killed on the soil of his native state and almost within sight of his boyhood home. He was one of the soldier Generals of the army for whom his The Divisions of Heth and men had a fond attachment. Pender, of Hill's Corps, had come in during the night from the west, on the Chambersburg pike, and between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, Rodes' Division of five Brigades of infantry belonging to Ewell's Corps, made its appearance on the north of the town, coming in by the Carlisle road. Later in the day these two detachments of the Confederate army were reinforced by other troops. The First and Eleventh Corps were driven from the field late in the afternoon by the overwhelming numbers opposed to them, the Eleventh Corps first retreating pell-mell through the town.

It was at this time that General Hancock appeared upon the scene. The panorama that opened out to his view as he galloped up on Cemetery Ridge, his horse covered with foam, was what might well have appalled a more timid man. Hancock took in the situation at a glance and formulated his plans. There was only one Brigade of infantry of the two Corps present, which was intact and had not been engaged. That was the brigade of Colonel Orland Smith, commanding the Second Brigade, Second Division, of the Eleventh Corps, which stood in line on Cemetery Hill, facing the town. Smith was a native of Maine and was Colonel of the Seventy-third Ohio. He had in his brigade two regiments from Ohio, two from New York and one from Massachusetts. This brigade General Hancock used as a neucleus about which to rally the retreating forces, and extended that Brigade line both to the right and left. Down the Baltimore pike poured the panic-stricken men of the Eleventh Corps. On the left of Smith's Brigade was formed the shattered remnant of the First Corps, under General Doubleday. Out of these beaten and disorganized troops a new line of battle was constructed, taking advantage of the contour of the ground. Ammunition was brought up and men fleeing from the battlefield slowly returned and rejoined their organizations. The inspiring presence of General Hancock soon restored confidence. Buford's cavalry was drawn up on the plain between Cemetery and Seminary Ridges with the same regularity and standing as steadily as if on parade. Within an hour and a half after Hancock had arrived upon the field and assumed command he had dispatched a staff officer to General Meade, advising him that he had selected a suitable position for defense and advised concentrating there.

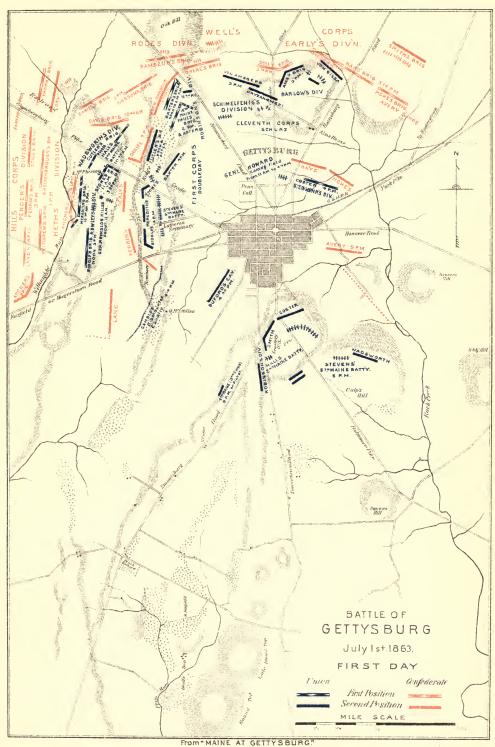
In contrast to the brave, chivalrous spirit of Hancock, one is confronted with the following words of the commander of the Eleventh Corps, written on the evening of July 1st to General Meade.

"General Hancock's order in writing to assume command reached here about seven. * * * The above has mortified me and will disgrace me. Please inform me frankly if you disapprove of my conduct today, that I may know what to do.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, O. O. Howard, Major-General Commanding."

Through manipulation, congress, in 1864, by joint resolution, thanked Generals Hooker, Meade and Howard "for the skill and heroic valor displayed at Gettysburg." It took two



or three years to shame congress into acknowledging the great service of that brave soldier, General Hancock, by a resolution of thanks.

General Warren, afterwards the illustrious commander of the Fifth Army Corps, was at this time Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, and he was present on the afternoon of July 1st and rendered great assistance to General Hancock.

The first day's battle at Gettysburg was a Confederate victory. It was won because the Confederates had the most men there. Generally victories are won in that way. It was not a fruitful victory, however. Upon the retreat of the Eleventh Corps through Gettysburg and the First to Cemetery Hill, there was considerable confusion around our extreme right. The pursuit of the Confederates through the town was somewhat slow. General Lee instructed Ewell to carry Cemetery Hill if he found it practicable, but to avoid a general engagement until the arrival of the other divisions of his army. This was the golden opportunity for the Confederates. They halted when Cemetery Hill was almost within their grasp. They could not then have fully realized its importance. they captured it, the great battle would not have been fought where it was. General Hancock wrote, in 1878, that in his opinion "if the Confederates had continued the pursuit of General Howard on the afternoon of the 1st of July, they would have driven him over and beyond Cemetery Hill." Hancock adds that after he arrived upon the field and assumed command and made his dispositions for defending that point, he did "not think the Confederate forces then present could have carried it."

Our losses the first day were very heavy in killed and wounded and prisoners. The Confederate losses in killed and wounded were also large. The First Corps fought for six hours against more than twice its numbers and then did not withdraw until compelled to do so by the retreat of the Eleventh Corps on its right flank. It was here that the Sixteenth Maine under Colonel Tilden, belonging to Paul's Brigade and Robinson's Division of the First Corps, met its great loss. This regiment was ordered by General Robinson to take possession of the hill which commanded a road, and hold the same as long as there was a man

left. This sacrifice of the Regiment was regarded as necessary by General Robinson in order to save as much of his Division as possible. In the history of Gettysburg by John M. Vanderslice, it is stated that the Sixteenth Maine had two hundred and ninety-eight men in this engagement, and its loss on the 1st of July was two hundred thirty-two, of which one hundred sixty-four were reported missing and sixty-eight as killed or wounded. Maine has reason to be proud of the service of this Regiment at Gettysburg.

Captain James A. Hall, with the Second Battery, Maine Light Artillery, and Captain G. T. Stevens, with the Fifth Battery, belonging to the First Corps, suffered heavy losses here on the 1st of July.

General Doubleday was in command of the First Corps on the 1st of July, as General Reynolds was in command of the left wing. Doubleday manœuvred his Corps with great ability and the men fought with splendid gallantry that day. Yet General Meade relieved him at the close of the day and appointed General Newton from the Sixth Corps to succeed him. Newton was Doubleday's junior in rank. General Doubleday was ordered to report to the Adjutant-General of the army at Washington on July 5th, and he had command of a portion of the defenses of Washington for a few days. After that he was assigned to court-martial duty and insignificant commands.

Thursday morning, July 2nd, the position of the Union troops, which remained nearly the same through July 3rd, was as follows: The Twelfth Corps, under General Slocum, held the extreme right of the line, which included Culp's Hill. Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps held the line between Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill. Then came the three Divisions of Howard's Eleventh Corps. Robinson's Division of the First Corps came next and extended across the Taneytown road as far as Zeigler's Grove, while Doubleday's Division of the First Corps was in the rear, in reserve. Passing to the left, next came Hancock's Second Corps, the Divisions of Hays, Gibbon and Caldwell. Sickles' Third Corps joined Hancock on the left. The Fifth Corps, under Sykes, which had marched all night from Hanover, came up in the early morning and occupied the ground

on and about Round Top, on the left of the Third Corps and the extreme left of the infantry line. Sedgwick's Sixth Corps arrived late in the afternoon of July 2nd, after a long, forced march, and was posted as a reserve. Buford's cavalry was on the left.

The Union line from Cemetery Hill to Round Top faced nearly west, while from Cemetery Hill to the extreme right it faced east. The Union line of battle was about four miles long, being nearly semi-circular in shape. The two flanks of the army were only about a mile and a half apart. The Confederate line of battle was nearly the same shape, but being the outer line, was some five and a half miles long. On the Confederate right was Longstreet's Corps in front of Round Top. On Longstreet's left, extending along Seminary Ridge, was Hill's Corps, while Rodes' Division of Ewell's Corps occupied the town of Gettysburg. Early's and Johnson's Divisions of Ewell's Corps held the Confederate left. The Division of Heth, belonging in this Corps, was in reserve, while Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps had not yet arrived.

Our Brigade marched upon the battlefield on the morning of July 2nd at about seven o'clock. Webb's Philadelphia Brigade occupied the right of the division line. Hall's Brigade extended the line to the left. These two brigades covered about 500 yards in line of battle. About 275 or 300 yards in their front was a large brick house, known as the Codori House. Our Brigade was stationed at first in reserve, some seventy-five yard in the rear of the center of the other two brigades, in close column, by regiments. Here we remained under the cannonading of the enemy. While the Brigade was lying on the ground in reserve, a shell dropped into the line of the First Minnesota killing one man and severely wounding a Sergeant belonging to that regiment. About five o'clock the First Minnesota was taken from the Brigade and conducted a short distance to the left, to support Battery C, Fourth United States Artillery. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and Eighty-second New York were then taken and conducted to the front as far as the Emmitsburg road and placed in position near the Codori House, to protect the right flank of Humphreys' Division, which was being

driven back. In the meantime, the Nineteenth Massachusetts and Forty-second New York had been taken out of the Third Brigade line and sent to the left, as a support to some portion of Sickles' Corps. The First Division, under General Caldwell had also been withdrawn from our left and sent to report to General Sykes, to aid in extricating Sickles from his precarious situation. That left the Nineteenth Maine practically alone on the particular part of the field it then occupied. After these changes were made, the Regiment was then formed in line, taken somewhat to the left and advanced rapidly to the front. There were no troops then between its left company and the First Minnesota, about sixty rods away. General Hancock rode along and jumped from his horse and took the first man on the left (who was George Durgin of Company F) and conducted him forward about a couple of rods and a little to the left. He said to Durgin, "Will you stay here?" Durgin who was a short heavy man, looked up into the General's face and replied, "I'll stay here, General, until h——l freezes over." The general smiled and ordered the Colonel to dress his regiment on that man, jumped upon his horse and galloped away.

Sergeant Silas Adams, of Company F, furnishes the following description of the Regiment's experiences on the 2nd of July:

"The Confederates made no attack in front of the position we were holding in the forenoon, but they evidently knew we were there. Every now and then they would pitch a shell over among us, which would strike in our midst, killing or wounding a number of men. All we could do was to lie there and guess where the next one would strike or who the next victim would be. We were near enough to the crest of the hill to get the full benefit of their fireworks. The Third Corps under General Sickles, was in full view, forming on the Emmitsburg road, his left division extending through a peach orchard toward Little Round Top. Sickles' right division, under General Humphreys, extended along the Emmitsburg road toward the Codori house. In order to protect the right flank of the Third Corps, Battery B, First R. I. Artillery, the Eighty-second New York and Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiments were advanced to the Emmitsburg road and took position near the Codori house. We watched with intense interest the progress of the battle and soon saw that it was a losing fight on the part of the Third Corps. Through the smoke we could see the approach of the Coming storm. Humphreys' Division was breaking up and coming toward us, yet stubbornly holding on and contesting every foot of ground. At last being overpowered by weight of numbers, Humphreys' line came back in confusion,—a broken, disorganized mass. This was late in the afternoon. Colonel Heath walked rapidly along



Sergeant Silas Adams, Co. F.

in front of the Regiment, cautioning the men to lie still and permit the retreating troops to pass over us. Our right extended well up the ridge, but there was no infantry connection on our left except the First Minnesota, some sixty rods away and more to the rear, east of the ravine. Two batteries joined us on the left and that brought their left gun quite to the head of the ravine. We lay upon our faces, hugging the ground. Nearer and nearer came the retreating soldiers of Humphreys' Division. Some of them were wounded and some of the wounded were being brought back by their comrades. They were all of them in a hurry. These men were not particular where they stepped in walking over us, they only seemed intent upon getting to the rear and out of the reach of their relentless pursuers. Yet there were many brave spirits among these routed troops. Some called out to us, 'Hang on, boys, and we will form in your rear.' Others informed us that we were whipped and all was lost. A portion of the Excelsior Brigade tried to re-form and collected perhaps a hundred men, but they were soon swept away in the general panic. As soon as the last of the Third Corps got out of the way, we found the Confederates following and giving the routed men good and sufficient reasons for being in a hurry. The enemy was about thirty-five yards from our lines when Colonel Heath gave the order the rise and fire. The Nineteenth had about 400 men in line of battle when the Regiment rose and delivered its deadly fire into the faces of the Confederates. They were staggered and halted. In this position of some thirty yards from their lines we fired about eight rounds each into their ranks. Battery which joined us upon our left commenced firing the moment the front was clear of the Third Corps. These guns did most excellent work. The gunners, with coats off and sleeves rolled up, were working their guns throwing shell and canister into, and making terrible havoc in the enemy's ranks. Company F under Captain Starbird, held the left of the Regimental line. He discovered some of the enemy upon his left flank. The left of Company F was thrown back a short distance to meet this new emergency. This movement to the rear, on the left of our line, exposed the battery on our left to capture, so the guns of the battery were drawn back to conform to our movement. The First Minnesota was stationed sixty-five rods to our left. Regiment charged across the ravine, checking and driving back the Rebel brigade of Alabama troops under Wilcox. This renowned charge of the First Minnesota in its great loss has never been equaled in modern warfare. In killed and wounded, out of 263 men engaged, it lost in killed and wounded over 200. The advance of the Minnesota men uncovered the right of Perry's Florida Brigade, now under the command of Colonel Lang.

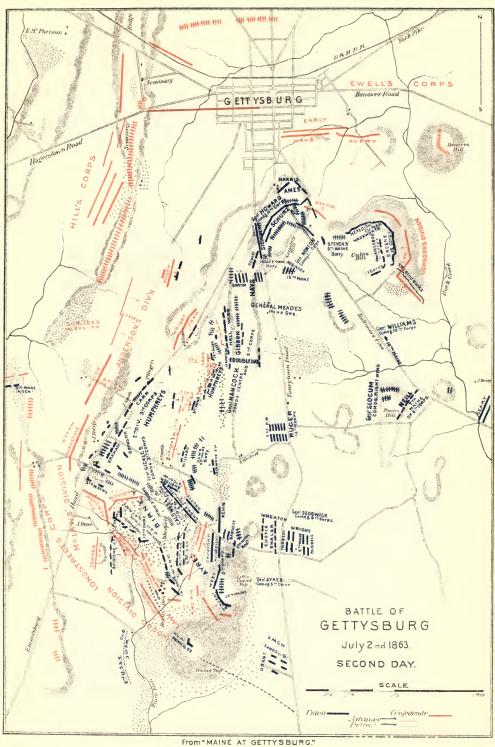
"On July 2nd, the Fifty-ninth New York or the Seventh Michigan was the next regiment on our right, and the Twentieth Massachusetts was still further to its right. This was all of the Third Brigade in our line, as the Nineteenth Massachusetts and Forty-second New York had been ordered to the left, in support of Sickles. Then to the right of the Third Brigade was Webb's Brigade of our Division. While the Fifty-ninth New York and the Seventh Michigan repulsed the charge of the Confederates, these regiments did not attempt to follow them as they retreated across the Emmitsburg road. The Twentieth Massachusetts, on the right of these two regiments, never fired a shot except what firing was done by two companies on the skirmish line. The First Minnesota and the Nineteenth Maine were the only regiments in our Division that undertook to follow the Confederates across the Emmitsburg road. The Minnesota boys charged as far as our Regi-

ment did, but owing to the fact that the Emmitsburg road did not run

parallel with our line of battle, they did not reach that road.

"A color Sergeant in front of the Rebel lines made himself conspicuous, advancing to the front and waving his flag. Colonel Heath called out to some of his men, 'Drop that color-bearer.' A member of Company C responded and the Sergeant went down with his flag. During the progress of the battle, Colonel Heath received word that the enemy had made his appearance on our right flank. He ordered the Regiment to fall back, and it did so in perfect order. The distance the Regiment fell back did not exceed two or three rods, when they faced the enemy again and, in perfect alignment began firing again. While the Nineteenth was engaged in loading and firing, it was observed that a small body of men had formed in our rear. They were waving their flags and appeared to be cheering us on in the work we had in hand. They showed no anxiety, however, to advance with us. We heard the ringing order of Colonel Heath to fix bayonets. Then the order to charge was given and the Regiment started forward and down across the plain, like a tornado let loose. The men made much noise in the way of cheering. The Rebels fell back rapidly and our Regiment advanced nearly to the Emmitsburg road, capturing many prisoners, two stands of colors, three pieces of artillery and four caissons. The cannon and caissons were among the captures of the enemy from the Third Corps. In charging across the field, our men discovered the enemy making off with these captures, hauling them away with drag ropes. Colonel Heath ordered us to recapture them, which we did in short order. When the Regiment was ordered to halt, its right wing could not have been more than four rods from the Emmitsburg road, the left wing being somewhat further away, as the line of our advance was not at right angles with the road. When the Rebels had retreated beyond the point where we halted, they returned a brisk fire into our We were ordered to lie down. In advancing, the left of our Regimental line passed over the flag of the Eighth Florida Regiment, and Colonel Heath stated that the right of our Regiment also brought down another Rebel flag in our charge across the plain. We had no infantry connection immediately upon our right or left. Just as we were ordered back, our attention was attracted by loud cheering in the rear. It was a portion of the Excelsior Brigade which had followed us about one-third of the distance we had charged and had come up to the Eighth Florida flag, lying upon the ground. These New York men were waving that Rebel flag and cheering wildly. The other Rebel flag over which we had charged was also picked up and some of the cannon from which the Nineteenth had driven the Rebels were hauled back as trophies of the valor of the Third Corps.

"Our honors were rapidly disappearing. The trophies of our victory, so dearly earned, were borne away by the men following in our footsteps, far behind. The honor of capturing the Eighth Florida flag went to Sergeant Hogan of the Seventy-second New York, of the Excelsior Brigade. When Hogan picked up the flag in question there was not a live Rebel soldier within half a mile of him, unless such Rebel soldier was a prisoner of war. Colonel Brewster, commander of the Excelsior Brigade reports that he had collected about 150 men from four regiments of his Brigade at the time that Hogan picked up this flag. He also claims that they captured the Major of the Eighth Florida with this flag. This would be 'important it true.' The Major of that regiment, however, was not captured by anyone. When the Regiment returned to its former position, it took back the three twelve-pounders (brass) which it had captured, and four caissons. When we





reached the place from which we had charged, we found a new line of battle, made up of new troops from other corps. When the Regiment appeared upon the scene with the three guns and the four caissons coming from the direction of the enemy, the whole line went wild with cheers over the brilliant charge and capture by the Nineteenth Maine. Congratulations were extended the men of the Regiment upon every side."

While elated by our success in repulsing the enemy, it was a very sad night to the most of the boys of the Regiment. When the roll was called, many a brave boy for the first time failed to respond to his name. The answers made by the living for their dead or wounded comrades were pathetic. As the names of the missing would be called, such answers as these would be returned: 'John was killed before we fired a shot." "I saw Frank throw up his arms and fall just after we fired the first volley." "Jim was shot through the head." 'Charley was killed while we were charging across the plain this side of the brick house." "I saw Joe lying on the ground, his face covered with blood, but he was not dead." "George was killed by a piece of shell, while we were firing." "Ed is lying dead some distance this side of the Emmitsburg road." Strong men sobbed as the heroic dead were named.

The sun set on July 2nd at twenty-three minutes past seven, almanac time. It was nearly dusk when the Regiment returned from its charge. The boys of the Nineteenth lay down upon the ground to rest for the night at nearly the point from which we charged in the late afternoon. There was not much sleep that night. The cries of the wounded men, lying between the lines, suffering with pain and burning with fever were most pitiful. The writer vividly remembers responding to a cry for water a few rods in advance of where the Regiment was lying. It was yet hardly dark and the moon was shining. The poor fellow calling for help was a Confederate soldier. He was a fine looking boy, of some seventeen years, and stated that he belonged to one of the Georgia regiments of Wright's Brigade. He was shot through one of his lungs and was bleeding internally. The boy stated that he was the only child of a widowed mother and that he had run away from home, to enlist in the Southern army. His pallid face, blue eyes and quivering lips appealed for sympathy and encouragement. He said

that his mother was a Christian woman, but that he was not a Christian. Kneeling by his side, and at the earnest request of this young soldier, the writer, poorly prepared for the sacred duty, tried to pray with and comfort this dying boy. At the first dawn of day upon the following morning this Confederate boy was found in just the position the writer had placed him the evening before,—his eyes glazed in death, looking up into the morning sky, yet not seeing nor caring then. The poor mother waiting at the lonely hearthstone never knew what had become of her only child. She no doubt lived in the belief, as well she might, that her prayers had followed and influenced the life and character of her boy. Other mothers, heartbroken, all over the country waited in vain for the coming of the boy who never returned. Such is war.

The most of the authorities on the battle of Gettysburg claim that it was Wright's Georgia Brigade that our Regiment charged against on the night of July 2nd. It is unquestionably true, as Sergeant Adams asserts, that the left of our line passed over the flag of the Eighth Florida Regiment lying upon the ground. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy probably lies in the fact that the left of the Florida Brigade and the right of the Georgia Brigade became mingled in their charge. When the First Minnesota drove back Wilcox' Brigade of Alabamians, the Florida Brigade being next to them, swerved to their left and toward our right, to avoid the Minnesota men. In the formation of Wright's Georgia Brigade, the Forty-eighth Regiment was on its extreme left; yet the flag of this regiment was captured by the Eighty-second New York of our Brigade, although the Fifty-ninth New York is given the credit for the capture of this flag. The Eighty-second captured this flag after it had been driven from Codori House to our line in the early part of the battle and then had re-formed and charged toward the Emmitsburg road. The 106th Pennsylvania, which was then upon the immediate right of the Eighty-second New York, claimed to have captured William Gibson, the Colonel of the Forty-eighth Georgia. Colonel Lang, the commander of the Florida Brigade, reported that he advanced the same time that General Wilcox did with his brigade, and after he had advanced to the foot of Cemetery Hill, he was informed that Wilcox had fallen back. Going to the right of his brigade he discovered that our men had passed him, going more than one hundred yards toward the Emmitsburg road. Upon seeing this, Colonel Lang ordered his Brigade to retire. It was the First Minnesota that checked Wilcox, and Sergeant Adams reports that the position of this regiment was more than sixty rods to our left. Colonel Colvill, of the First Minnesota, in a communication written before his death, acknowledged his indebtedness to the Nineteenth Maine for its flank fire upon the Confederates pressing his right.

Colonel W. F. Fox, in his history of New York at Gettysburg, states that Anderson's Brigades were "checked by the well-directed flank fire from the Nineteenth Maine, of Harrow's Brigade."

In his report, General Hancock speaks of the repulse of the enemy on July 2nd, in front of Gibbon's Division and adds the following complimentary allusion to our Regiment: "In this last operation the Nineteenth Maine, Colonel F. E. Heath commanding, bore a conspicuous part." General Harrow in his official report, stated that "the enemy continued to advance until they attacked with great fury the commands of Colonels Colvill and Heath, endeavoring to take the batteries under their protection." General Harrow then commends in the strongest language the conduct of Lieutenant Evan Thomas, commanding Battery C, Fourth United States Artillery, between our Regiment and the First Minnesota, and the effective fire of Thomas' guns. General Harrow then adds the following in his report: "Colonel Heath, Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, was attacked with equal desperation, the enemy at one time obtaining possession of three of the guns of the battery on his left. These guns he retook and carried from the field, most of the battery horses having been killed and many of the gunners killed and wounded. The officers and men of this command, as also the officers and men of the battery, deserve high commendation for their determination and valor."

After our charge troops from other corps were hurried into the space occupied earlier in the day by Caldwell's Division, but before they arrived the Confederate brigades had been pounded back across the Emmitsburg road.

A statement appears in the history of the Nineteenth Maine in the volume, "Maine at Gettysburg," published by authority of the State, that the author believes is entitled to no credence whatever. This statement represents General Humphreys, on the night of July 2nd, riding back in front of his retreating division to our Regiment, then lying upon the ground, and ordering our men to rise and stop, with the bayonet, the retreating soldiers of his command. It is further stated that Colonel Heath refused to permit his men to obey the order, and that General Humphreys rode down our Regimental line giving the order himself, and that Colonel Heath followed, countermanding the order. This statement, in a modified form, first appeared many years after the war. As originally given out by Colonel Heath, it was that an officer whom he supposed was General Humphreys ordered him to have his men, with the bayonet, stop the retreating troops. General Humphreys died December 27, 1883. This fiction really never appeared until years after his death. The late Captain Nash never placed any credence in this story. Neither does Major Charles Hamlin, the Assistant Adjutant-General of Humphreys' Division. Doubtless some officer did urge Colonel Heath to do what he claims. The colorless report which Colonel Heath made of the engagement, in which he devotes less than six lines to the most heroic act in the history of the Regiment, does not reflect any special credit upon him. He claims that he originally furnished a fuller report, which by reason of his criticism of other troops in that engagement, was returned to him disapproved. As late as 1889, Colonel Heath, in a letter, related this episode as to Humphreys. He did not then assert that the officer who ordered him to halt the retreating men of the Third Corps was General Humphreys. A West Point officer as strict and punctilious as General Humphreys would not be likely to do what is charged in this distorted account.

On the evening of July 2nd, the prospects of our army did not then appear hopeful to the Union officers. During the afternoon the Third Corps had been almost annihilated. The First Division of the Second Corps and two Divisions of the Fifth in the contests in the Wheat Field and at the base of Little Round Top had lost one-half of their men. The enemy's line of battle was much further advanced upon our left than in the morning. A portion of our breastworks at Culp's Hill was also in the possession of the enemy. The situation was serious enough for anxious consideration.

There was a celebrated council of war upon the field of Gettysburg on the night of July 2nd, of which the private soldier was supposed to know nothing. Privates may, however, observe their commanding officers and make mental note of their appearance.

General Meade, the commander of the army, was a tall, spare man with grayish whiskers and a large nose, and he always wore spectacles. He was then forty-eight years old, and he might then have been taken for a Presbyterian clergyman, unless one approached him when he was mad. General Doubleday was not in that council; though many thought he ought to have been. He was a New Yorker by birth and forty-four years old. He had a large head, high forehead, was rather stout in appearance, had brown hair and wore a moustache. He was rather distinguished looking. General Newton, the First Corps commander, was a thick set man, with brown hair, a ruddy complexion and a clean shaven face. He was forty-four years of age and a fine looking man. General Hancock, the gallant commander of the Second Corps, was the best looking officer in the army. He was tall and well proportioned, had a ruddy complexion, brown hair, and he wore a moustache and tuft of hair upon his chin. He was thirty-nine years old. Had General Hancock worn citizen's clothes, his order would have been obeyed anywhere, for he had the appearance of a man born to command. General Gibbon had command of the Second Corps much of the time until he was wounded. He was in the council on the night of July 2nd. Gibbon was a man of the same age and about the same size as General Slocum. He had brown hair and a reddish moustache. He was, upon the whole, a good looking officer and never appeared nervous

nor excited. General Sykes, who commanded the Fifth Corps, had rather a florid complexion, brown hair and blue eyes. He was small in size, gentlemanly in appearance, wore a full beard and was then forty-one years of age. General Sedgwick, the beloved commander of the Sixth Corps, did not have much about him to indicate his military education. He was heavyset, had brown hair, inclined to auburn in color, and always wore a full beard. He was fifty years old, and was "Uncle John" to his boys. There was probably not a more popular corps commander in the army. General Howard was the youngest of the corps commanders, being thirty-three years old. He had a dignified manner, had brown hair, wore a full beard and had blue eyes. He attracted attention because of his empty sleeve, having lost an arm at the battle of Fair Oaks. The Twelfth Corps was commanded by General Slocum, a man with black hair and eyes, slight in build and of somewhat nervous temperament. He was thirty-six years old. General Pleasonton, who commanded our cavalry, was thirty-nine years old. He had brown hair and beard. During this campaign, General Pleasonton wore a straw hat. General Buford, who inaugurated the battle, was thirty-eight years old and died of disease six months later, on the very day his commission as Major-General, to date from July 1st, '63, was placed in his hands. Buford was a fine officer. None of these officers would weigh to exceed 150 to 160 pounds.

These Union officers averaged younger than the men in high command among the Confederates. At this time, General Lee was fifty-seven years of age; Longstreet forty-two; Ewell forty-six, and A. P. Hill thirty-seven. General Stuart, the commander of their cavalry, was only thirty, while Wade Hampton was forty-five.

The decision of this council was that we were to wait the attack of the enemy and fight it out here, watching for any favorable opportunity to administer a counter stroke. This was a wise conclusion. Several persons, either through malice or a desire to exalt themselves have asserted that Meade was desirous at this time of retreating from the field to the line of Pipe Creek. Some credence was attached to this assertion im-

mediately after the war, but nobody of intelligence believes it now.

At sunrise, Friday morning July 3rd, there were four companies, (B, D, E, and F), of our Regiment, under command of Captain Fogler, detailed for the skirmish line. We moved some distance to the right and then advanced toward the Emmitsburg road. When these companies had reached nearly to the road they took distance by the left flank. Company F occupied the right of the skirmish line and Company B the left. The extreme right of the line was quite near the Emmitsburg road and opposite the Codori House. The extreme left of the skirmish line was further from the road than the right. Our four companies and fifty men from the 106th Pennsylvania on our right covered the entire Division line.

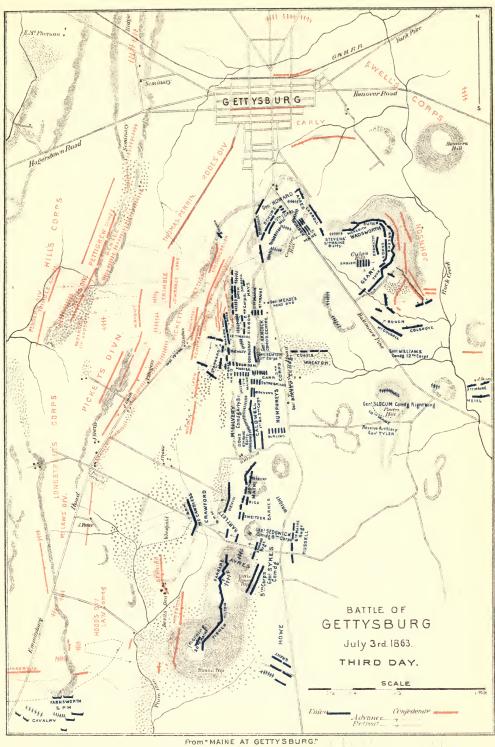
We had drawn no rations the day before, and many of the boys had not tasted food for twenty-four hours. Most of them went to their posts without breakfast, and we had no opportunity to procure water on that morning. The 3rd of July, 1863, was an intensely hot day. There was hardly a breath of air stirring. From sunrise until one o'clock in the afternoon those companies in the Brigade line had the more desirable position. The four companies on the skirmish line were obliged to hug the ground concealing their bodies in the grass as best they could, to avoid the Confederate sharpshooters concealed in buildings, behind fences, trees and rocks on the rising slope beyond the Emmitsburg road. The men in the line of battle could protect themselves from bullets of the enemy by lying behind the slight works that had been hastily constructed on Cemetery Hill.

At one o'clock in the afternoon there was suddenly opened the most terrific cannonading ever witnessed on this continent. On Seminary Ridge one hundred and thirty-eight Confederate guns were turned upon our lines, and mostly upon Gibbon's Division of the Second Corps. This was the point of attack selected by General Lee for his last mighty effort to break the Union lines. A clump of trees, the center of the point of attack, was about the middle of the Second Corps line. Owing to the form of the Union line, only about eighty Union guns responded

to the Confederate challange. The Confederate line was concave on the side toward us, and their guns were throwing projectiles of every kind at our line of battle. The very earth seemed to tremble as if in the convulsions of a mighty earthquake. The earth was thrown up in clouds and the air filled with screeching missiles of death. Upon every side horses were falling and caissons exploding. Animals fled in terror. Horses accustomed to the noises of battle neighed in fright. Shells exploding in the air sent their jagged fragments in all directions. Mothers in neighboring houses, with pale faces and white lips, clasped their little children in their arms in mortal fear. The crash and roar were unearthly. It is impossible to describe the horror and suffering and havoc of this hour.

Partly to deceive the enemy and partly to meet the anticipated assault, the Union lines slackened fire a little before three o'clock. The Confederates thought they had silenced our guns and felt greatly encouraged. The troops of Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps which had not yet been engaged had been massed in the meantime under cover of the ridge running between Seminary Ridge and the Emmitsbury road. Heth's Division, now under the command of Pettigrew¹ was formed to the rear and left of Pickett behind Seminary Ridge. The troops of Wilcox, Perry and Wright were formed in the rear and to the right of Pickett's line. The Brigades of Scales and Lane, from Pender's Division, were formed in the rear of Pettigrew. This body of troops, formed for the purpose of annihilating Gibbon's Division, numbered about 15,000 men. General Hunt, Chief of Artillery, had been informed by signal from General Warren, located on Round Top, that these troops were forming for an attack behind the hills. We did not have long to wait. The advance troops of this charging column, marching with regular quick step toward us, appeared beyond the Emmitsburg road. Kemper's Brigade of Pickett's Division held the right of their line, and on its left was Garnett's Brigade; while Armistead's Brigade was slightly in their rear, hurrying forward

¹Brigadier General Joseph R. Davis, a brother of Jefferson Davis, commanded one of the Brigades in Pettigrew's Division.



to take position on their left. Pickett's Division was composed exclusively of Virginia troops.

The long line of Confederate infantry nearly a mile in length as it came into view, presented one of the most inspiring sights ever seen on a field of battle. There was a coolness, an air of discipline and a precision of movement that called forth from the Union soldiers a spontaneous expression of admiration. Neither the enfilading nor front fire of our batteries delayed for an instant the advance of the Confederates' decimated ranks. Whenever and wherever a gap was made, they closed up promptly and moved steadily forward. General Pickett's Division was well on the Confederate right and in advance. Immediately the Union batteries to the right and left of the Second Corps and about Little Round Top opened fire. A better target was never offered the Union artillerists. Into the ranks of these devoted men were hurled shot and shell and shrapnel. The cannoneers standing at their guns shouted to our skirmishers to hurry in as they were going to open fire. Pickett himself did not cross the Emmitsburg road.

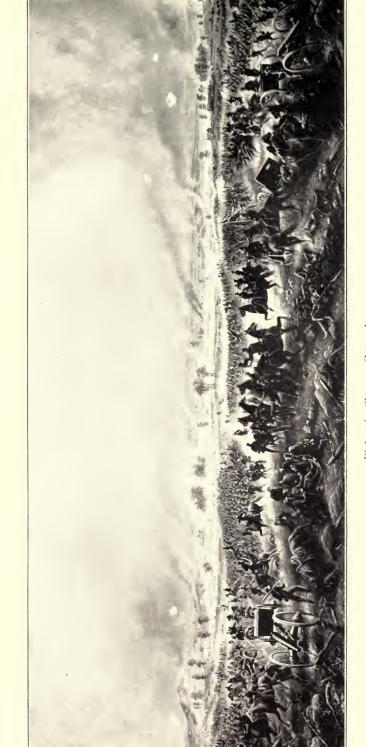
As the Confederate lines approached nearer, the guns from the batteries of the Second Corps, commanded by Woodruff, Arnold, Cushing, Rorty and Cowan, opened with canister upon the ranks of these brave Confederates.

Stannard's Brigade of Doubleday's Division was located on the left of our Division and somewhat in advance of the Division line. Two of Stannard's regiments changed front forward on first company and opened a destructive fire on Kemper's right flank. This caused Kemper's Brigade to crowd to the left. Armistead's Brigade, instead of joining on the left of Pickett's Division, now moved rapidly between Kemper and Garnett. This brought Pickett's men opposite the angle of the stone wall, held by a portion of Webb's Brigade. As Pickett's Division approached this wall, it was joined on its left by the Tennessee Brigade of Frye from Pettigrew's Division, and also a North Carolina brigade hurried from the rear and joined Garnett near the angle of this wall. Upon the Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first Pennsylvania of Webb's Brigade fell the full force of Pickett's attack. These regiments were driven back. Gar-

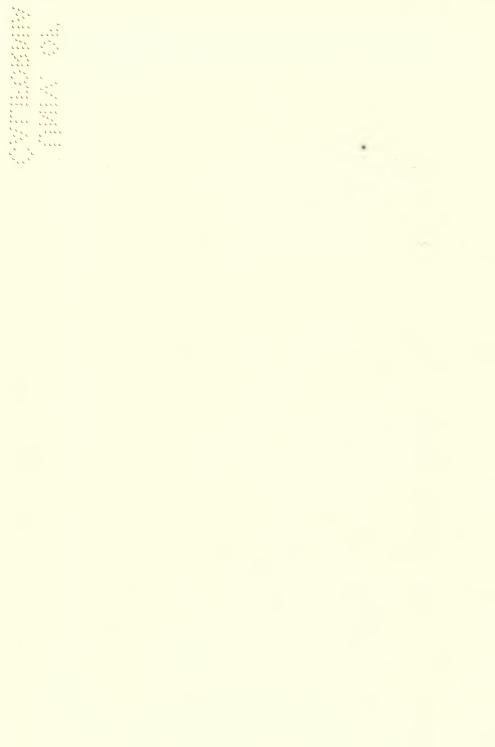
nett was shot dead and fell from his horse within twenty-five paces of the stone wall and Kemper was wounded. Cushing's guns had been advanced to the stone wall. The brave Cushing, wounded, fires the last gun and falls dead among his gunners. General Armistead, with his hat raised upon his sword and accompanied by several hundered men jumped over the Union breastworks. The exultant "Rebel yell," sounding like wolf cries, is heard. The Union line was broken. For a few minutes the Confederate flags were waving on the wall and in our lines. It seemed for a time that Pickett's charge had been successful, and perhaps it might have been had he been properly supported.

General Hancock, mounted on his black charger, gallops to and fro, hurrying reinforcements to the point of the broken lines, when a ball strikes him near the groin and he falls from his saddle into the arms of some of Stannard's staff-officers. General Gibbon, in his life-time, informed the writer that while hurrying with the Nineteenth Maine and Twentieth Massachusetts toward the captured angle of the wall, he fell wounded among our troops. His brave Assistant Adjutant-General, First Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell, was mounted during all this engagement and was in the front line encouraging our men. He was highly complimented for his conspicuous bravery and daring in the reports of many of the general officers. Haskell was killed at the battle of Cold Harbor the next June when Colonel of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin and while commanding our Brigade in its unsuccessful assault upon the Confederate works.

The Nineteenth Maine hurried to the right and joined the troops in front of Pickett's men. It was here that Colonel Heath was wounded. Several regiments from our own Brigade and that of Colonel Hall hurried to Webb's assistance, and without much organization, were massed, many deep, around the hapless Confederates who had penetrated our lines. For ten or fifteen minutes the contending forces, in some places within rifle-length of each other and in other places hopelessly mingled, fought with desperation. Those in front used the butt ends of their rifles, and those in the rear of the crowd of Union soldiers fired over the heads of those in front, and some of them hurled stones at the heads of the Confederates. The ground was cover-



Pickett's Charge, Gettysburg.



ed with men dead, and men wounded and bleeding. In swift succession the Confederate flags went down and the men who had crossed the wall, despairing of success, threw up their hands in token of surrender. General Armistead was mortally wounded, thirty-three yards within our lines, and Kemper was severely wounded and taken prisoner. Many of the Confederates who had not got within our lines started in retreat and scores of them were shot down on their way. When the smoke and dust lifted, it was found that the three brigades of Pickett's Division had been nearly annihilated.

The troops of Gibbon and Hays in this fight captured nearly thirty Confederate flags and about 4,000 prisoners. Troops were hurried from the other corps to aid in repulsing this attack, but it had ended before they arrived.

General Hancock urged General Meade to put into action the troops that had not been engaged and make a counter attack upon the enemy. There was so much confusion, however, and for other reasons not necessary to discuss here, this advice was not acted upon.

Colonel Hall, commanding the Third Brigade of our Division, in speaking of the repulse of Pickett's charge states, "The Fifteenth Massachusetts, First Minnesota and Nineteenth Maine had joined the line and are entitled to a full share in the credit of the final repulse."

General Longstreet calls attention to the mistake of Kilpatrick at the time of Pickett's charge in not putting Farnsworth into action farther to our left instead of pitting him against Confederate infantry and artillery, where his life was uselessly sacrificed. His language is, "Kilpatrick's mistake was in not putting Farnsworth in on Merritt's left, where he would have had an open ride and made more trouble than was ever made by a cavalry brigade. Had the ride been followed by prompt advance of the enemy's infantry in line beyond our right and pushed with vigor, they would have reached our line of retreat."

The Confederates at this time had no cavalry upon their right. General Lee's plan was to send Stuart's cavalry with

¹From Manassas to Appomattox, p 396

a part of Ewell's Corps during Pickett's charge around our extreme right flank and rear, thus accomplishing the complete rout of the Union army if Pickett's charge was successful. Stuart found, however, confronting him General D. McM. Gregg with his own Division of cavalry and that of Custer's Brigade from Kilpatrick's Division. Here occurred one of the most closely contested cavalry engagements of the war, which resulted in routing and driving Stuart from the field. It was here that General Wade Hampton was wounded.

In his description of Pickett's charge, Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell, the Assistant Adjutant-General of our Division, wrote,

"I was riding toward the right of the Second Division, with purpose to stop there, as the most eligible position to watch the further progress of the battle, there to be ready to take part according to my own notions whenever and wherever occasion was presented. The conflict was tremendous, but I had seen no wavering in all our line. Wondering how long the Rebel ranks, deep though they were, could stand our sheltered volleys, I had come near my destination, when—Great Heaven! Were my senses mad? The larger portion of Webb's Brigade —My God, it was true—there by the group of trees and the angles of the wall, was breaking from the cover of their works, and without orders or reason, with no hand lifted to check them, was falling back, a fear-stricken flock of confusion. The fate of Gettysburg hung upon a spider's single thread * * * My sword that had always hung idle by my side, the sign of rank only in every battle, I drew, bright and gleaming the symbol of command. Was not that a fit occasion, and these fugitives the men on whom to try the temper of the Solingen steel? All rules and proprieties were forgotten; all considerations of person and danger and safety despised; for, as I met the tide of these rabbits, the damned red flags of the rebellion began to thicken and flaunt along the wall they had just deserted, and one was already waving over the guns of the dead Cushing. I ordered these men to 'halt' and 'face about' and 'fire' and they heard my voice and gathered my meaning and obeyed my commands. On some unpatriotic backs of those not quick of comprehension, the flat of my sabre fell not lightly, and at its touch their love of country returned, and, with a look at me and at its touch then love of country retained, and, with a look at his as if I were the destroying angel as I might have become theirs, they again faced the enemy. General Webb soon came to my assistance. He was on foot, but he was active, and did all that one could do to repair the breach or to avert the calamity. * * * Webb has but three regiments, all small, the 69th, 71st and 72nd Pa.—the 106th Pa., except two companies, is not here today—and he must have speedy assistance or this crest will be lost. * * * As a last resort, I resolved to see if Hall and Harrow could not send some of their commands to reinforce Webb. * * General Harrow I did not see but his fighting men would answer my purpose as well. The 19th Maine, the 15th Mass., the 82nd N. Y. and the shattered old thunderbolt, the 1st Minne-"These men of Penn., on the soil of their own homesteads, the

first and only to flee the wall must be the first to storm it. 'Major——, lead your men over the crest, they will follow.' 'By the tactics I understand my place is in the rear of the men.' 'Your pardon, sir; I see your place is in the rear of the men. I thought you were fit to lead.' 'Captain——, come on with your men.' 'Let me first stop this fire in the rear, or we shall be hit by our own men.' 'Never mind the fire in the rear; let us take care of this in the front first.''

"Just as the fight was over, and the first outburst of victory had a little subsided, when all in front of the crest was noise and confusion -prisoners being collected, small parties in pursuit of them far down into the fields, flags waving, officers giving quick, sharp commands to their men-I stood apart a few moments upon the crest, by that group of trees which ought to be historic forever, a spectator of the thrilling scene around. Some few musket shots were still heard in the Third Division; and the enemy's guns, almost silent since the advance of his infantry until the moment of his defeat, were dropping a few sullen shells among friend and foe upon the crest. Rebellion fosters such humanity. Near me, saddest sight of the many of such a field and not in keeping with all this noise, were mingled alone the thick dead of Maine and Minnesota, and Michigan and Massachusetts, and the Empire and the Keystone States, who, not yet cold, with the blood still oozing from their death-wounds, had given their lives to the country upon that stormy field. So mingled upon that crest let their honored graves be. Look with me about us. These dead have been avenged already. Where the long lines of the enemy's thousands so proudly advanced see how thick the silent men of gray are scattered. It is not an hour since these legions were sweeping along so grandly; now sixteen hundred of that fiery mass are strewn among the trampled grass, dead as the clods they load; more than seven thousand, probably eight thousand, are wounded, some there with the dead, in our hands, some fugitive far towards the woods, among the Generals, Pettigrew, Garnett, Kemper and Armistead, the last three mortally, and the last one in our hands. 'Tell General Hancock,' he said to Lieutenant Mitchell, Hancock's aide-de-camp, to whom he handed his watch, 'that I know I did my country a great wrong when I took up arms against her, for which I am sorry, but for which I cannot live to atone.' Four thousand not wounded, are prisoners of war.

"See how great a General looked upon the field and what he said and did at the moment, and when he learned of his great victory. To appreciate the incident, it should be borne in mind that one coming up from the rear of the line, as did General Meade, could have seen very little of our own men, who had now crossed the crest, and although he could have heard the noise, he could not have told its occasion, or by whom made, until he had actually attained the crest. One who did not know results, so coming, would have been quite as likely to have supposed that our line there had been carried and captured by the enemy—so many gray Rebels were on the crest—as to have discovered the real truth. Such a mistake was really made by one of

our officers, as I shall relate:

"General Meade rode up, accompanied alone by his son, who is his Aide-de-camp, an escort, if select, not large for a commander of such an army. The principal horseman was no bedizened hero of some holiday review, but he was a plain man, dressed in a serviceable summer suit of dark blue cloth, without badge or ornament, save the shoulder-straps of his grade, and a light, straight sword of a General or general staff officer. He wore heavy, high-top boots and buff gauntlets, and his

soft black felt hat was slouched down over his eyes. His face was very white, not pale, and the lines were marked and earnest and full of care. As he arrived near me, coming up the hill, he asked in a sharp, eager voice: 'How is it going here?' 'I believe, General, the enemy's attack is repulsed,' I answered. Still approaching, and a new light began to come in his face, of gratified surprise, with a touch of incredulity, of which his voice was also the medium, he further asked: 'What! Is the assault already repulsed?' his voice quicker and more eager than before. 'It is, Sir,' I replied. By this time he was on the crest, and when his eye had for an instant swept over the field, taking in just a glance of the whole,—the masses of prisoners, the numerous captured flags which the men were derisively flaunting about, the fugitives of the routed enemy, disappearing with the speed of terror in the woods—partly at what I had told him, partly at what he saw, he said impressively, and his face lighted: 'Thank God.'"

There were more men killed and wounded in the Second Corps at Gettysburg than any other corps in the army. The losses in the Regiment were somewhat greater on the 2nd of July than on the 3rd.

Casualties in the Regiment at the Battle of Gettysburg

Colonel Francis E. Heath, wounded, shoulder, July 3rd. Major James W. Welch, wounded, scalp. Sergeant-Major George A. Wadsworth, wounded, head.

COMPANY A.

Corporal Abner Baker, wounded, breast; died August 6th, Summit House Hospital, Philadelphia. Corporal Payson T. Heald, wounded, arm; died Aug. 5, '63, Summit House Hospital, Phila. Charles W. Collins, killed July 2nd. Sergeant Charles H. Colburn, wounded, leg, July 3rd. Corporal Gardiner W. Bigelow, wounded, arm, July 2nd. William F. Buker, wounded, hands. Benjamin F. Charles, wounded, leg, July 3rd. John P. Church, wounded, arm. Andrew Kennison, wounded July 2nd, leg amputated. Samuel Leavitt, wounded, shoulder, July 3rd. William B. Murphy, wounded, leg, July 3rd. Louis Vigne, wounded July 3rd.

COMPANY B.

Second Lieutenant Leroy S. Scott; wounded July 2nd; died July 13th. Sergeant Edwin A. Howes, killed. Ira Z. Bennett, (Battery) killed, July 2nd. Frank Coffin, wounded, thigh, July 3rd; died July 14th. Job P. Flagg, wounded, breast; died Dec. 2nd, York, Pa. Eli Noyes, missing, July 3rd; probably killed.

First Lieutenant Elisha W. Ellis, wounded, side. Sergeant Bejamin S. Crooker, wounded head. Corporal William Briggs, wounded, ankle. Corporal Alvin H. Ellis, wounded, thigh. Corporal Abial Turner, wounded, side, July 2. George F. Chapman, wounded, arm and side. Orson E. Crummett, wounded, head. Watson Curtis, wounded, hand. William H. Curtis, wounded, side. Willard R. Hardy, wounded, both hands. Isaac Hills, wounded, thigh. William Hubbard, wounded, head. Moses Larrabee Jr. wounded. Marshall H. Rand, wounded. Mark L. Whitney, wounded, leg, July 2nd.

COMPANY C.

Sergeant Alexander W. Lord, killed. Corporal Christopher Erskine, mortally wounded July 3rd; died July 5th. Corporal Gustavus L. Thompson, killed. Frederick S. Call, mortally wounded; died Aug. 25th. Abijah Crosby, wounded July 3rd; died July 8th. George E. Hodgdon, wounded July 2nd; died Aug. 24th. Elbridge P. Pratt, killed. Joseph P. Woodward, killed. Second Lieutenant Francis H. Foss, wounded, neck. Sergeant George Dunbar, wounded, elbow. Sergeant William H. Emery, wounded, head. Sergeant Henry W. Nye, wounded, head and shoulder. Corporal Lindley H. Whittaker, wounded. John B. Adams, wounded, hip and shoulder. James L. Blethen, wounded, head and arm. Henry Emery, wounded, foot. Lorenzo D. Gilman, wounded, knee. Joseph E. Haskell, wounded, leg. Charles W. Jones, wounded, head. Jonathan Lewis, wounded, elbow. Sullivan A. Maxim, wounded, leg. Johnson Shaw, wounded, foot; amputated. William Spaulding, wounded, arm. Reuben R. Webb, wounded, thigh.

COMPANY D.

Corporal Robert T. Newell, mortally wounded; died July 9th. Corporal Jesse A. Wilson, mortally wounded, died July 3rd. Corporal Alfred P. Waterman, wounded July 2nd; died July 4th. Alden Cunningham, killed. Roswell Haire, mortally wounded; died July 4. Louira Kelley, killed. John Merriam, mortally wounded, died Aug. 25th. James Robbins, killed July 3rd. Hushai C. Thomas, mortally wounded, died July 21st.

First Lieutenant Edward R. Cunningham, wounded, breast. Sergeant George L. Starkey, wounded July 2nd; leg amputated. Corporal Francis C. Wood, wounded, arm. James C. Brown, wounded, leg. Henry D. Byard, wounded, leg, July 2nd. Charles H. Clements, wounded, July 2nd. Horace Dean, wounded. Charles R. Hamilton, wounded, arm and fare. Henry H. Hartshorn, wounded July 3rd. Lorenzo W. Hoffses, wounded, legs. Senjamin O. Lear, wounded, arm, July 2nd. James Lenfest, wounded, leg, July 3rd. Charles A. Murch, wounded, leg. George F. Tufts, wounded, arm and leg.

COMPANY E.

Sergeant Enoch C. Dow, killed, Corporal Nahum Downs, wounded, leg; died July 18th. Charles E. Harriman, mortally wounded, died July 10th. William H. Low, killed. Ruel Nickerson, mortally wounded, died July 18th.

First Sergeant James H. Pierce, wounded, side. Corporal Collins McCarty Jr. wounded, arm; amputated. Corporal Frank A. Patterson, wounded, leg. John R. Atwood, wounded, leg. William J. Colson, wounded, leg. Joseph G. Cookson, wounded, hand. Leonard Dearborn, wounded, hand. John F. Keene, wounded, arm. James S. Moore, wounded, Fred A. Nickerson, wounded, hand. John E. Nickerson, wounded, leg. Edward B. Sheldon, wounded, arm; amputated. Fred L. Waterhouse, wounded, leg. leg.

COMPANY F.

First Sergeant Thomas P. Rideout, mortally wounded, July 3rd; died July 18th. William H. Shorey, mortally wounded, July 2nd; died July 4th.

Captain Isaac W. Starbird, wounded, July 3rd. First Lieutenant Charles E. Nash, wounded, leg, July 3rd. Second Lieutenant Edwin H. Rich, wounded, arm, July 3rd. Lauriston Chamberlain (musician), wounded, back. Edwin L. Dunnell, wounded. Alfred Grover, wounded, thigh. Calvin B. Keen, wounded. William S. Small, wounded, arm. John D. Smith, flesh wound, leg, July 3rd. Joseph A. Tobey, wounded, face. George O. White, wounded, shoulder.

COMPANY G.

Sergeant Albert N. Williams, mortally wounded; died July 3rd. Corporal George L. Perkins, killed July 2nd. Corporal George W. Andrews, wounded and missing, July 2nd, supposed to have died. Charles J. Carroll, wounded July 3rd, died July 7th. Elias Tyler, wounded July 2nd, died July 14th.

Second Lieutenant Henry Sewall, wounded, face. Sergeant Edward H. Hicks, wounded, arm and groin. Corporal Stephen P. McKenney, wounded, hands. George A. Hussey, wounded, hip. William H. Jackman, wounded, side. Amos Jones, wounded, arm. Hampton W. Leighton, wounded, arm. Isaac Moody, wounded. Winthrop Murray, wounded, head. William B. Small, wounded, shoulder. Orrin P. Smart, wounded, breast.

COMPANY H.

First Sergeant John F. Stackpole, killed. Sergeant Jesse A. Dorman, mortally wounded, died July 6th. Sergeant George E. Webber, mortally wounded, died July 7th. Corporal Hollis F. Arnold, killed. Corporal Samuel C. Brookings, killed. Corporal George H. Willey, killed. John H. Estes, wounded leg; missing, supposed to have died. William Taylor, killed. James Wyman, killed. Captain Willard Lincoln, wounded, head. First Lieutenant Albert Hunter, wounded the Lincoln of the control of th

Captain Willard Lincoln, wounded, head. First Lieutenant Albert Hunter, wounded, throat, July 2nd. Sergeant Charles P. Garland, wounded, leg. Sergeant James T. Waldron, wounded, thigh. Corporal Francis P. Furber, wounded, mouth. Daniel B. Abbott, wounded, side and arm. Rinaldo A. Carr, wounded, thigh. Joseph Coro, wounded, arm and side. Martin V. B. Dodge, wounded, arm and side. Redford M. Estes, wounded, leg. William F. Gerald, wounded, thigh. Drew Goodridge, wounded, leg. Charles L. Hamlen, wounded, leg. Sosephus James, wounded, right leg; amputated. William Leonard, wounded, leg. Charles H. Libby, wounded, leg. Reuben D. Martin, wounded, hip. Luke T. Richardson, wounded, side. Augustus Washburn, wounded, right arm; amputated. George E. Wheeler, wounded, legs. William F. Wood, wounded, legs. Benjamin Voung wonded new Martin, wounded, legs. William F. Wood, wounded, legs. Repriating Voung wonded new Martin Repriation of the Repriatio leg. Benjamin Young, wounded, neck.

COMPANY I.

Captain George D. Smith, mortally wounded, July 2nd; died at 1 a. m. July 3rd. Sergeant William E. Barrows, killed. Sergeant Chandler F. Perry, killed. Corporal

Orrin T. Conway, mortally wounded, leg; died Sept. 1st, at Baltimore. John F. Carey, killed. Francis W. Rhoades, killed. George S. Turner, mortally wounded; died July 19th. Joseph W. Wilson, killed.
Corporal George W. Barter, wounded. Corporal George E. Holmes, wounded, head. Corporal Daniel G. Lamb, wounded. Corporal Rufus Shibbles Jr. wounded, hand. Corporal John Vinal, wounded, hand. Gorham L. Black, wounded. Hiram Clapp, wounded. Luther Clark, wounded. Adrian C. Dodge, wounded, cheek. Alden W. Dyer, wounded, shoulder. Edwin S. Jacobs, wounded, head. Thomas Little, wounded, leg. Joseph G. Maddox, wounded, arm. James P. Mills, wounded, leg. Joseph H. Norton, wounded. Amos B. Oxton, wounded, hand.

COMPANY K.

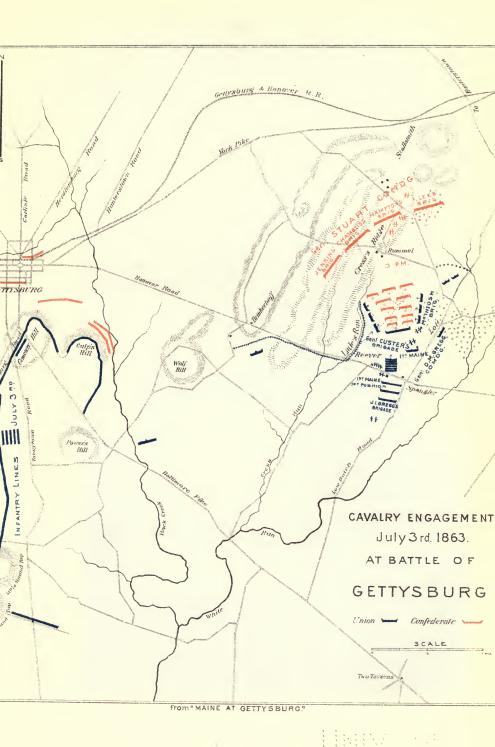
Sergeant William Boyton Jr. killed. Sergeant George L. Grant, wounded July 3rd; died November 5th. George P. Fogler, killed. Nelson Francis, killed. James T. Heal, mortally wounded; died July 8th. James H. Lewis, killed. Charles E. McAvoy, killed. Oliver P. Nichols, killed. Loring C. Oliver, mortally wounded; died July 20th. Samuel B. Shea, mortally wounded; died July 20th. Henry N. Williams, mortally wounded, died July 18th.

Second Lieutenant Samuel E. Bucknam, wounded, leg. Corporal Warren Proctor, wounded, groin. Corporal Weld Sargent, wounded, arm. Corporal Stephen P. Trafton. wounded, leg. Richard M. Blaisdell, wounded, leg. Edwin Blake, wounded, hand. Ezekiel L. Dunton, wounded, leg. Alvah Jellison, wounded, thigh. George A. Kimball, wounded, foot. David C. Lombard, wounded, arm, amputated. Calvin E. Marr, wounded, foot, William McKenney, wounded, breast. Isaac W. Mitchell, wounded, hand. Jesse Mitchell. wounded, shoulder. Simmons A. Mitchell, wounded, back. Addison Sawyer, wounded, hand. Thomas E. Scott, wounded, leg; amputated. Gilman N. Varell, wounded, legs. Lorenzo Webster, wounded.

RECAPITULATION

Killed and mortally wounded	67
Wounded, not fatally	149
Total loss	216

It was not believed that all the members of the Regiment who were wounded during the battle would recover from their wounds. Among these were Captain George D. Smith, who was wounded on the afternoon of July 2nd. He lingered until one o'clock the next morning, when he died. In the same class with Captain Smith were Corporal Christopher Erskine, Company C, Corporal Jesse A. Wilson, Corporal Alfred B. Waterman and Private Roswell Haire, Company D; Private William H. Shorey, Company F, and Sergeant Jesse A. Dorman, Company H. Reports brought back from the hospital indicated that these men would probably die as a result of their wounds. It was believed, however, that the following named boys stood some chance for recovery: Corporals Payson T. Heald and Abner Baker, Company A; Privates Frank Coffin and Job P. Flagg, Company B; Privates Frederick S. Call, Abijah Crosby and George E. Hodgdon, Company C; Lieutenant Leroy S. Scott,







Regimental Monument, Gettysburg.

Corporal Robert T. Newell and Privates John Merriam and Hushai C. Thomas, Company D; Corporal Nahum Downs and Privates Charles E. Harriman and Ruel Nickerson, of Company E; First Sergeant Thomas T. Rideout, Company F; Privates Charles J. Carroll and Elias Tyler, Company G; Sergeant George E. Webber, Company H; Corporal Orrin T. Conway, and Private George S. Turner, Company I; and Sergeant George L. Grant and Privates Loring C. Oliver, Henry N. Williams and Samuel B. Shea, Company K. But all these men died sometime after the battle and their deaths were caused by wounds received in battle. It was supposed that Eli Noyes, of Company B, Corporal George W. Andrews, Company G, and John H. Estes, Company H, were killed in the charge with the Regiment made in the late afternoon of July 2nd, as they were never seen by the members of the Regiment after that time.

Of the boys who were wounded at Gettysburg and after recovery returned to the Regiment, many of them were wounded again, some were taken prisoners and still others killed or mortally wounded in battle. William B. Murphy, Company A, was killed in the Wilderness. Orson E. Crummett, Company B, was mortally wounded at Spottsylvania. George F. Tufts, Company D, was killed in the Wilderness. William J. Colson and Fred A. Nickerson, Company E, were killed at Spottsylvania, and John E. Nickerson, of the same company, was killed in the Wilderness. Martin V. B. Dodge and Luke T. Richardson, Company H, were killed at Spottsylvania, and William F. Wood, also of Company H, was killed in the Wilderness. Corporal George E. Holmes, of Company I, and Weld Sargeant, Company K, were both mortally wounded at Spottsylvania.

The Second Corps collected upon the battlefield of Gettysburg 6,000 stand of small arms. Notwithstanding the fierceness of the battle and the ferocity of the Confederate charges, the

Second Army Corps never lost a gun.

Early on the morning of July 4th, General Lee proposed to General Meade, through a flag of truce, an exchange of prisoners captured by the two armies. General Meade promptly replied that it was not in his power to accede to Lee's proposal

TOTAL CASUALTIES OF THE BATTLE

	Killed and wounded	Missing	Total Loss
Union	17,555	5,435	22,990
Confederates (as reported)	15,298	5,150	20,448

The Confederate reports are known to have been grossly inaccurate in many particulars. There were 12,227 wounded and unwounded Confederates captured, according to the list on file in the office of the Adjutant-General in Washington, where the names of prisoners and the organization to which they belonged, are recorded. That record should be relied upon rather than the imperfect estimates made by the Confederate officers. The Confederate loss must have been about 30,000.

Sergeant Samuel Smith, of Company F, in describing the wounding of the Orderly Sergeant of that Company, writes:

"No better soldier nor one more highly esteemed by his comrades ever lived in the State of Maine than First Sergeant Thomas T. Rideout, of Company F. While we were making the flank movement to the right at the time of Pickett's charge, he fell by my side. When he fell, I stopped and asked him where he was hit. His reply was 'I am hit in the back.' He was lying in a very exposed position and I laid down my gun and took hold of his shoulders and dragged him about one rod and behind a large boulder, which would shield him somewhat from further danger from bullets which were singing about there pretty lively at the time. I then picked up my own gun and rejoined the Company. Sergeant Rideout was taken later to the field hospital, where I visited him after the battle. There I found him shot through the lungs, the bullet lodging in his shoulder, where he first felt it and thought he was hit in the back. He was cheerful at the time and fully expected to recover and live to go home. When I saw the Surgeon in charge of the hospital, he informed me that Rideout could not live. I afterward learned that he died about fifteen days after he was wounded."

When General Hancock was wounded in the afternoon of July 3rd, he immediately sent for the gallant General Caldwell and turned over to that officer the command of the Second Corps. General Gibbon had been wounded and General Caldwell was then the ranking officer in the Corps. He had done great work in the Wheat Field on the day before, to minimize the evil effects of Sickles' false line out on the Emmitsburg road. Two of his Brigade commanders, Zook and Cross, had been killed, and the awful record of the losses in his Division

show how well Caldwell's men did their work. But alas, he had not been educated at West Point! With "irascibility and pigheadedness" so characteristic of him, Meade would not permit General Caldwell to assume honors so richly deserved. He appointed General William Hays to command the Corps, and Hays retained the command a little over a month, when he was succeeded by General Warren. Hays had never commanded more than a brigade, and that was at Chancellorsville. He had generally been connected with the artillery branch of the service. There was no reason, apparent to anybody, except Meade's dislikes and prejudices, why Hays should have been thus honored. On one other occasion Meade had the opportunity of boosting Hays into prominence, when in February, '65, Gibbon was promoted to the command of the Twenty-fourth Army Corps. He then crowded Hays into the command of our Division for a couple of months.

On July 4th there was occasionally skirmish firing and reconnoitering in different directions. The enemy had withdrawn from the right of our position and our boys were occupying Gettysburg. An order was issued late in the day for a detail to be made from all of the regiments for the purpose of collecting the arms and burying the Confederate dead in the vicinity of our lines. All day during the 4th, information was frequently conveyed from the signal station to army headquarters that the enemy were retiring. On the night of the 4th, Hill's Corps started for Hagerstown, via Fairfield and Waynesborough, followed by Longstreet's Corps. Ewell's Corps did not take up its march until near noon on the 5th, although his troops were withdrawn several miles from their former line of battle. Ewell followed Longstreet and encamped the night of the 5th about a mile west of Fairfield. Late in the afternoon of the 4th, the Confederate wagon-trains and ambulances, filled with wounded, started south, going mostly by the Cashtown road, but some by the Fairfield route through the mountains, toward Hagerstown. Our cavalry struck one of these wagon-trains about half way between Fairfield and Waynesborough at a place called Monterey Pass, destroying many wagons and capturing a number of prisoners.

It was evident that General Meade did not intend to pursue very vigorously or attack the enemy if he could avoid it. On the 5th of July, Sedgwick had been ordered out on a reconnoissance and was vigorously following up the Confederate column. He shelled their rear guard and captured some prisoners. Some time during the day of the 5th, General Meade, through General Butterfield, his Chief-of-Staff, sent an order to Sedgwick, containing the following language: "General Birney reports a column of infantry moving to his left and asks permission to fire upon it with artillery. This has been denied. he having gone out about two miles beyond the line of rifle pits occupied by the enemy yesterday. It is not the intention of the General to bring on an engagement, and therefore he does not understand your application for your ordnance train to be sent you. The orders for a reconoissance were with a view to ascertain the position and movement of the enemy, not for battle." Yet early in the morning of the 5th Meade had been informed by his signal officers that there were no indications of the enemy anywhere, except a small force on the Cashtown road. It would seem as though a splendid opportunity was presented to the commander of the army to attack the enemy on July 4th and again on the morning of July 5th, when he would have found only Ewell to fight. It was such an opportunity as would have been improved by Sheridan or Hancock.

New York sent about twenty regiments of its National Guards and Pennsylvania nearly forty regiments of emergency men and militia to aid the Army of the Potomac in repelling Lee's invasion. The most of these regiments went to Harrisburg and down on the west side of-the mountains. They had no more influence on the campaign than did Heintzelman's 40,000 soldiers in and around the defenses of Washington. The reports of the officers of these emergency troops furnish entertaining reading. There were Brigadier-Generals and Aids-decamp, sufficient to supply the whole army. A requisition having been made on one of the regiments at Harrisburg for a detail of seventy-five men for chopping wood and constructing intrenchments, the Colonel refused to furnish the men, giving

as a reason that "they had been broken of their rest for two nights." The Colonel of a Pennsylvania organization informs his superior officer that because of illness he was compelled to stop at a house by the wayside, accompanied by his "servants." One officer reports the hardship of his regiment in being compelled, on a July night, to ride "in open cars exposed to the night air!" To cap the climax, the Colonel of the aristocratic Seventh New York State National Guards, complains that his men "had not changed their underclothing for a period of eleven days." Surely such hardships and sacrifices as these ought to be remembered by a grateful country!

Early on the morning of July 5th, the Nineteenth Maine with other regiments began the work of collecting arms and accoutrements, scattered over the field and burying the Confederate dead, on that part of the battlefield in our immediate front. Ditches were dug from fifteen to twenty feet long, six feet wide and from four to six feet deep. The hapless Confederates were dragged to these ditches, into which they were piled one upon another, until the bodies nearly filled the ditches. Then they would be covered over with dirt, heaped up on top. Some of the bodies having lain upon the ground since the 2nd of the month, exposed to the hot rays of a July sun, were badly decomposed, and the stench from the battlefield was something fearful. The bodies of Union soldiers were buried in separate graves and each grave marked with the name and organization to which the soldier belodged. When that information could not be obtained, the grave was marked with that distressing word, "Unknown." Visitors from different cities were crowding in and wandering over different parts of the battlefield. About five o'clock in the afternoon our Regiment started and marched about six miles on the Baltimore turnpike and went into camp at a place called Two Taverns. Here we drew rations, washed up and rested over July 6th. On the 7th we marched to Taneytown, where we bivouacked that night. The march of July 8th, carried the Regiment through Woodsboro to within five miles of Frederick City. It rained all day and was an extremely hard march. The distance covered was about twenty miles.

While on the march from Gettsyburg to Frederick, we received the news of the capture of Vicksburg. This was the occasion of much jubilation on the part of the boys of the Regiment. On July 9th the Regiment marched from the vicinity of Frederick to Rohrersville, a distance of some twenty miles. When we had reached a point a little west of Frederick, we saw on the north side of the road the body of a Confederate spy hanging to the limb of a tree. This man had been captured by some of our troops in advance of us with evidences of his guilt upon his person, and he was immediately strung up without much ceremony. It was a ghastly sight. On July 10th we marched across Antietam creek north of Sharpsburg, some twelve or fourteen miles, to near Tilghmanton. Here we built a line of breastworks. On the 11th of July we moved north a few miles and formed in line of Battle with the Fifth Corps on our right and the Twelfth on our left. We were now near Jones' cross-roads. Here the road from Williamsport crossed the Sharpsburg turnpike. This was a beautiful country. The Regiment stacked arms and rested at this place until about twelve o'clock at night. We were then ordered into line and marched north about three miles toward Hagerstown. No one seemed to know how far we were going. The column came to a halt without orders. The men began to drop in the road just where they stood and soon every man was asleep. The writer recalls awaking at early dawn and as far as he could see north and south the road was full of sleeping men. He went to a nearby farmhouse, procured a quart of milk and had a sumptuous breakfast, consisting of hard bread and milk. Soon after sunrise the Regiment with the Corps marched back south a short distance and built a strong line of works. We remained here all this day and the next, expecting to be ordered forward to attack the enemy. On the night of the 13th General Lee managed to escape and recross the Potomac. Our Regiment with the Corps then marched across Marsh creek, which ran midway between the two lines of battle, across the Confederate works, now deserted, through Downsville and nearly to Falling Waters on the Potomac. The bulk of Lee's army crossed the river at Falling Waters and a small portion of their rear guard

was captured by our cavalry under Buford, Kilpatrick and Custer. General Merritt got up in time to take the advance before the enemy had entirely crossed and captured more prisoners. The enemy's bridge was protected by cannon well located on the Virginia side and sharpshooters along the southern bank of the Potomac. As our troops neared the bridge, the enemy cut the Maryland side loose, and the bridge swung to the Virginia side. This ended the Gettysburg campaign.

On the next day the Regiment marched through Downs-ville and Sharpsburg, by the Antietam Iron Works and then took the towpath of the canal. This made fine marching the balance of the day. We covered twenty miles and bivouacked within two miles of Harper's Ferry. The next day we proceeded a short distance below Harper's Ferry to Sandy Hook on the Potomac and went into camp. The scenery on this day's march was grand.

Sergeant Silas Adams makes the following comment on our failure to attack Lee's army after the battle of Gettsburg:—

"It will be noticed that our army did not follow the Rebel army from Gettysburg. I do not know why, unless General Meade entertained fears of overtaking it. So we went around, taking a circuitous route and travelling nearly double the distance necessary to reach Falling Waters. We came to the vicinity of Antietam on the 10th of July. It was here for three days that the manoeuvres of the Potomac Army were inexplicable to a man untutored in military science. We formed line of battle; we reconnoitred; we built breastworks and covered them with shocks of wheat. We puzzled over the matter and inquired what we were waiting there for. At the end of three days we found out, when Lee's army was safely lodged on the south side of the Potomac. We had been playing and threatening fight until the Rebs got away. To say that the army was mad and disgusted is putting it very mildly. We felt that through incompetency on our side, Lee had been permitted to escape. Every man then knew that we must travel over the old ground again and that our great victory at Gettysburg was in a great measure lost. So far since the organization of the Army of the Potomac, incompetency had been one of the most conspicuous features in its management. The ten days immediately following Gettysburg did not vary the custom."

Some think President Lincoln's summing up of the situation and his conservative criticism of General Meade as fair as anything that has been said or written. His statement is contained in a letter prepared for but never sent to General Meade

upon the very day when the Confederate army made its escape into Virginia. It is as follows:—

"I have just seen your dispatch to General Halleck asking to be relieved of your command because of a formal censure of mine. I am very, very grateful to you for the magnificent success you gave the cause of the country at Gettsburg; and I am sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain to you. But I was in such deep distress myself that I could not restrain some expression of it. I have been oppressed nearly ever since the battle at Gettysburg, by what appeared to be evidences that yourself and General Couch and General Smith were not seeking a collision with the enemy, but were trying to get him across the river without another battle. What these evidences were, if you please, I hope to tell you at some time when we shall both feel better.

"The case, summarily stated, is this: you fought and beat the enemy at Gettysburg, and, of course, to say the least, his loss was as great as yours. He retreated, and you did not, as it seemed to me, pressingly pursue him; but a flood of the river detained him, till by slow degrees you were again upon him. You had at least twenty thousand veteran troops directly with you, and as many more raw ones within supporting distance, all in addition to those who fought with you at Gettysburg, while it was not possible that he had received a single recruit; and yet you stood and let the flood run down, bridges be built, and the enemy move away at his leisure without attacking him. And Couch and Smith—the latter left Carlisle in time, upon all ordinary calculations to have aided you in the last battle of Gettysburg, but he did not arrive. At the end of more than ten days, I believe twelve, under constant urging, he reached Hagerstown from Carlisle, which is not an inch over fifty-five miles, if so much, and Couch's movement was very little different.

"Again, my dear General, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two-thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect, and I do not expect (that) you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am immeasurably distressed because of it. I beg you will not consider this as a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you have learned that I was dissatisfied I thought it best to kindly tell you why."

The following letter from Captain Charles E. Nash was written from Warrenton Junction, July 29th, 1863.

"After participating in all the vicissitudes of the Burnside and Hooker campaigns, we took the 'back track' and proceeded toward the north star as far as Gettysburg, reaching this place just as the marauding Confederates were emerging from the mountains. * *

"We knew a great battle was to take place here, and felt hopeful that victory would be ours. The whole army was present, and therefore co-operation (a lack of which has defeated us too many times) would take place. No jars, no mismanagement so perceptible to even ordinary digits in the preliminaries of former battles, could be

seen or felt. I will state, by the way, that men wearing "stars" on their shoulders, are not always celestial beings, and that there has been a time when a battle line could be formed out of very poor generals. That quality, however, is rapidly disppearing from the field, to be known in the future only as they display their gay and costly equipages on civic holiday occasions.

"The fight of Wednesday was not a general one. The main army had not arrived. Wednesday night the Second Corps bivouacked two miles from the field,-the others were near by. Thursday morning at daybreak all hands "fell in," after partaking of a short ration of hard bread and pork and moved slowly and solemnly to the border of the future battlefield. The Second is called a "fighting Corps," and has left on battlefields more men than its ranks now contain, but all conscious of the terrible ordeal marked out for the day. It moves firmly and resolutely. All was silence in the early morning save the confused tramping of feet, and the rumbling of long trains of ambullances in the distance, as they uncoiled from their posts and moved along with the column. The thought that some of our number would occupy them, mangled and bleeding, before night, could not be repressed. The certainty was too apparent. And many of our number were never to behold another day. Who would it be, was the natural reflection. The summer morning, so peaceful and beautiful, would soon be marred by the wild commotion of battle, and the little birds in the trees by the roadside, singing tiny melodies, would soon be frightened away, when streaming shells and shrieks of wounded and dying come borne through the air. At last we halt by the center of the line of battle. The fences and walls are torn down, the better to facilitate the rapid movements of the troops when called for. Soon the troops return to their stacks of arms, and rest a little, for their recent march of 200 miles does not leave them in a very nimble state. Their faces are pale and haggard, their clothing is worn and covered with mud, but a quiet self possession and determination possessed every man. Across the narrow field, not a mile distant, stand the resolute legions of Lee, flushed with their success on the previous day. 'Every man be sure that his cartridges are all right' is passed through the ranks by the officers, and all heed the caution. Soon one of Howard's batteries begin to shell the Rebel lines, but receive no response. For a long time nothing could be got out of them,—not even the monosyllable of a shot,—and doubts began to arise about their willingness to fight us at all. The men began to build little fires and make themselves coffee, officers were lounging in groups, and an air of security and indifference seemed to pervade the hour. Suddenlyboom boom boom -with shrieking shells, and their whistling, buzzing fragments filled the air, as a Rebel battery opened on us. Thick volumes of smoke indicate clearly their well chosen position. down, men' is the command, which is very readily obeyed. shells come thick and fast,—some high in the air, some bounding along the ground, some far to the right, -some as far to the left, -and bursting, scattering their deadly fragments in every direction. 'Look out! Look out!' and down dodged several thousand heads to escape some ball, bouncing along the ground, which some one has seen, and therefore makes the precautionary exclamation. But the deadly missile has no good message; forward it plows, through the ranks, cutting several in twain, breaking limbs and mangling many more. Hundreds witness the sad sight, and soon the slightly wounded hobble to the rear and the dead are removed tenderly to a short distance out of the way. Hospitals were here established, opposite each regiment,

by displaying a little scarlet flag. The surgeons with their implements The men are ready to seize their arms and jump are in readiness. into line in an instant. The horses have been sent to the rear. Sharp volleys of musketry resound on both sides. The Third and First Corps are on our left and right, respectively, and in the course of an hour the musketry and artillery are hard at it. The long, unceasing rattle of musketry, like the treble of a musical instrument, seems to be supported by the hoarse heavy bass of artillery. 'Twas thus for upwards of two hours, at which time Gen. Hancock rode along the line, wearing a troubled face. We had been silent spectators all day. Second Corps, but few in number, had been held as reserve, but had suffered considerable from shells and shot. Gen. Hancock had exclusive charge of the First, Second and Third Corps, Gen. Meade having bestowed that honor and responsibility upon him. 'Into line, Col. Into line!' was the command of Col. Ward, our Brigade commander, and in an instant the Brigade was on its feet, ready to do or die. The Nineteenth Maine was placed beside a battery, to support it, and to hold its portion of the line, as the Third Corps had been driven back across the field, and was retiring in haste. The enemy was completely frantic with victory, and advanced impetuously. 'Commence firing' was the command, when they were seventy yards distant, and almost instantly a deadly sheet of fire was poured into them. Through the thick smoke we could dimly see them advancing, but slowly and hesitatingly, for in the space of five minutes their strong line had melted away, and there were only a few daring spirits left to encounter. Our fire had been deadly; every shot had apparently done its duty. And when, with bayonets fixed, the command 'Forward,' was given, onward dashed all that was left of the Nineteenth, while cheer upon cheer rose far above the din of musketry and artillery. The enemy scampered in every direction, many throwing up their hands as a token of surrender, and others hiding behind rocks and bushes to escape the fury of the charge, and afterwards coming into our lines. Only a few ever reached their own lines.

"The victory of the day was decisive. The First Brigade of the 'Iron Division' was the first to see the backs of the enemy, and the Nineteenth was the first Regiment to occupy and gain full possession of the field. It assisted in the recapture of two pieces of artillery which the enemy were too panic-stricken to take away, besides sending many prisoners to the rear. But sad was the spectacle around us. The dead and dying covered the ground; and the wild cries for help, the beseeching exclamations, the dismal groans, and broken prayers, mingled with the dying echoes of thunder in that ever memorable twilight. Presently it was dark, and we returned from the field, picking the way so as to avoid tramping upon the wounded and dead. The repulse of the enemy had been complete, but it was certain they would renew the contest in the morning. The wounded were removed as rapidly as possible. A few of the dead were buried, but chiefly preparations were being made for the morrow. Fresh supplies of ammunition were distributed to the batteries, and sixty rounds were furnished to each soldier. Dead horses and broken caissons were removed, and every preparation was made to receive an attack at daylight. Soon all was quiet, and the silence was broken only by the shrieks and cries, borne through the smoky atmosphere, and ever and anon a stray picket-shot. The weary men at last slept soundly, forgetful of the terrible scenes of the day, and the ungathered harvest of death strewn around them. Morning dawned upon a heart-sickening scene, as the first faint streaks slanted from the east. Generals accompanied

by their escorts could be seen riding along the line, perfecting the program for the day. The men awoke, refreshed from the few hours rest, fully conscious of another day's struggle with the marauding foe. Rations had given out, and they must fight on empty stomachs. Three or four companies of the Nineteenth were advanced as skirmishers, and mine was among the number. The men were deployed, and quietly, stealthily, the line advanced, in the face and eyes of Rebel sharpshooters, who forwarded their compliments without stint. line was too small to deserve many shells, or it would have received them. Our position was in an open field, with no shelter in the front and none above to shield from the burning rays of the sun. The men lay flat on the ground, and presented as small a target as possible. this position they remained ten hours, suffering severely from thirst and heat. If any poor wight happened to elevate his head, he was sure to receive attention. At times during the day, our boys, by way of diversion, would pop away in return, but the enemy was too well shielded to receive much harm.

"Early in the afternoon, two pieces of Rebel artillery gave the signal. Almost instantly, shot and shell from two hundred pieces of artillery went screaming over our heads. Our own batteries immediately replied, and for two hours were hurled those masses of destruction and death. All passed over our heads, as we were in a place of comparative security, and only the premature explosion of a shell from either side was the source of much danger, save now and then a ricochet shot from the enemy would plow along the ground, scattering the earth upon us. Only a few were hurt. By and by came relief. It requires less nerve to face the enemy man to man, in open field, than to lie down supinely while he hurls his missiles. There may be less danger in the latter process, but the testimony of all gives preference to the former. The enemy was advancing, and I assure you it was a relief at that particular time, as ten hours prostration on the ground, side by side with hundreds of the enemy's dead, in the scorching sun, cannot be termed an agreeable situation, to say nothing about the suspense which accompanies a battle of long duration. The enemy advanced in solid column against the frail line of the Second Corps, which occupied the center of the whole line, and at a point near the Baltimore turnpike; a point which, if they could obtain, would insure them victory. On they came, heedless of the few skirmishers who stood before them, the only alternative of whom was to retire or be annihilated. Slowly and reluctantly they fell back, firing incessantly into the solid ranks of the Rebels, every shot taking effect. Soon they reached the main body and then commenced the fight in earnest. For five minutes the Second Corps discharged volley after volley, while grape and canister cut gaping swaths, mowing down the furious minions of treason, like grass before the scythe. A few of the most intrepid ones advanced to within a dozen yards of the fence behind which we stood, but instantly they shriek and fall, pierced by numberless balls. Others still advance, and meet a like fate. In a few momments they are overpowered, and, eager still for life, endeavor to gain a respite from the fate of their comrades by the nimble use of their legs. A few well directed volleys bring them to a realizing sense that their game will not pay, and therefore they stop and lie down. Onward dashes some little battalion and brings them in prisoners. Thus ends the battle, and the firing nearly ceased. The victory is complete, but not without terrible gaps in our own ranks. The Nineteenth lost 206 in killed and wounded,—one half of its whole number on the morning of the previous day; and the loss in the Brigade and throughout the

Corps was in about the same proportion. The Corps had twice hurled back the heavy columns of Lee, and its commander, Hancock, was

severely wounded.

"It was now late in the afternoon. The wounded were being cared for, and our dead being buried. Night again fell, and on a more ghastly field than ever before on this continent. Weary and jaded the men again sought rest, little fearing another attack. The morning broke. Not a Confederate could be seen. The Fifth and Sixth Corps advanced to reconnoitre, and were welcomed by half a dozən guns, which were then hastily spiked. 'The enemy has retired,' was the theme of the conversation everywhere. Satisfaction and cheerfulness abounded. A heavy force soon started in pursuit, but the Second Corps was to remain for a while to bury the dead. A detail was soon made from each regiment, with pickaxes and shovels to perform the last sad rites. Our own dead were buried in groups, the name and regiment of each placed at the head of the little mounds. Then they proceeded to the Rebel dead,—and I will say here, that by adding together the numbers buried by the several squads, the number reached upwards of 2,000 opposite the line of battle of the Second Corps. It was a mournful task.

"I have written lengthilv—much more than I intended—but I am quite unable to express the hardships our brave volunteers have undergone for the past forty days. Our ranks in the field are now weak and thinned. There is many an absentee at roll call. We need more men. God grant that we may have them. Eleven months ago the Nineteenth Maine was one thousand strong. Today its ranks number 258. Some who were then with us are reposing on the banks of the Rappahannock; other are asleep on the stained and ever memorable field at Gettysburg. Only a few are left.

CHAPTER VI.

BACK TO THE RAPPAHANNOCK, BRISTOE STATION, MINE RUN AND SECOND WINTER IN CAMP.

The Regiment broke camp on the 18th of July, crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry. We then crossed the Shenandoah river on a pontoon bridge, moved around to the head of Loudon Heights and started up the Loudon Valley, following closely in the route over which we marched October 30th, '62, after the battle of Antietam. On the next day, Sunday, July 19th, the Regiment reached Snicker's Gap. The soldiers thought they had never seen blackberries so large and plentiful as were found at this time in this region of country. We were marching slowly, keeping near the Blue Ridge, and there was good opportunity for picking these berries. In its advance along the mountains, the cavalry was very active and had several encounters with the enemy. Our route took us through Bloomfield, Upperville and the vicinity of Ashby's Gap, and we reached Linden Station on the Manassas Gap railway on the 23rd day of July. The Third Corps, under General French, took the advance through Manassas Gap, followed by the Fifth and our own Corps. The Regiment marched entirely through the Gap on the 23rd, reaching the vicinity of Front Royal, the march covering a distance of about eighteen miles. In some places the Gap was very wide and in others quite narrow. The country looked very pretty around Front Royal. The Third Corps had some fighting, which we escaped. On the 24th we retraced our steps through the Gap and went into camp. An order was issued that we must subsist on half rations for a while. Inasmuch as few of us had any rations at all, the order did not materially affect our style of living.

It appears that the head of Longstreet's Corps reached Millwood, opposite Ashby's Gap, July 20th, with the intention

of pushing through the Gap. Our cavalry had possession of that. Then Longstreet pushed for Manassas and Chester Gap. He bridged the Shenandoah at Front Royal, as the river was not fordable. General Corse hurried a regiment into Manassas Gap and put the rest of his force into Chester Gap and managed to get possession of the latter a few minutes before our troops appeared in the opposite end of the Gap. Colonel Herbert, with the Seventeenth Virginia Regiment alone, kept our force a long time from penetrating Manassas Gap. Longstreet marched through Chester Gap and made his way leisurely to Culpepper Court House. The other Confederate corps crossed the mountains further south.

Mosby's guerrillas were very active upon our flanks and rear. Any fainting soldier, dropping by the roadside, was sure to make the acquaintance of Mosby's men and quickly find his way into the Richmond prisons. A number of the men of the Nineteenth were in this luckless class. On the 25th we marched twenty miles to White Plains, going through Rectortown. We proceeded the next day to a place near Warrenton Junction. This was an exceedingly trying march of twenty miles. The day was very hot and men, overcome by the heat, died by the roadside. From Warrenton Junction the Regiment proceeded to Morrisville. We left the vicinity of Warrenton at sunset July 30th and marched until nearly three o'clock the next morning, reaching the vicinity of Elk Run. On the last day of the month we proceeded to Morrisville a place where we were destined to remain for some time. The men of the Regiment had been compelled to subsist for weeks on very poor rations. The diet of pork and hard bread had been varied only at long intervals, when the men would forage upon the country through which they marched.

General Halleck telegraphed General Meade on the 29th of July that he thought "it would be best to hold for the present the upper lines of the Rappahannock without further pursuit of Lee." The Regiment remained in the vicinity of Morrisville for about six weeks. In many respects this period was a pleasant experience for the Regiment. Once our encampment was changed for the purpose of procuring better water. What

the soldiers needed more than anything else was rest and good food. We received neither of these in abundance. It was very hot weather the most of the time. On several occasions the thermometer registered 104 in the shade. As a rule, however, the nights were comfortable. During the first week's sojourn at Morrisville, Paymaster Hewey appeared in camp and the Regiment received two months' pay in full up to July 1st.

The 6th day of August had been set apart by President Lincoln to be observed as a day of national thanksgiving. Its observance in our division was simply perfunctory. No effort was made by the officers to have the day kept in the spirit as President Lincoln desired that it should be. The men were truly thankful that they were alive.

On the 21st of August our Division turned out to witness the execution of Jesse Mayberry, of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania, who was shot for desertion. Large picket details were necessary during our Morrisville stay. There were expeditions from the Corps in various directions to guard against the activity of the Confederate cavalry. We received while here 198 drafted men, recruits and substitutes. These men had to be drilled and watched. While there were some desertions among these recruits, it may be said to their credit that some of the best soldiers of the Regiment were men who came to us while at Morrisville.

Toward the end of August, with the rest of the Second Corps, the Regiment made an expedition to Banks' Ford above Falmouth. It was a good day's march and was said to be for the purpose of supporting our cavalry in the destruction of gunboats on the Rappahannock. We reached Morrisville on our return trip about two o'clock in the morning, September 4th. On Saturday, September 12th, we left Morrisville at about ten o'clock in the morning and marched down past Bealeton Station to within about one mile of the river and bivouacked near the railroad. This was not a long march, but it was one of the most distressing in the experience of the Regiment. It was a very hot, sultry day. In the forenoon the thermometer rose to 106 degrees in the shade. Late in the afternoon the men were drenched to the skin in a heavy thunder storm, which was grate-

tully received. The men started in a rain storm the next morning about seven o'clock and crossed the river at Rappahannock Station. A large force of cavalry was in advance of our Corps. The Nineteenth reached the neighborhood of Culpepper Court House in the afternoon and encamped a mile west of town. Cannonading was heard along the banks of the Rapidan to the south. Our cavalry had brisk work in driving the Confederates out of this peninsula between the Rapidan and the Rappahannock. It was ground that had been fought over many times. On the 17th of September, the Regiment advanced, with the Second and Sixth Corps, to the Rapidan river. The Second Corps was extended along the Rapidan to picket the fords and its picket line was nearly ten miles long. The necessity for this activity on the part of the Army of the Potomac was to prevent General Lee from sending further reinforcements to the Confederate armies in the west.

On the 24th of September, General Hooker was assigned to the command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps. These two army corps were later transferred to the Army of the Cumberland on the 3rd day of October. On September 25th, when General Slocum learned that Hooker was to command these two corps, he wrote to President Lincoln tendering his resignation, and in his letter to the President, passed out this bouquet to Hooker: "My opinion of General Hooker, both as an officer and a gentleman, is too well known to make it neccessary for me to refer to it in this communication. The public service cannot be promoted by placing under his command an officer who has so little confidence in his ability as I have. Our relations are such that it would be degrading to me to accept any position under him." The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps now passed permanently out of the Army of the Potomac.

On the first day of October, a man of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, found guilty of desertion, was drummed out of the service in the presence of our Brigade. This Regiment so intimately associated with our own, had only one man shot for desertion during its service, and this man was John Roberts, of Company H, of that Regiment. The Brigade was called out to

witness his execution on October 30th. Roberts was a substitute and had been absent from his regiment only three days.

BRISTOE STATION

On the 5th of October, the Second Corps was relieved by the Sixth and withdrawn from its position along the Rapidan to Culpepper, where it remained until the 10th. On this last named day, the right of our Army near James City which was held by Kilpatrick's cavalry supported by a part of the Third Corps was suddenly attacked by Stuart's cavalry and driven in toward Culpepper. This assault, together with intercepted communications by signal from Clark's mountain, furnished evidence to General Meade that his right flank was already turned. During the night our trains were sent across the Rappahannock, details were made to keep up the fires until midnight in order to deceive the enemy, and the Second and Fifth Corps quietly and hastily began their retrograde movement. By daylight on October 11th our whole force was north of the river and the bridge at Rappahannock Station was blown up. General Meade having gathered all the misinformation he could from our cavalry and on advice given by Generals Pleasanton and Sykes concluded that instead of the Confederate army having flanked him, it was advancing from the south and then occupied Culpepper Court House. We started back toward Culpepper at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th, preceded by the Fifth and Sixth Army Corps. Our three corps were preceded by General Buford's Cavalry Division. The Corps advanced nearly to Brandy Station.

About eleven o'clock at night on the 12th, we began our movement north again, recrossed the river and proceeded by way of Bealeton to Fayetteville, where we arrived about one o'clock on the 13th. We had stopped the night before only long enough to prepare food, so that since that time we had marched about thirty-six miles practically without rest or sleep. General Warren had been ordered to follow the Third Corps and act as rear guard to the whole army. The boys got about one hour's sleep at Fayetteville while lying in line of battle. The Third Corps kept us waiting considerable time and we then pro-

ceeded to what was called Three-mile Station on the Warrenton branch railroad. After waiting here for some time for the Third Corps to get out of the way, we proceeded along the flank of that Corps to the Vicinity of Auburn on Cedar Run. It was just after dark, and the only available crossing place was occupied by the Third Corps. When that Corps was not wanted, it was in the way; and when they were wanted, there were merrily skipping out toward Manassas, making good time. While we were tarrying here, we had a good opportunity to prepare something to eat. The Regiment was routed out on the morning of October 14th between three and four o'clock and started to cross Cedar Run at the village of Auburn. This was not the "Auburn' sung of by the poet. It consisted of one shabby residence and a blacksmith shop. In order to cross Cedar Run, we had to march directly toward the enemy for a couple of miles. fact is the enemy were on our flank trying to find a suitable place to attack. While General Caldwell's Division was crossing Cedar Run, Gregg's Cavalry Division which had been on the left flank and rear of the Second Corps, was driven in by the enemy advancing from the direction of Warrenton. Carroll's Brigade, always ready for any dangerous duty, responded to Gregg's appeal for infantry support. The Confederates threatening us now were Rodes' Division of Ewell's Corps. Caldwell's Division having crossed the Run, Hays' Third Division took the advance on the road. Caldwell was occupying the side of a hill which lay between the road to Greenwich and Catlett's Station, having with him the batteries of Ricketts, Arnold and While Caldwell's men were stopping here they immediately proceeded to make coffee and while so engaged, there came out of the pine woods ahead of us, and on the very road we were expecting to use, a succession of flashes, followed by shells which exploded in the midst of Caldwell's men. Ten or a dozen men in Caldwell's Division were killed by this fire. One shell killed seven men. The commander of the Third Division was Alexander Hays. The shells intended for Caldwell's Division passed over the head of Hays and his boys. Rickett's Pennsylvania Battery came into position and answered the hostile guns. Ouicker than it takes to write it. General Hays, always ready for an emergency, formed his skirmish line which he supported with infantry, and started to find out who was thus impudently blocking our way. In a very short time he not only found out but opened the road for us.

It appears that General Stuart with two brigades of cavalry and seven pieces of artillery had been inadvertently caught the previous night between the columns of our army. Finding himself thus caught and unable to extricate himself, he hid away his force in the dense pine woods on the road from Auburn to Catlett's. He dared not undertake to push his way out at night, because he did not know what he might encounter, or which way to turn. He thus waited until daylight and then hoped that when he opened on the Second Corps that the Confederate infantry would advance from the opposite direction and that thus they might annihilate whatever troops were between them. When Stuart opened, however, some of his shells passed completely over our lines and into the faces of the advancing Confederates. They failed to make connection. When he started to move away, the Confederate infantry attacked, with considerable force, Brooke's Brigade of the First Division, which was left to stand off the Confederates until we could get out of the way. The force attacking Colonel Brooke consisted of a heavy line of skirmishers followed by two lines of battle.

Now that the road was clear, General Webb with our Division took the advance and Caldwell's men held the rear, and we all started out for Catlett's Station. The men did not require to be urged to take the quick step. We all realized now that this was a race in which large issues were involved. No complaints were heard. Our brigade led in the march and our Regiment was near the head of the column.

When two or three miles from Auburn, General Caldwell selected a storng position, planted his artillery in places of advantage and waited to give the enemy a dose of their own medicine. This was done in order to get our Corps trains beyond Catlett's Station and out of the way. Then General Caldwell was ordered to let go and follow the other two divisions.

The men were loaded down with four or five days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition. The column was put in motion from Catlett's Station toward Bristoe. The distance between these two places is about seven miles. The experience of the day had made the men willing to march expeditiously. With a swinging stride, the tired soldiers were measuring off the distance to Bristoe. When about half way there, directly in our front a furious cannonading breaks out ahead of us, up the railroad track. The woods in our front concealed the view. and generals and staff officers galloped to the front. Soon orders came for the troops to hurry forward. Our Division then crossed the railroad to the south side and then we all took a brisk trot toward the firing in front. The First Minnesota was marching on the left as flankers. We soon came out into a clearing and Bristoe Station is in plain sight. A Confederate battery on the left is taking position and a few minutes afterward the Confederate infantry is seen moving out of the woods and forming upon a hill near Broad Run, facing the railroad. They are the Confederate Brigades of Cooke and Kirkland of Heth's Division, Hill's Corps. The flankers have already opened fire upon the Confederate skirmishers. Brown's Battery B was at the head of the column, ready for trouble. This battery dashes across the plain, fords Broad Run and gets into action on the other side. Only two Brigades of our Division are present. The Pennsylvania Brigade was absent guarding the wagon trains. The Fifteenth Massachusetts led the Brigade; then came the Eightysecond New York, followed by the Nineteenth Maine. We went upon the field of battle on the run. When the Brigade drew near Broad Run, they were ordered to advance by the left flank toward the enemy and the railroad. The Eighty-second New York was then hastily drawn from the line and hurried across Broad Run and then immediately back again. The Minnesota men fought as flankers. Upon the withdrawal of the Eightysecond New York, our Regiment extended its line toward the right so as to connect with the Fifteenth Massachusetts. Third Brigade, under Colonel Mallon, of the Tammany Regiment, joined us on the left. Colonel Mallon was killed in the engagement. The Forty-second New York was the next regiment

on our left. Our Regiment was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, Colonel Heath being in command of the Brigade. Rickett's Pennsylvania Battery went into position on a small hill immediately in our rear and poured rapid fire over our heads. The Brigades of Cooke and Kirkland came charging down the sides of the hill, their flanks supported by Davis' and Walker's Brigades of the same Division. As soon as the Confederate line got within thirty yards of the railroad, our Brigade on the right opened fire. Mallon's Brigade swings into line behind the railroad a few minutes later and its regiments continued the firing line to the left. Owen's Brigade of the Third Division, consisting of New York troops, came next in line; then the brigade of that splendid soldier, Colonel Thomas A. Smyth. Our men continued firing until the front was clear of the enemy. In two places a few of the more adventuresome Confederates leaped upon the railroad track, only to be shot down and captured. Sergeant Small, of the Nineteenth, shot one Confederate at muskets' length and ran another through with his bayonet.

The regimental flag of the Twenty-seventh North Carolina was captured in front of our line by Moses C. Hanscom of Company F, who was subsequently awarded a medal of honor. One poor Confederate evidently desiring to surrender, jumped upon the railroad track without his rifle and in the excitement of the moment he was shot dead by one of the men of the Regiment. The railroad embankment was about high enough to afford good breastworks. A large number of prisoners was taken by the Brigade, in which the Nineteenth participated.

The result of the battle of Bristoe Station was the killing and wounding of 900 Confederate officers and men and the capture of 500 prisoners, two colors and five guns. In this battle the Confederate Generals Cooke, Kirkland and Posey were wounded, and the latter soon died as a result of his wounds. Our own loss in killed, wounded and missing was about 500. Over 150 of this number were reported as missing, having given out on the retreat from Culpepper, except about seventy belonging to Brooke's Brigade, who were captured while that officer was skirmishing with Ewell, earlier in the day.

In General Hill's report of this engagement, he stated that he was convinced that he "made the attack too hastily." The Confederate Secretary of War endorsed upon Hill's report that,
—"The disaster at Bristoe Station seems due to a gallant but

over hasty pressing of the enemy."

Colonel John S. Mosby reports Hill's loss as 1378, and adds, "When Hill and Ewell arrived near Bristoe, the Third Corps (French) had just crossed Broad Run on the retreat to Centerville. Hill ordered Heth to cross and attack it; the Third Corps went on; the Second, under Warren, was intercepted. It had not reached the stream and was marching in column on the railroad. Warren immediately formed a front to his flank behind a railroad embankment and a deep cut. Heth overlooked it; this was the cause of the failure of the Bristoe campaign. With ordinary skill, the Second Corps should have been destroyed." 1

The engagement was over at four o'clock. The time between that and dark was an anxious hour for General Warren and his Division commanders. Colonel Heath in writing of this engagement after the war, stated that, "About five p. m. we began to hear reports of the approach of Ewell on our left. I think I never knew daylight to last as long as it did that same afternoon, and I never wished for darkness half as much as I did then."

General Warren in his report of this battle adds:—"I conclude my report with the expression of my feelings, almost of gratitude, toward the Second Army Corps, and especially to the commanders of divisions and brigades and the staff officers at these headquarters. Temporarily commanding the Corps during the absence of Major–General Hancock, its permanent commander, absent by reason of wounds received at Gettysburg, I find each department so well filled that I would not wish to change it."

When darkness closed down upon the field, a sigh of relief went up from the men. Word was passed along in whispers that every man was to keep his hand on his tin cup and canteen that no noise might be made. The camp fires of the Confeder-

¹ Stuart's Cavalry in the Getteysburg Campaign, by John S. Mosby. page 166.

ates appeared along the whole line and the voices of their men around the fires could be plainly heard. In silence, the Second Corps passed along the enemy's front, forded Broad Run and never stopped their march until they threw their weary bodies on the ground near Blackburn's Ford on the Banks of Bull Run about four o'clock in the morning of October 15th. Of the sixty-nine hours that had elapsed since the Regiment left Bealeton on the morning of the 12th, the boys had been in column on the road, in line of battle or fighting with the enemy more than sixty hours.

The recruits of the Regiment stood their ground like veterans. Of the twenty casualities in the Regiment, seventeen were recruits. The following is the list of the casualities of the Regiment at Bristoe Station:

BRISTOE STATION

Company A.

John G. Curtis, wounded.

Company B.

Franklin A. Wood, killed; Corporal William H. H. Small, wounded; Israel H. Cross, wounded; Henry A. Dore, prisoner; died at Annapolis, Nov. 25th, '63.

Company C.

Sullivan M. Welch, missing; never heard from; reported deserter.

Company D.

Ezekiel R. Thomas, wounded.

Company F. Corporal Walter Jerald, wounded; William Strange, wounded.

Company G.

James Hammond, prisoner; died Sept. 10th, '64, at Andersonville . Daniel Mahoney, prisoner.

Company H.
Frank Brown, wounded; Jason Bumpus, wounded; Charles W. Judkins, wounded; Frederick Smith, prisoner; George Tucker, wounded; George White, wounded.

Company I.

Joseph Baker, missing; Philo F. Washburn, missing; supposed to have been captured just before the battle.

Company K. Henry F. Roberts, prisoner; died at Andersonville, July 24th, '64.

While we were lying at Bull Run, the 152nd New York Regiment, Colonel George W. Thompson, joined our Brigade, coming from New York Harbor, having been in the command of General Dix in the Seventh Army Corps.

The inquiry is naturally made as to why the Second Corps was left in its isolated position to be fallen upon by the whole Confederate army. General Sykes, the commander of the Fifth Corps, was instructed by General Meade not to leave the neighborhood of Bristoe Station until the head of the Second Corps appeared. His only excuse for leaving was that he "thought" he saw the head of Warren's Corps coming from the direction of Catletts. Such blunders were placed to the account of profit and loss and the officers making them were never even reprimanded. For this inexcusable blunder Sykes ought to have been dismissed from the service. It was little short of miraculous that the Second Corps was not destroyed on this day. It was confronted by the whole Confederate army; although, fortunately, only one division of it was engaged. It was only the quick comprehension of the situation and the rapidity of movement on the part of General Warren that saved us at Bristoe Station.

The following is General Meade's order announcing the battle of Bristoe Station.

"Headquarters, Army of Potomac, October 15, '63.

General Order No. 76.

The Major-General commanding announces to the army that the rear guard, consisting of the Second Corps, was attacked yesterday while marching by the flank. The enemy, after a spirited contest, was repulsed, losing a battery of five guns, two colors and 450 prisoners. The skill and promptitude of Major-General Warren and the gallantry and daring of the soldiers and officers of the Second Corps are entitled to high commendation.

S. Williams, By command of Major-General Meade."

Sometime previous to the battle of Bristoe Station, General Halleck notified General Meade that he had recommended the dismissal of some of the useless Major-Generals connected with our army, but that the President had not acted upon his recommendation. This was one of the wise recommendations of General Halleck.

Subsequent to the battle of Bristoe Station and on October 18th, Halleck, in telegraphing to Meade, says, "General Lee

is unquestionably bullying you. If you cannot ascertain his movements, I certainly cannot. If you pursue and fight him, I think you will find out where he is. I know of no other way." General Meade appears at his best when he makes the following caustic reply: "Your telegram of 7:00 p.m. just received. If you have any orders to give me I am prepared to receive and obey them; but I must insist on being spared the infliction of such truisms in the guise of opinions as you have recently honored me with, particularly as they were not asked for." This rather cleared the atmosphere.

The Regiment remained at Bull Run from the 15th to the 10th of October. We formed a line of battle once or twice and there was cannonading in the neighborhood. The Regiment started out early in the morning of the 19th of October and passed by Manassas Junction and marched to within a short distance of Bristoe Station. The next day we crossed Broad Run and marched through Greenwich to a point near Auburn and near to the encampment of October 13th. After remaining here a few days the Regiment moved several miles and went into camp on the Warrenton branch railroad. Many of the boys unwisely concluded that we would remain here for some time, and began building winter quarters. The fact was, however, that in the advance of Lee's army, he had torn up the railroad as far as Manassas Junction and we were waiting to have it rebuilt as far as the Rappahannock. This work was necessary in bringing supplies. Having been completed, the entire army took up its march on November 7th toward the Rappahannock. The army proceeded in two columns, the left composed of the First, Second and Third Corps and the right of the Fifth and Sixth Corps. The march of our Regiment took us through Warrenton Junction, Bealeton and Morrisville. The Third Corps effected a crossing at Kelly's Ford with little loss, capturing several hundred prisoners.

On the right, however, the enemy was encountered at Rappahannock Station. Two brigades of the First Division, Sixth Corps, captured a fortification of the enemy near where the railroad crossed the Rappahannock, capturing over a thousand prisoners, several cannon, small arms and supplies. In this

brilliant affair, the Fifth and Sixth Maine Regiments took a conspicuous part and reflected honor upon the State of Maine.

The Regiment crossed the river on the 8th and proceeded about eight miles in the direction of Brandy Station, Captain Starbird being in command. Lines of battle were formed here as though a brush with the enemy was expected. On the 10th the Regiment advanced with the Division two or three miles and encamped. We here took possession of a Confederate camp recently and hurriedly vacated by the enemy. The Nineteenth took the camp of the Second Louisiana Regiment, and some of the log houses found here were very fine. writer recalls that the house falling to his lot, and which he occupied with his messmates was a well constructed log house with a brick chimney. The boys found here a pretty comfortable home, where they would have been willing to have spent The Regiment remained here until the 24th of the winter. During our stay near Brandy Station the only November. camp which we occupied was about two miles directly south from Brandy Station and about half way between the Station and Stevensburg. Occasionally in Culpepper county a Union man was found. This fact was attributed to the great influence of John Minor Botts, who remained true to the government during the war. Mr. Botts had a large estate north of the railroad and one mile west of Brandy Station. He was now an old man, upwards of sixty years of age. home during the stormy period of the war except when Jeff Davis had him in prison in Richmond, charged with treason.

MINE RUN

The Mine Run campaign does not awaken pleasant memories in the minds of the survivors of the old Regiment. That campaign imposed upon us hardship but gave us no honor. It is, however, a part of our history. It was the purpose of General Meade to move his army from its position around Brandy Station and by a rapid march push his troops inside of General Lee's line of defense at Mine Run and attack the corps of either Hill or Ewell, separated by some distance from each other. The movement was planned to begin on the 24th of

November, but a heavy rain storm on the preceding night caused the execution of the plan to be deferred. We started on this campaign on Thursday morning, November 26th. This was our national Thanksgiving Day. The advance was made in three columns. The right column was composed of the Third and Sixth Corps, which were to cross the Rapidan at Jacob's Ford. The left column was composed of the First and Fifth Corps, and they were to cross the river at Culpepper Mine Ford. The Second Corps composed the central column and it was ordered to cross the Rapidan at Germanna Ford and proceed in a westerly direction on the Orange turnpike to Robertson's Tavern. The First Corps was ordered to come up and form on the left side of the Second and the Fifth Corps was to extend the line of the First Corps as far as Parker's Store on the Orange plank road. The Third and Sixth Corps were instructed to form on the right of the Second Corps at Robertson's Tavern.

Now, in order to insure success, the greatest celerity of movement was essential. When the engineers began laying the bridges at Germanna and Jacob's Fords, it was discovered that they lacked two or three pontoon boats to reach the southern shore. The rains of the 23rd and 24th had extended the banks of the Rapidan. So the head of the Second Corps did not reach Robertson's Tavern until about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the next day. Here the Confederate infantry was encountered, after brushing his cavalry out of the way. The Fifth Corps reached Parker's Store at about the same time that our Corps reached Robertson's. The Third Corps was not up, as expected, early on the 27th.

The orders to General French were after crossing Jacob's Ford, to proceed at once to Robertson's Tavern, about eight miles distant, and take position on the right of our Corps. French's Corps was followed by Sedgwick's Corps. The crossing at Jacob's Ford was so difficult that most of the artillery of the Third corps had to be sent to Germanna Ford, two miles below, in order to cross. It was with the greatest difficulty that the supply train crossed at this point by reason of the narrow road and precipitous banks. Not having a guide who knew the way, French's troops took the wrong road and had

to retrace their steps. There is no question but the orders to General French were very difficult of execution. General Prince, who commanded the leading division, was dilatory and slow. General French encountered and fought a division of Ewell's Corps on the 27th. He reached Robertson's Tavern on the morning of the 28th. General French was one of the old officers of the Army of the Potomac. He was made a Major-General in November, 1862. He was severely criticized for his lack of resolution and energy in this campaign. He was relieved from the command of the Third Corps the following March and was mustered out of the service as a Major-General of Volunteers on May 6th, 1864.

From the time of the arrival of the Regiment near Robertson's Tavern, it formed in line of battle, supporting Battery B, First Rhode Island, where it remained until three o'clock in the afternoon. The Regiment then advanced to the front, supporting the skirmish line consisting of parts of the First Minnesota. Eighty-second New York and Fifteenth Massachussetts. It was here that Lieutenant Colonel Joslin of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, was taken prisoner while advancing his skirmish line through the woods. He was detained in prison until August of the next year, when he was exchanged and mustered out of service, his regiment having already been mustered out. Colonel Joslin was very highly esteemed by the men of his regiment. At nine o'clock at night, the men went upon the skirmish line, where they remained all night without sleep. We were on the edge of dense woods and the Confederate skirmishers were only a few rods distant from our line. In the early morning of the 28th, the Regiments of our Brigade were converted into a skirmish line and occupied the extreme right of the Division.

The Third Brigade connected with our left. The whole line was then advanced some two or three miles through a group of pines very difficult to penetrate. The advancing troops soon came in sight of Mine Run. We remained here until two or three o'clock in the afternoon without fires and in a cold drenching rain storm. Our Regiment was relieved here by a portion of the Sixth Corps.



Major David E. Parsons.

We were now near the western confines of that Wilderness region of which Chancellorsville is near the eastern border. Mine Run rises south of the Orange turnpike and runs almost directly north through a valley skirted on either side by hills, and empties into the Rapidan about half way between Jacob's Ford and Mitchell's Ford on that river. The valley through which it runs was in places swampy and difficult or impossible for soldiers to cross. At the place were Mine Run flows perpendicularly across the Orange turnpike and plank road, these two roads are less than three miles apart.

Upon the request of General Warren, he was authorized to take the Second Corps and Terry's Division of the Sixth Corps and make a reconnoissance to the left and around the right flank of Lee's army. This increased Warren's command to about eighteen thousand men. We withdrew from the line of battle at daylight on November 20th, marched back on the turnpike to Robertson's Tavern and then turned south, striking the Orange turnpike somewhat west of Parker's store. We then marched west and soon reached the cavalry outposts of General Gregg. Caldwell's Division was ordered to the front and the Confederates were pushed back some two or three miles and across Mine Run. The Regiment was not engaged this day and the men bivouacked here that night. General Warren was further reinforced during the night of the 29th by two Divisions of the Third Corps. We advanced and formed in line of battle at two o'clock in the morning on the 30th of November. Our Brigade was formed between the railroad grade and the plank General Hays' Division joined us on the left and a division of the Third Corps on our right. A division of the Sixth Corps was south of the Catharpin road leading from Todd's Tavern and the extreme left of our line. We were formed in three lines of battle, ready to assault the enemy's breastworks. The First Minnesota was on the skirmish line. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and Nineteenth Maine were in the first line of battle. The orders were to unsling knapsacks, fix bayonets and prepare to storm the strong intrenchents of of the enemy in front.

All night long we could hear the Confederates chopping down trees, giving commands and building breastworks. It had become intensely cold. When the morning dawned such a sight presented itself as to cause the men's faces to grow pale. The enemy had reinforced the part of their line in our front. Strong breastworks and abattis had been constructed. Their cannon commanded every square foot of ground between our line and theirs. The enemy occupied a naturally strong position. Without any opposition, it would have taken our men eight or ten minutes to run up the hill and to climb into their intrenchments. Not a gun was fired in front of our position, but many of the Confederates stood on top of their breastworks looking down upon us, as much as inviting us to go up the hill. The boys talked in low tones to one another. Messages were confidentially given and received, to be sent home in case of death. Many of the soldiers pinned their names and the names of the organizations to which they belonged, upon their coats for identification in case they were killed.

At a reunion of the survivors of the Nineteenth Maine Regiment at Richmond, in 1878, the late Colonel William H. Fogler gave a very vivid description of our perilous position at Mine Run. It is here inserted:

"Let me recall a scene. It is night; a dark, bitter night, in the "Let me recall a scene. It is night; a dark, bitter night, in the late autumn. Already the biting winds of winter are sweeping over hill and plain, freezing the warm blood as it courses through the veins, and even casting its chill upon the very hearts of men. In front sharply rises a steep, almost precipitous hill. Upon its crest the hands of the enemy have raised a massive breastwork, strengthened by fascine and gabion, and all the skill and energy of which men are expedied. Upon right and laft in front clare the whole large line and capable. Upon right and left, in front, along the whole long line of works, the deep cannons' mouth cast their terrible frown down the long hill-side, threatening death to all who dare approach the stronghold. The steep slope which extends from the plain below to the threatening crest above, is netted by moat and ditch and thickly set with abattis, and all those fearful contrivances through which men must cut their way in order to reach the heart of the enemy's works. Through the long night the sound of spade and axe, and the moving Inrough the long night the sound of spade and axe, and the moving of artillery, show that the enemy is adding to the strength of his already well-nigh impregnable position. Upon the plain below is our own army. Each regiment is placed in position for attack upon the enemy's works. Knapsack and blanket are piled in the rear, that they may not impede the progress of the men up the fearful hillside.

Though hunger calls for food, no meal can be prepared, for the fires necessary for the purpose would show our position and our numbers to the watchful enemy; though the cold winds freeze the very marrow.

to the watchful enemy; though the cold winds freeze the very marrow,

no friendly fire can restore warmth to the chilled limbs; though the drooping eyelids call pitifully for sleep, each soldier knows that to sleep uncovered in that bitter air would be the sleep of death; though every muscle has been taxed to exhaustion by the long weary march of the preceding day, no rest can be had, for only by constant motion can the men avoid perishing with the cold. 'At daylight the enemy's works are to be carried by assault.' Such is the order of the commanding general. Every man understands the full meaning of that short but fearful order. It means that when the signal is given, they must rush with the impetuosity of wild beasts into that fearful thicket with which military art has studded the hill-side, and with axes, bayonets, with their torn, bleeding, bare hands, they must tear a way through the very top. That when that terrible advance begins along the long line of works, the artillery will hurl its iron storm, and musketry will pour its leaden hail. That when the crest is reached a hand to hand contest will take place, bayonet will clash on bayonet; clubbed musket will deal thick blows about, and foes perhaps clinch each other in a death struggle. That thus shall the battle rage until adown the hillside our shattered, almost exterminated line will be hurled in utter defeat; or up the rampart shall be flung the glorious Stars and Stripes, and the exulting shout of victory shall ring from This every soldier knows is what awaits him at the the hilltop. breaking of the storm. At daybreak the enemy's works are to be assaulted He knows that upon thousands of his comrades, perhaps, and likely upon himself, the bright sun has risen for the last time; that his next beams will fall upon heaps of dead; that his rising shall be heralded by the shrieks of the wounded and the moans of the dying. And so, the long night passes slowly away, each man waiting and watching to catch the first glimmer in the east, which may be the signal of his own death. Thoughts of home, of loved ones, of his childhood scenes—O God! what thoughts do not press upon his weary heart and brain. We read of heads turned white by a single night of terror; that with the knowledge that death comes with the morrow, reason has deserted her throne, and the wretched man has become a raging maniac. But yet those men, through the long hours of the night, look coolly in the face of death. To but a few does there come any thought of escaping the responsibilities and dangers of the coming morn."

As soon as it was light enough to see, General Warren was observed walking along in front of our lines of battle eagerly scanning, through a field glass, the Confederate position. He was accompanied by a single staff-officer. The Confederate works were about as strong as field works could be made. Opposite our Division sixteen cannon were disclosed, ten of which were in an embrasure, with an abattis, ditch and rifle pits in front. The cold had become almost unbearable, it having steadily grown colder during the hours of the night. It was said that General Warren had spent the greater part of the night upon the line of battle. He decided that under existing conditions the attack would be useless. He assumed the re-

sponsibility of declining to make an assault upon the Confederate works and so notified General Meade. In this act, General Warren displayed a high degree of moral courage. His position was unanimously indorsed by his soldiers, not in spoken words, but in lightened hearts and cheerful faces. A sigh of relief and a silent prayer of thanksgiving went up from the hearts of the men in the line that morning.

General Sedgwick had found what he thought was a weak place in the enemy's lines opposite our extreme right. He was to attack at eight o'clock in the morning, and General Warren's attack was to follow a half hour later. The booming of Sedgwick's guns was heard on the right. The cannonading came down the lines toward the left, but Warren's guns were silent. Later Sedgwick was ordered to suspend active operations.

The Regiment remained in line all day. At seven o'clock in the evening the Nineteenth was ordered forward, deployed and advanced to relieve the skirmish line in front. The suffering of the men during the long hours of the bitterly cold night was intense. The Regiment was relieved on the skirmish line on the morning of December 1st, by the Forty-second New York, and rejoined the Brigade in the rear. Early in the afternoon, the Nineteenth, with the Brigade, advanced to the front, south of the railroad grade, near the Grasty House and threw up breastworks. At half past eight o'clock on the night of the 1st, a detail was made from some of the regiments in the Division to remain and keep up the fires in order to deceive the enemy, remaining until three o'clock in the morning. Between eight and nine o'clock the Regiment took up the homeward march, left in front, along the plank road. Our Division was in the rear and our Brigade was in the center of the Division. We passed New Hope Church and Parker's store and then struck into the wood road or cart path leading northward and came out at the old Wilderness Tavern. We marched all night, reaching the river at Culpepper Mine Ford about ten o'clock the next morning. Some of the men who were left to keep up the fires were captured and some escaped to the river and landed safely on the north bank. When we came in sight of the

Rapidan, a band on the north bank was playing "Oh! Ain't you glad you got out of the Wilderness"! Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham in his report states that "this made two nights in succession which the men and the officers had passed without sleep." Men marched in the ranks that night in a half unconscious condition, would fall exhausted by the roadside and be sound asleep as soon as they touched the ground. It required vigorous persuasion and almost brutal force to waken the men and induce them to resume the march. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of December 2nd, our Division was massed on the north side of the Rappahannock and rested for an hour and a half. After the pontoon bridges had been taken up, scouting parties from the Confederate cavalry appeared, cautiously approaching the south bank of the river. A few shells were sent after them, which caused their sudden disappearance. We arrived at our old encampment at 9 p.m. December 2nd, and found to our great disappointment that our old log houses had been burned. "Our army swore terribly in Flanders," would feebly describe the language of the Second Corps that night. We had marched for 24 hours without halting except to stop for breakfast on the north bank of the Rapidan. Col. Cunningham reported when we arrived in camp, that "for sixty-six hours the men of my Regiment had but ten hours and a half rest." We had been absent on this campaign for seven days and nights.

The Mine Run campaign was ended. The army had marched and counter-marched and manoeuvred to no purpose. To be sure it had lost little, but it had gained nothing. It had consumed time and wasted energy, but had gained no appreciable advantage.

During this campaign our Division had been commanded by General Webb and our Brigade by Colonel Baxter, of the Seventy-second Pennsylvania Infantry.

The losses in the Nineteenth Maine in the Mine Run expedition were very small. They were as follows: Irad M. Henderson, Company B, wounded November 27th. Isaac L. Sanborn and Simon H. Willey, Company E, were taken

prisoners of war. Dennis Cleary, of Company I, was also taken prisoner.

The men of the Regiment went immediately to building winter quarters and had just got them fairly completed, when, on December 6th, we moved over some six miles toward Brandy Station, and on the 7th we moved up near Stevensburg, where we finally settled for the winter.

Colonel Heath resigned on November 4th, and a numerously signed petition was forwarded by the officers of the Regiment to the Governor of Maine, requesting him to appoint Captain Fogler to the vacant colonelcy. Quartermaster James W. Wakefield resigned November 13th, 1863, and First Lieutenant Albert Hunter, of Company H, was promoted to that position. Captain George L. Whitmore, of Company C, who had been absent from the Regiment since the battle of Gettysburg, resigned November 7th, and First Lieutenant Charles E. Nash of Company F, was promoted December 18th to be Captain of Company C. First Lieutenant Albion Whitten, of Company C, resigned November 17th, and Second Lieutenant William H. Emery, of the same company, was promoted to be Captain. Second Lieutenant Joseph L. Clark, Company I, resigned November 30th, and Sergeant Lafayette Carver, of Company I, was promoted to be Second Lieutenant of that Company. Second Lieutenant Charles P. Garland, Company H, was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant of the same Company December 13. Second Lieutenant George R. Palmer, Company I, was promoted to be First Lieutenant of that Company, October 19, 1863.

Nothwithstanding the many changes in the officers of our Regiment since its organization, the changes in the general officers of the Army of the Potomac had been still more marked. Out of forty or more general officers who had commands under McClellan on the Peninsula, only about eight remained. Meade Hancock, Sedgwick, Birney, Sykes, Newton, Caldwell and French were still with us. The last four of these eight, however, left the Army of the Potomac within the next two or three months.

It was very different in the Confederate Army of Northern When vacancies occurred in that army from any cause, promotions were made from the same organization, officers who had shown their fitness to command, filled such vacancies. Their brigades were generally made up with regiments from the same state. This produced a wholesome rivalry among the brigades and counted for much. At the north we multiplied regiments, while the Confederates used new soldiers to fill up old organizations. Then, as a rule, the Confederate brigades were named for their commanders. The Stonewall Brigade and Mahone's Brigade meant Virginia troops. Daniel's Brigade was composed of North Carolina, and Jenkins' Brigade of South Carolina soldiers. Wafford's Brigade, signified Georgia troops and Law's Brigade, Alabama troops. Humphreys' Brigade was composed of Mississippi and Hays' Brigade of Louisiana regiments, and so on.

During the autumn the Brigade and some times the Division, were ordered out with sickening frequency to witness the execution of men by shooting or hanging. Desertion was the common offense of these unfortunates. It was regarded as necessary that the faithful soldiers should witness the deserter's ignominious death as an object lesson or warning. This relic of barbarism is still cherished in some of the states. To illustrate its deterrent effect, within two days after one of these shooting parties, four soldiers were reported as deserting to the enemy from the same regiment to which the dead deserter belonged. In the month of August we were compelled to witness the shooting of a soldier for desertion from the Twentieth Massachusetts. The Twentieth was known as the Harvard University Regiment. As shown by its History recently published, there were 190 desertions from this regiment. The History of the Nineteenth Massachusetts records 150 desertions, while the Seventh Michigan had only about forty. These regiments all belonged to our Division. The story of the Nineteenth Maine is not marred by the recital of the execution of any of its soldiers. No member of the Regiment was ever put to death by military authority. Only thirty-five of its members were guilty of desertion, and some of these were probably captured

by the enemy instead of having deserted. Verv likely the same is true with respect to the other regiments here named. It will be said, however, that the appalling figures of desertion from the Twentieth Massachusetts is accounted for by the character of the recruits received into that regiment. It is not clear that the recruits sent to the Massachusetts regiments differed greatly in character from those sent to the Maine regiments.

It was a fact as notorious as it was shameful that soldiers on the fatiguing march, fainting by the roadside or compelled by utter exhaustion to leave the ranks, were generally reported as deserters. These men were no more deserters than the commanding officers of the companies who so reported them. To illustrate what is meant, James O. Stevens on the distressing march from Manassas Gap to White Plains, July 25th, 1863, collapsed and sank by the roadside. He had been in poor health since he participated in the battle of Gettysburg, but refused to go to the hospital. The boys of his company carried his rifle and his blankets, for a while on this march, to relieve him. There were no ambulances following our Division that day. Stevens was picked up by Mosby's guerrillas, and sent to Richmond, where he died in Libby Prison, February 22nd, 1864. He was a young man of good education and excellent character. On the muster roll of August 31st, 1863, the following record is made on the company roll: "James O. Stevens deserted service July 25th, 1863, on the march from Manassas Gap to White Plains, Va. Took one Springfield rifle and set of equipments with him, value \$22.60. Also one knapsack, one haversack and one canteen, value \$3.14." Independently of what military regulations required, this record made against Stevens was an inexcusable outrage. The muster-rolls and other records of the Regiment show that this is by no means an isolated case. It was so much easier to mark a man a deserter on the rolls than to go to the trouble of finding out, by inquiry, what had become of him!

John Foley was captured in the Wildcrness, Isaac L, Sanbosn and S. H. Willey at Mine Run. These three men belonged to Company E. James Ballard was captured at Jerusalem Plank Road and James Hammond on the march to



Adoniram J. Billings, Surgeon.

Bristoe Station. These two men belonged to Company G. Mark S. Babb was taken prisoner in the Wilderness and Charles Prescott on the Jerusalem Plank Road; both men belonged to Company H. John Anderson, of Company I, was captured at some unknown place. Henry Roberts, of Company K, was taken prisoner in the vicinity of Bristoe Station. All of these men, and others not enuumerated here, were marked on their company muster rolls as deserters, and all of them died, after long confinemet, in Confederate prisons.

The early months of the winter spent on Cole's Hill near Stevensburg were in pleasant contrast to the gloomy encampment the preceding winter at Falmouth. Profiting by experience, the men were enabled to build substantial quarters and live more comfortably. The rations issued to the men were much better. Many of them had boxes sent to them from home, by express, containing eatables, underclothing, boots and other luxuries. Then too, the original members of the Regiment had become acclimated. Orders were issued in December permitting furloughs to be granted to officers and men for fifteen days. Many availed themselves of this opportunity.

Adoniram J. Billings, the Surgeon of the Regiment, was discharged for disability January 11th, 1864. At the reunion of the Regiment at Bath, in 1874, Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding made the following statement with regard to the character and worth of Surgeon Billings, a tribute to that man which a large portion of the Regiment will gladly indorse. "I want to bear testimony to the efficiency of that officer whose perplexing duties surpassed all others at this camp, who was compelled to battle diseased bodies and minds in all shapes and forms and conditions, requiring often the use of harsh and severe treatment and language as the only remedy, though applied at the risk of placing himself in a false position before men whose esteem he or any one would regard of great value. I believe the Regiment was indebted more than can ever be known or told, to the skill of the Surgeon whose large and patriotic heart was continually pained and lashed almost beyond endurance by the duties he was called on to perform. and the emergencies of that early winter's camp. Justice has

never been accorded to Dr. Billings; it never can be. I know (in the same way I know this earth revolves upon its axis, that the blood circulates in this right arm, that God rules over all) that no more patriotic, efficient and large hearted surgeon ever entered the army than the first surgeon of the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers."

A considerable number of men from the Regiment went to Washington to be examined for promotion as officers of Negro regiments, and some where successful. An order was issued from Corps headquarters to the effect that the Government desired to procure the services of members who were experienced seamen to serve in the Western gunboat flotilla. Few "old salts" were found who cared to make the change. Details for picket were made for a period of three days on account of the distance to be travelled, so the boys were not called upon very often. There were regular company and battalion drills daily or reviews when the weather permitted.

On the 23rd of February, our Corps and Kilpatrick's Division of cavalry were reviewed by General Meade. Many officers of distinction were present to witness the marching troops. It was rather an imposing sight.

Early in February, it was planned that General Butler, commanding the Army of the James, should attempt to capture Richmond by moving rapidly upon it, from the south. No one ever expected that he would succeed, and in this no one was disappointed. It became necessary, however, to assume an aggressive attitude on the Rapidan, in order to keep Lee from sending troops to Richmond. So on the morning of February 6th, the Second Corps, under command of General Caldwell—General Warren being ill at the time the Corps started out-moved down to Morton's Ford on the Rapidan. The enemy had a picket line along the southern bank of the river and a small force of men in rifle pits at the Ford. There was a small island near the middle of the river. General Hays, commanding the Third Division of our Corps, sent a brigade across and nearly the whole force of the enemy at the Ford was captured without the loss of a man. The other two Brigades of the Third Division were then sent across. Major-General

Warren came up and resumed command of the Corps late in the day. Our Brigade was ordered across the river at 7 o'clock at night, Colonel Baxter in command. Captain William H. Fogler was in command of the Regiment, and his report of this affair is herewith appended.

"We left our present camp at 7 a. m. February 6, 1864 the third Regiment of the Brigade in the line of march. Were moved to a point near Morton's Ford, on the north bank of the Rapidan; arrived there about 11 a. m. Remained in line with the rest of the Brigade during the passage of the Third Division across the river, and until dark, when we received orders to cross the river at the bridge, which was accomplished. We were placed in position on the left of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment about half a mile from the river, and some 10 rods to the right of the road, which runs perpendicularly to the river from the bridge. At once received orders to place skirmishers 100 yards in our front, which was done, Companies D, Lieutenant Pierce, and F, Captain Starbird, commanding, being selected for that duty. About 9 p.m received orders to detail two companies for same duty, who were to be deployed on the right of the Eighty-second New York's detail of skirmishers, and to extend from their line to the river at a point about 80 rods above the bridge. Companies B, Captain Parsons, and G, Captain Whitehouse, were detailed for this purpose, and reported to a staff officer of brigade, who conducted them to their position.

their position.

"About 10:30 p. m. I received orders from Colonel Baxter, commanding Brigade, to deploy the remaining six companies as skirmishers on the left of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, which had previously been deployed. Our line was to extend from the large house just in front of the left of the line of the Fifteenth Massachusetts to the house on the hill, to the left of the main road before mentioned, our line running across the open field. This order was

executed as soon as practicable.

"At 1 a. m. of the 7th instant, received orders to fall back, form the Regiment, and return to the north bank of the river. I did so with four companies, the other two having been taken by Colonel Baxter for the following duties: Company C, Captain Nash, to remain on the original skirmish line, with instruction to fall back if pressed hard before two hours, and to return at any rate at the expiration of that time to the north bank of the river and rejoin the Regiment. Company A, Captain Spaulding, was directed to form a line near the bridge, on the left of the road, to support the skirmishers, and to remain until the skirmish line fell back. At 2 a.m. we were in our first position on the north bank of the river. The companies that were left on the other side rejoined the regiment about 3 a.m. We occupied this line until 7 p.m., when we received orders to return to camp, where we arrived at 10 p.m.

"Our whole loss was 2 men wounded; none killed or missing. Both men wounded were hit while crossing the bridge by stray bullets.

"The conduct of both officers and men of the entire Regiment was excellent throughout."

The squad of men which Captain Nash commanded came near being captured when they started to return across the river. The only loss in the Brigade occurred in our Regiment. The casualties in the Nineteenth were James F. Chase, private, Company F, wounded; Sergeant James N. Hinckley, Company K, mortally wounded; Sergeant Hinckley died February 15th.

CHAPTER VII.

BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.

A slender vine on an old oak hung And clasped its scaly rind; From trunk to top its pennons flung And laughed to scorn the wind.

And men, who passed the way along, Admired, and oft would speak Of the kindly law that gave the strong To aid and shield the weak.

Indeed it was as fair a sight As any in the land, To see the puny parasite Upborne by tree so grand.

One day the vine in anger said, "My tendrils I'll untie——ALONE, aloft I'll rear my head And leave the oak to die."

The winds were out, and strong they grew And hurtled through the air; They whistled and blew the old oak through And laid its branches bare.

The tempest ceased; its rage was o'er; Gaily the sun did shine; The sturdy oak stood as before——Low lay the lifeless vine.

The above lines were written soon after the secession of South Carolina from the Union and were published in Vanity Fair, early in February 1861. Their author was Selden Connor, a young man twenty-two years of age, just out of college and then absent from his native state, studying law at Woodstock, Vermont. Young Connor enlisted and served as a Sergeant in the First Vermont—a three months Regiment. He then returned to Maine and was elected by the officers and commissioned, without his solicitation, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh Maine Regiment.

General Hyde, who was an officer of the same Regiment, and author of the admirable little volume, "Following the

Greek Cross," makes this suggestive comment, "that in the election of Selden Connor as Lieutenant-Colonel we made no mistake."

Lieutenant-Colonel Connor commanded the Seventh a portion of the time in the Peninsula campaign, and at the storming of Marye's Heights in May 1863, when he and his regiment were complimented by General L. A. Grant, in his report of that engagement, for the "gallant manner" in which they came to his aid. He also commanded the Seventh in the Gettysburg Campaign.

He was on duty in Portland, Maine, in the fall of 1863 as a member of the general court-martial, of which Colonel Hiram Burnham was president. Captain J. H. Roberts, of the Eighth Maine, a member of the court, said to Colonel Connor one morning: "I went to Augusta yesterday and you cannot guess what I went for. I went to ask the Governor to appoint you Colonel of my regiment. Governor Coburn said he would appoint Colonel Connor to the next colonelcy, whether it should be the Eighth or the Eighteenth." The next vacancy happened in the Nineteenth, by the resignation of Colonel Francis E. Heath, and the Governor true to his word, appointed Colonel Connor to fill the vacancy on the 1st of December, 1863. He was retained on duty in Portland until, in response to repeated requests for orders to join his regiment, he was ordered to the front, where he arrived on the 25th of February, 1864.

Colonel Connor's reputation had preceded him. The soldiers of the regiment expected great things from him, and they were not disappointed. His dignified bearing, his constant solicitude for the welfare of his soldiers, and his coolness and bravery in action won their confidence and esteem, which he always retained.

By virtue of Colonel Connor's rank, he was at once placed in command of the Brigade, which then consisted of only four regiments—the Nineteenth Maine, Fifteenth Massachusetts, Eighty-second New York and 152nd New York. The last of March, the First Corps was consolidated with the Fifth, the Third Division of the Third Corps with the Sixth Corps and the First and Second Divisions of the Third Corps with the

Second. This eliminated the names of the First and Third Corps from the records of the Army of the Potomac. General Hancock, who had nearly recovered from his Gettysburg wound, assumed command of the enlarged Second Corps, General Warren of the Fifth and General Sedgwick of the Sixth. All these Corps commanders had been connected with the Second Corps. Burnside's Ninth Corps had been ordered up within supporting distance. It had not yet been incorporated into the Army of the Potomac, but remained an independent organization until the 24th of May. The foregoing consolidation necessitated a reorganization of the Second Corps. The regiments of the First and Third Brigades of the Second Division, with the exception of the 152nd New York, were consolidated and became the First Brigade, which then consisted of nine regiments. These regiments were the Nineteenth Maine, the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, the Forty-second, Fifty-ninth and Eighty-second New York, the Seventh Michigan and the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin. On the 3rd day of April General Webb assumed command of this Brigade, having been succeeded in the command of the Division by General Gibbon, and Colonel Connor returned to the Nineteenth. During the period of his command of the Brigade, Captain Starbird was in command of the Regiment, both the Lieutenant-Colonel and the Major being absent. Major Welch returned to the Regiment just before the opening of the campaign. The four Divisions of the Second Corps were commanded by Generals Barlow, Gibbon, Birney and Mott. respectively.

The spring was cold and rainy. Near the last of March there was a heavy fall of snow—four or five inches. The various details were so heavy and so many officers were absent on recruiting service that there was not very much drilling. Small-pox prevailed to a considerable extent. At one time there were eight or nine cases in the Nineteenth.

Soon after the 1st of January the men of the First Brigade constructed a fine, large, log chapel, for the purpose of religious services and entertainments. Rev. Henry V. Talbot, Chaplain of the 152nd New York, was leader in the interesting religious

services held there. Chaplain Talbot was a fine looking man, heavy-set with black whiskers, and he looked as though he enjoyed good living. He was pleasant and tactful, a man of considerable ability, always wearing a smile, and he became quite popular with the men of the Brigade. A considerable number of men professed conversion in these meetings.

Entertainments of different kinds were held in this chapel, and a debating society was organized late in the spring, where the soldiers discussed the great problems agitating the nation. They did not, however, criticize the commanding officers. When they wanted to arraign the officers they did it in a less public place. Meetings and entertainments in this old log chapel were pleasant and profitable and served to vary the monotony of camp life.

Captain Charles E. Nash wrote a letter from Stevensburg, Virginia, March 30th, 1864, from which the following extract is taken:

"Colonel Sheldon Connor, our commander, has just returned to the Regiment, having been for the past few weeks acting in the capacity of Brigadier-General. Captain Starbird commanded the Regiment during Colonel Connor's absence. Many of our officers are absent in Maine on recruiting service, but will probably receive instructions to join us ere many weeks. The young men of the First Brigade have organized a Soldiers' Lyceum, which is in successful operation. It is held semi-weekly in the Brigade chapel building, fitted up by the United States Christian Commission, and patronized by the various military ranks. Sergeant Moses S. Dennett, of Company F, Nineteenth Maine, a Litchfield boy, is president, (killed on the battle-field of the Wilderness.) Last Sabbath several converts were baptised in the stream which flows past our camp. A religious interest has prevailed during the past two months, and a goodly number have entered the Army of the Great Teacher. The benevolent efforts of the Christian Commission are reaching the hearts of the multitude. It has been a real power in the Army, and always for good, physically as well as morally."

At the request of General Webb, Colonel Connor, when in command of the Brigade, held a brigade dress-parade, which had been introduced by General Torbert, of the Sixth Corps, and had been taken up by several brigades of that corps. The nine Regiments of the Brigade were formed in line of divisions, at half distance, on a gentle slope. The commanding officer's position opposite the center of the line was on rising ground, and immediately in his rear, on the crest of a hillock, General

Webb and his Staff stationed themselves, as spectators. The nearby hillside was covered with lookers-on from the other brigades of the Division. It formed a beautiful and imposing military spectacle—one of the many presented by the army in the field in the line of its duty—without thought of "making a show."

A spectacle of a different kind was that presented on the 14th of April, when an English soldier of the Nineteenth Massachusetts was hung in the presence of the whole Division. His offense was an outrage on a woman living near the picket line. The Division was formed in a hollow square and waited while the doomed man was escorted from headquarters a mile or more distant, the accompanying band playing dirges all the way. The procession passed entirely through the lane formed by the two lines composing the square, facing each other, the culprit on a caisson seated on his coffin, blindfolded, and bound in a manner suggesting an attempt to defy the arts of a knotloosing fakir. The passing of the cortege entirely around the square, in slow time, to the wailing strains of the band was so harrowing, so revolting to the sense of humanity that one of the men in the ranks said long afterwards that if anybody had given the word there would have been a rush to free the prisoner or, at least, to put a stop to the barbarous cruelty of the proceedings.

On the 9th of March 1864, General Grant received his commission as Lieutenant-General and the next day visited the Army of the Potomac, where he established his headquarters fifteen days later, and where they remained until the close of the war.

General Grant's appointment put General Halleck out of business. Halleck was Commander-in-Chief of the army from July 23rd, 1862 to March 9th, 1864. He was the recipient of much cursing in his day but he occupied a position very difficult to fill. He was recognized as an officer of scholarly attainment but as a commander of troops in the field he was a grievous failure.

When we reached Morrisville early in August 1863, there were less than one hundred men on duty with the Regiment.

The trying winter at Falmouth and the hardships of the Gettysburg Campaign had made fearful havoc in our ranks. While encamped at Morrisville, the Regiment received 198 recruits, as has been heretofore stated, and early in September, while at Culpepper, 144 additional recruits came to the Regiment. Some of these recruits were drafted men, some were substitutes and others volunteers. The greater portion of them were men of character and made good soldiers. Quite a number of men who had left the Regiment by reason of sickness or wounds, returned to us from the hospitals. When the Regiment started out on the Wilderness campaign there were present for duty twenty-two commissioned officers and 468 enlisted men.

At the opening of the Wilderness campaign, the Army of the Potomac, including the Ninth Corps, numbered about 120, 000 men. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia comprised from 60,000 to 70,000. His three infantry Corps were commanded by Generals Longstreet, Ewell and A. P. Hill, and his cavalry by General J. E. B. Stuart. General Lee's headquarters were near Orange Court House. Longstreet's Corps was encamped at Mechanicsburg, about six miles south of Gordonsville, some distance away from the rest of the army.

Two roads lead from Orange Court House down the Rapidan river in the direction of Fredericksburg. These roads follow the general direction of the river and run almost parallel to each other. The Orange turnpike is nearest the river and the Orange plank road a short distance to the south of it. The route of our army lay directly across these two roads. Where the two armies confronted each other these roads are about two miles apart.

The Second Corps was reviewed by General Grant on the 22nd day of April, and General Morgan pronounced it "the finest corps review" he had ever seen in this army. A few days thereafter orders were issued which inaugurated the most memorable campaign of the war.

It was near midnight on May 3rd when the army started on its march southward. The Second Corps, preceded by Gregg's Division of cavalry, crossed the Rapidan on pontoon bridges at Ely's Ford, early in the morning of May 4th. The head of the Second Corps reached the Chancellorsville battlefield of the year before, soon after ten o'clock in the morning. It had been a fatiguing march of twenty miles. It was very hot on the 4th of May. The sides of the road from the river to Chancellorsville were thickly strewn with overcoats and blankets, to which the soldiers had clung, as necessary to light house-keeping in Virginia during the cool nights of spring. Desire yielded to necessity and many a poor family, along the line of march, laid in a supply of clothing for years to come. We drew no special inspiration from the historical association of this old battle ground. Skeletons of dead men and the debris of battle were found in all directions. Here the Corps rested until the next morning.

The Fifth Corps, followed by the Sixth, and preceded by Wilson's cavalry, crossed the river at Germanna Ford, some six miles above Ely's Ford. The Fifth proceeded, in the forenoon of May 4th, to the vicinity of the Wilderness Tavern, near the intersection of the Germanna Ford road and the Orange turnpike, while the Sixth Corps encamped on the hills south of the Rapidan. The night of the 4th of May, our Corps encamped five miles east of Warren's Corps.

At five o'clock in the morning of May 5th, the Regiment, with the Second Division in the advance, was marching, with a swinging gait, for Todd's Tavern by the way of the Furnaces, followed by the other divisions of the Corps. We arrived at Todd's Tavern between eight and nine o'clock in the morning and heard the booming of Warren's cannon up the Brock road, between us and the Rapidan. We were halted just beyond Todd's on the Catharpin road, which led westerly to Corbin's bridge over the Po river. Flankers were thrown out in all directions. This was an impressive hour. The boys of the Regiment were stirred by the exciting scenes about them. The clash of arms had come. It seemed to bring a feeling of relief rather than of depression. The hour to which all had looked forward with so much concern had arrived. The prevailing sentiment was expressed by Sergeant-Major Wood, who

laughingly said, "Well, boys, the sooner it comes, the sooner it will be over."

At nine o'clock General Hancock was informed by General Meade that the enemy had appeared on the Orange turnpike and ordered him to wait at Todd's until the "matter develops." In the early morning of May 5th, we had infantry on the Orange pike but no cavalry, and cavalry on the Orange plank road but no infantry. Ewell had encamped on the night of the 4th within three miles of Warren on the Orange turnpike, but our officers had no knowledge of that fact. So when Warren started across the country for Parker's store on the plank road, on the morning of May 5th, he threw Griffin's Division up the turnpike as a military precaution, to protect the main column. Griffin unexpectedly met the advance of Ewell's Corps on the turnpike and the battle of the Wilderness was opened.

Just before noon, May 5th, Hancock was ordered to move back to the intersection of the Brock road and Orange plank road, as soon as possible. In coming from Chancellorsville, we had marched in a southwesterly direction. In hurrying up the Brock road to its intersection with the plank road, we were going a little west of north. In marching down, Birney's Division brought up the rear and in the retrograde movement, his Division had the advance and so reached the battlefield first. Mott followed closely after Birney and then came Barlow, while our Division, with some of the artillery, brought up in the rear. The Corps numbered over 25,000 men, and with artillery marching over a narrow road the movement was necessarily slow. While the head of Birney's Division reached the designated cross-roads about two o'clock in the afternoon, yet it was between five and six o'clock before our Brigade reached the plank road. This point was about seven miles from Todd's Tavern. The last part of the march, we took the double-quick step and ran along the Brock road with the bullets coming from the woods on our left, whistling over our heads. This was a hot run for the Regiment. Many men were lying beside the road, unconscious from sunstroke.

There has been some confusion among writers as to the locations of different regiments of the Brigade, and under whom



Brigadier-General Selden Connor. 1864.

they fought, during the second day's engagement. From a diary kept by the writer of this book, and which he believes is accurate as far as it goes, this information is obtained: The Nineteenth upon its arrival at the intersection of the Brock road and the Orange plank road, halted and there was some delay in finding General Carroll's Brigade which we were ordered to support. The Regiment was finally sent into the woods on the right of the plank road and it did not get into position until nearly dark. Carroll's Brigade, in two lines, was in front of us and we did not engage the enemy on the night of the 5th of May. There were only occasional shots fired after the Regiment was in position.

In the early morning of May 6th, our Regiment crossed to the left of the plank road and advanced to the support of some troops and about nine o'clock took the front line and began firing and advancing, the enemy falling back. There were then no troops in line on our left. In about half an hour the cry was raised, "Look to the left!" There was discovered quite a body of Confederates on our left flank and somewhat to our rear, firing into us. The officers tried to have the troops change front so as to meet this unexpected attack, but about the same time came a vigorous assault from the front. The men fell back in good order to the Brock road, firing as they went. The Regiment lost quite a number of men here. Upon reaching the Brock road, General Burnside was seen on his horse with his hat off, showing his bald head shining in the sun, and a staff-officer was pointing out to him where he was to put some troops of the Ninth Corps, just then coming down the road from the direction of the Wilderness Tavern. His soldiers pushed into the woods on the right and soon fierce firing was heard in the direction of his front.

In the early afternoon we were ordered in on the right of the plank road. The following is a quotation from the diary to which reference has been made:

[&]quot;We went to the right of the plank road with the Fifteenth Massachusetts and were ordered to go in on the left of Burnside. We all charged and drove the enemy back over a small hill, behind which they opened upon us one of the most destructive fires I was ever under. General Webb sat on his horse, with drawn sword, just behind our

Regiment, apparently as calm as on parade, saying, 'hold them, boys, I will soon have you relieved.' I never saw a general officer in a hotter place, yet he was not touched. In a few minutes we were relieved, went a short distance to the rear and drew some more cartridges and then advanced. Here we found our lines flanked and our troops coming rapidly to the rear. Colonel Connor at once deployed the Regiment nearly parallel with the road, attempting to stop the stampede of troops to the rear. We waited until the enemy was close upon us, when we were ordered by Colonel Connor to open fire upon him. The Confederates appeared to be staggered by this unexpected fire into their faces and halted for a time. Soon their bullets began to come into our ranks from most all directions. It was here that our brave Colonel Connor was shot down and carried to the rear. Our Regiment was the only troops left on this part of the field. We then started for the Brock road and made good time in getting there. About five o'clock Longstreet's troops came down through the woods in the line of battle on a charge, bugles sounding, seeming confident that they would carry everything before them. A section of the Sixth Maine Battery was planted across the road, pouring canister into their ranks, and our men lay behind the breastworks. When the enemy got near enough we opened fire and while in some places Longstreet's men planted their colors on our works, in about fifteen minutes those not killed went back howling."

At this time fire was raging in the woods and in some places the breastworks in our front were on fire. The heaviest loss in our Regiment occurred on the right of the plank road in the early afternoon.

The history of the Nineteenth Maine in the Wilderness campaign is given in the official reports of J. W. Spaulding, Captain commanding the Regiment, on the 3rd of August, 1864, the the date of rendering his report, and of General Alexander S. Webb, the Brigade commander, both taken from the Official Records:

That portion of Captain Spauldings' report which relates to the battle of the Wilderness is as follows:

"The Regiment struck tents at half past nine p.m., May 3, 1864, and marched with the Division at twelve o'clock same night, crossing Ely's ford on the Rapidan just after daybreak May 4th marched to Chancellorsville, where it arrived about noon. May 5th marched at 5 a.m. Upon arriving at Todd's tavern, line of battle was formed and the Regiment sent out to support the skirmish line. In the afternoon, the Regiment counter-marched, moving back to the Wilderness. It was then detached from the Brigade and reported to Colonel Carroll, commanding Third Brigade, and formed in the rear of second line. Early in the morning of May 6th, an advance having been ordered, the Regiment moved forward and, although in the third line when it started, when our line met the enemy it was in the front line and wholly unprotected on its left flank. Colonel Connor immediately reported that this left was wholly exposed, but before troops arrived the enemy had turned our left and compelled our lines to fall back.

The Regiment reformed on the plank road and rejoined the Brigade. A new line was immediately formed, the right of this Regiment connecting with the left of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers of the Ninth Army Corps which had just arrived. The line very soon advanced and after having been hotly engaged with the enemy about one hour, the Regiment was relieved and marched back nearly to the line of breastworks and formed along the plank road. The movement had barely been executed when the line in front was compelled to fall back before the superior numbers of the enemy and the Regiment again became engaged. It was then that the gallant Colonel Connor fell severely wounded while striving to rally the retreating columns. The Regiment held its position here until the enemy had turned both flanks, when it was obliged to retire to the rear of the line of breastworks. The loss was very severe in the several engagements of the day."

General Webb in his official report, made after he was wounded at Spottsylvania, states that it is necessarily incomplete, from his inability to obtain any reports from regimental commanders, most, if not all, of them being killed or wounded The following are extracts from his report:

"On the 6th at about six a.m. I received orders from General Gibbon to move to the right of the plank road and report to Major-General Birney, which was promptly done. General Birney ordered my command to deploy on the right of the plank road and move forward to join Brigadier-General Getty, of the Sixth Corps. I deployed and advanced as ordered."

"I remained in my position until the enemy appeared on both right and left flanks of my command, when I received an order from General Wadsworth to go to the left to determine what was the cause of the disorder taking place there."

"I rode from my command to obey these orders. Seeing the impossibility of effecting anything, I returned to my command and found it in column in the road. The Nineteenth Maine Volunteers halted when opposite to me and commenced firing at the enemy approaching from the left of the plank road. It was halted by Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Connor, without orders, since I was absent under General Wadsworth's orders, and in doing this, Colonel Connor did exactly what was necessary. He prevented the enemy from seeing the rout. The road was jammed with troops and the rear of the column would have suffered terribly had not Colonel Connor stopped his Regiment. I saw Colonel Connor fall, and ordered the Regiment to retire through the woods."

General Webb, in his article entitled "Through the Wilderness," in "Battle and Leaders of the Civil War," says:

"When I came back from endeavoring to carry out the order that Wadsworth had given me, I found the Nineteenth Maine, under Colonel Selden Connor, on the plank road. Another regiment also stayed with me to hold the plank road and to deceive the Confederates, by fighting as though they had a continuous line. Colonel Connor was shot in

the leg after a long skirmish; I offered him my horse, but his wounds being such as to render him unable to mount, he had to be carried to the log works. His Regiment stayed there until I gave the order to break like partridges through the woods for the Brock road."

Under date of April 18th, 1865, General *Webb, then Meade's Chief of Staff, wrote to Colonel Connor and in referring to the action of the Regiment, he said that "it was a most important thing to the troops crowded in flight down the plank road. It prevented Longstreet's determining the state of confusion they were in. Wilcox told me they lost twenty minutes following us there and lost their chance to go in with us."

An important fact does not appear in either of the reports or in the article and letter of General Webb herein quoted. It is this: After the Nineteenth Maine had been firing some time its cartridges, heavily drawn upon in its action before rejoining the Brigade, became exhausted. Colonel Connor in person reported the fact to General Webb, who ordered him to take his Regiment back to the ammunition boxes which he would find a short distance in the rear, and replenish its cartridge boxes. Captain Spaulding did not know of this order when he made his report, and General Webb appears not to have remembered It is not to be wondered at that he could not recall every incident affecting one of the many regiments of his command. Another instance of his failure to recall a particular incident accurately is afforded by the statement in his article in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," herein quoted, "I offered him (Colonel Connor) my horse, but his wounds being such as to render him unable to mount, he had to be carried to the log works." When Colonel Connor fell, General Webb asked him if he were wounded, but made no offer of his horse. General Webb was wounded in the head at Spottsylvania and was taken to Fredericksburg and placed in the room where Colonel Connor and other wounded men were lying. When General Webb learned that Colonel Connor was in the room he sent his orderly to the latter to beg his pardon for not offering his horse and the reply was returned that there was no occasion for regret since Colonel Connor could not, with his broken thigh, have mounted the horse.

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel William W. Swan, U. S. A., in a paper on the Battle of the Wilderness read before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and published in Volume 4, of the papers of that Society, says, "Although the Rebels knew they had caused us to retreat in disorder the woods did not allow them to see the extent of the disorder. It is reported that in the road a Maine regiment did excellent service, preventing the enemy from seeing the rout then." The "Maine regiment" must have been the Nineteenth, since it was the only Maine regiment on the plank road at that time.

In an article by John R. Turner in Vol. XX of the Southern Historical Society Papers, on the Battle of the Wilderness appears a communication from Hugh R. Smith, Adjutant of the Twelfth Virginia, Mahone's Brigade, from which the following is taken:

"My remembrance of the affair is that our Brigade was advancing in line of battle, and the woods being on fire caused our Regiment (The Twelfth Virginia) to swerve to the right thereby becoming somewhat separated from the rest of the Brigade, and we seemed to come into contact with the left flank of the enemy, who were holding the plank road, and I thought at the time we were sent there especially to disloge them."

In the same article is a letter from Joseph E. Rockwell also of the Twelfth Virginia, who writes: "Here the retreating enemy came upon their reserves and we had it quite hot, until many of our comrades were shot down. I was fortunate to catch a friendly ball myself."

In an address by Leigh Robinson, of the Richmond Howitzers, before the "Virginia Division of the Army of Northern Virginia," May 1, 1877, speaking of Longstreet's flank attack, he says, "See what three brigades are doing, cooperating with others in front! They fall on Hancock's left, crushing Frank's Brigade, sweeping away Mott's Division. Hancock's left is forced back. He endeavors to retain the advanced position, held by his right on the plank road, but cannot do so."

The following is the reference to the flank attack in the history of the Twentieth Massachusetts:

"Meanwhile General Longstreet had sent'a column of four brigades to the unfinished railroad embankment on his right, which struck the left of our new line and doubled up Frank's Brigade, then a part of Mott's Division, and produced such a critical condition in this part of the field that Hancock reluctantly gave the order for our forces to withdraw to the Brock road, where, during the afternoon and night of the 5th, breastworks of logs had been erected. The Twentieth retired under orders, and its exact position duridg the remainder of the battle is still to be determined."

This indicates that the Twentieth Massachusetts did not resist the flank attack on the plank road, nor does the history of the Fifteenth or the Nineteenth Massachusetts mention that they took any part in opposing the flank movement of the enemy on the plank road.

General Connor's excellent account of the Nineteenth in the Wilderness is given in a letter of which the following is a copy:

"Portland, Maine, Oct. 12, 1896.

Brevet Lieut. Col. Charles H. Banes,

formerly Captain and Assistant Adjutant General, 1st Brigade, 2nd Div. 2nd Army Corps, Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Colonel:

"I received a short time ago Part I, Vol. XXXVI, of the Official Records' containing reports of the Battle of the Wilderness, that of General A. S. Webb among them. So much of the report as relates to my Regiment, the Nineteenth Maine, (p. 438) does not appear to me to be quite accurate, and I would like to know if you have any recollection of me and my Regiment in that action, and, if any, how it tallies with mine. The circumstances were such that I think you must recall them. For my own part I have so often recalled that action in which I received a wound that disabled me for further service that it seems

fresh in my memory.

'Very soon after the arrival of the Second Corps on the field of the Wilderness, late in the afternoon of the 5th of May, I was ordered by General Gibbon, our Division commander, to report to General Carroll on the plank road. I formed on the Brock road and went forward through the woods, my left guided on the plank road, until I came to General Carroll's command. It was quite dark when I found General Carroll and reported to him. He said he should make no advance that night, but that probably we should go forward early in the morning. The command advanced at an early hour on the 6th and my Regiment became engaged on the left of the road, with a force in the edge of the woods, across a stretch of low ground or depres-There was no force of ours on our left and therefore my Regiment was soon forced to fall back by a flanking fire from that quarter. As soon as we had reformed a short distance in rear, General Webb came down the road with our Brigade, and I was ordered to rejoin the Brigade. Line was formed on the right of the plank road, the Nineteenth Maine on the right, and an advance was made until we came to the depression across which my Regiment had been engaged a little before. There we were met by the fire of the enemy and the Brigade



Hon. Selden Connor, 1905.

was halted and a heavy interchange of firing was maintained for some minutes, when the ammunition of my Regiment, heavily drawn upon in its previous action became exhausted. I reported the fact in person to General Webb, and he ordered me to take the Regiment back to the ammunition boxes a short distance in rear and replenish my cartridge boxes. The Regiment was withdrawn in line as directed, and a supply of ammunition was found not more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards to the rear. As soon as the cartridge boxes were replenished firing was heard in the woods to our left and the sound grew nearer, indicating that our forces in that direction were giving way to the enemy. You were with my Regiment at that time-my impression is that you had come with me to show me where the ammunition was placed—and I said to you that I would change my front forward on my left company in order to cover our people who were being driven back, and I suggested to you that you had better inform General Webb of the force apparently coming on, to flank his left, since his attention might be so occupied with his front that he would not notice it in time, and also of the action I proposed to take. You rode forward towards the position and I changed my front so that my line was just in rear of the plank road and parallel with it. In a few minutes the Vermont Brigade of the Sixth Corps broke from the woods into the road in a confused mass and streamed down the plank road toward the Brock road. General L. A. Grant, the Brigade commander and other officers were striving to rally them, but they were crowded together in such a huddle and the pursuing enemy was so close upon them that it was hardly possible for them to reform,1 I was on the plank road at the left of my Regiment and just in front of it. Vermonters came out of the woods just at that point. As soon as they were clear of my front and the enemy were close at hand, I opened fire. I was soon after struck in the thigh by a shot coming from the right, and fell at the side of the road. When I was down I saw General Webb just behind me and he asked if I was hit. I was taken off the field in a blanket by some of my men. The rest of the story is told in General Webb's report.

"I have thus briefly sketched the part my Regiment took in the Wilderness until I fell, in order that I may refresh your memory as to the incidents to which I have referred as having been specially under your cognizance. You will confer a great favor on me if you will give me your recollection of them. It would not surprise me if you should not have the clear memory that I have of them, because they were specially impressed on my mind as the closing of my service.

With great regard,
Yours very truly,
(Signed) Selden Connor."

The receipt of the letter was acknowledged by Mrs. Banes, who wrote that her husband was too ill to attend to any business. It was subsequently learned that this was his last illness.²

These reports show that the Nineteenth Maine rendered important service at the critical period in the battle of the

¹ General Grant informs the writer that he ordered his Brigade to retire.

² Colonel Banes died January 15, 1897.

Wilderness, just as it had done on the 2nd and 3rd of July at Gettysburg. In his letter to Colonel Connor, General Webb reports the rebel General Wilcox as saying that they "lost twenty minutes following us there and lost their chance to go in with us." In some reports of rebel officers the reason given for not continuing the pursuit was the fall of General Jenkins and the wounding of General Longstreet by the fire of their own troops. Certain it is that their pursuit virtually ceased at the plank road. If they had kept on no doubt their progress would have been stayed a little further on. As the wounded Colonel of the Nineteenth was borne on a stretcher, to which he had been removed from the blanket in which Captain Smart had placed him, along the Brock road on the way to the field hospital, he saw Hancock in white shirt sleeves, sitting on a stump just in rear of his well manned log works, calmly waiting for an opportunity to discourage whatever assailants might appear in his front.

CASUALTIES OF THE REGIMENT IN THE BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS MAY 5-7, 1864.

Colonel Selden Connor, wounded; Captain David E. Parsons, Company B, wounded; Captain Everett M. Whitehouse, Company G, wounded; First Lieutenant William H. Emery, Company C, wounded; Second Lieutenant Elbridge C. Pierce, Company D, wounded.

Company A.

Corporal Kingman Foss, killed; Corporal John Merrill, Jr., killed; James Carroll, killed; Nathan P. Frost, killed; William B. Murphy, killed; Charles M. Rowe, killed;

Sergeant Asa Andrews, Jr., wounded; Corporal John L. Downs, wounded; John L. Armstrong, wounded; Alexander Bagley, wounded; Danville Bean, wounded; John P. Lancaster, wounded; Samuel Leavitt, wounded; Alonzo H. Quimby, wounded; Corporal Edward H. Smith, wounded; Benjamin Burns, prisoner; Henry H. Fairbrother, prisoner.

Company B.

Sergeant David G. Bagley, killed; Corporal Hugh A. Bullen, mortally wounded, died November 18, '64; Elijah K. Buzzell, mortally wounded, died in hospital, Washington, May 28th; Hosea B. Dunton, killed.

First Sergeant Darius S. Richards, wounded; Sergeant Morrison R. Heal (Christian name appears also as Harrison) wounded; Corporal

George M. Mayo, wounded; Corporal Samuel N. Robertson, wounded; William A. Hannon, wounded; Charles F. Jewell, wounded; John Marr, wounded; Benjamin O. Sanford, wounded; Edwin Smith, wounded; Jason Ware, wounded.

Company C.

Corporal Cyrus F. Snell, wounded, died June 12th; Richard A. Shepherd, killed.

Sergeant Lindley H. Whittaker, wounded; Corporal Harrison T. Clough, wounded; Corporal George A. Osborn, wounded; Thomas B. Blaisdell, wounded; Benjamin F. Buzzell, wounded; Calvin G. Downs, wounded; Henry Judkins, wounded; Seth W. Ramsdell, wounded.

Company D.

Sergeant Ralph Johnson, wounded and missing, May 6, supposed to have been killed; Sergeant Nelson N. Mayo, wounded, died at Fredericksburg, May 21, '64. Corporal George F. Tufts, killed; Sewell H. Johnson, wounded, died of wounds July 22, '64; Thomas Welch, killed; Orlando F. Wentworth, killed.

Orrin I. Peterson, wounded; Elbridge G. Raymond, wounded; Arthur M. Sawyer, wounded.

Company E.

Corporal Isaac W. Patterson, mortally wounded, died Lincoln General hospital, May 21, '64; John Foley, ¹ prisoner, died at Andersonville, June 15, '64; William Farr, killed; Rufus H. Gould, killed; John E. Nickerson, killed.

Sergeant Milton W. Nichols, wounded; Sergeant Alfred E. Nickerson, wounded; Sergeant James H. Pierce, wounded; Albert Ames, wounded; Henry A. Doyle, wounded; John B. Huff, wounded; Joseph Pooler, wounded; Augustus L. Philbrick, wounded; John Sargentson, wounded; William Trollop, wounded; Amos W. West, wounded; Edwin D. Wharff, wounded.

Company F.

First Sergeant Moses S. Dennett, killed; Dexter B. Tenney, killed. Sergeant John E. Brann, wounded; Sergeant Andrew J. Goodwin, wounded; Corporal Jonathan Crane, wounded; Corporal Philip P. Getchell, wounded; Thomas A. Baker, wounded; Augustine Babcock, wounded; Roscoe Johnson, wounded; Morrill Rose, wounded.

Company G.

Sergeant George W. Chapman, killed; Sergeant George W. Merrill, killed; Nathaniel Lane, killed; Ruel Littlefield, killed; Stephen Wing, killed.

¹ There is some doubt in what battle of the Wilderness campaign John Foley was taken prisoner. The records of Company E do not disclose the information. There is no doubt, however, as to his death at Andersonville.

First Sergeant George A. Barton, wounded; Sergeant Walter Jordan, wounded; Corporal Edwin D. Lee, wounded; Corporal Albert N. Randall, wounded; Thomas E. Carpenter, wounded; Andrew J. Dain, wounded; Elijah Howard, wounded; Elijah Gill, wounded; Hugh Hunter, wounded; Charles H. Jackson, wounded; Isaac Moody, wounded; George A. Smith, wounded; James Shortwell, wounded; William H. H. Small, wounded; Joseph A. Stewart, wounded; William B. Tobey, wounded; Lauriston G. Trask, wounded.

Company H.

Corporal William F. Wood, killed; Mark G. Babb, prisoner and died a prisoner of war; Charles L. Bigelow, prisoner, died at Andersonville prison, Sept. 3, '64.

Sergeant Alfred T. Dunbar, wounded; Sergeant Francis P. Furber, wounded; Sergeant Charles E. Ramsdell, wounded; Corporal George F. Hopkins, wounded; Corporal William Leonard, wounded; Daniel B. Abbott, wounded; Andrew J. Basford, wounded; Henry Baston; wounded; Sanford Brann, wounded; Frank Brown, wounded; William H. Jewett, wounded; George L. Smith, wounded; Howard H. Taylor, wounded; George White, wounded.

Company I.

John Ward, killed; Charles Ripley, killed (also reported captured). George S. Cobb, wounded; Joseph H. Norton, wounded; Alfred B. Towle, wounded; Martin V. Myrick, wounded.

Company K.

Lot. A. Ford, mortally wounded, died at Fredericksburg May, 19th; John L. Thompson, mortally wounded, died at Fredericksburg, May 22, '64.

Sergeant Isaac Webber, Jr., wounded; Corporal Robert Kilfedder, wounded; Corporal William T. Willis, wounded; James W. Hicks, wounded; Gardiner McAllister, wounded; Albert G. Rand, wounded; Albert Robinson, wounded; Edwin W. Swett, wounded.

Justin T. Bourne, prisoner, and reported a prisoner at date of muster out.

RECAPITULATION.

illed and m ounded, no		_	-						97
isoners, of				_					
.,			1	Total			_	-	 137

CHAPTER VIII.

BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA.

The Battle of the Wilderness had been fought. The Nineteenth Maine Volunteers was lying behind the breastworks along the Brock road, at its intersection with the Orange plank road, facing west. When returning from the fruitless Mine Run campaign the preceding December, the Second Corps had marched along this same Orange plank road, past Parker's store and nearly to its present position, where it turned north into a wood road and came out into the Brock road near the old Wilderness Tavern. The region in which the armies were now operating was historic ground. Spottsylvania County had, before the Revolutionary War, been the battleground of people struggling for religious liberty. Here men were persecuted and imprisoned for preaching the gospel outside of the established church. In the summer of 1781, Lafayette, with his small army, pursued by Cornwallis, had come up from the North Anna, camping for the night at Massaponax church, and then proceeded north, crossing the Rapidan at Ely's ford, where our corps had crossed that river on the morning of May 4th. "Stonewall" Jackson, with his Corps, marched northerly along this same Brock road May 2nd, 1863, and fell upon the surprised right wing of the Union army at Chancellorsville. But the men of the Regiment were not specially interested at this time in historical associations. They had in mind more serious thoughts.

About nine or ten o'clock on the evening of May 7th, while the Regiment was resting by the roadside and awaiting developments, Generals Grant and Meade, accompanied by their staffs, rode along and halted at General Hancock's head-quarters near where the Regiment lay. The burning woods lighted up the scene, and when the faces of the Commanders were recognized, wild cheers echoed through the forest.

Tired as they were, the soldiers shouted with renewed enthusiasm. The enemy must have thought a night attack was intended, for they opened fire upon us with shells, which had the effect of silencing the cheering. Soon the head of Warren's Corps appeared, marching south. This settled the question of the next move. Some of the men were intoxicated with joy and enthusiasm, and well they might be.

This movement of the army toward Spottsylvania was a great surprise to the Confederates. Indeed, their surprise was increased by each flanking and advancing movement of the Union army. They had been accustomed to a program which began with a Union advance, culminating usually in one great battle, and ending in retreat of the Union army. Then would come the substitution of a new commander for the one beaten and then an offensive campaign on the part of the Confederates. This being the usual order of events, they confidently expected that General Grant would re-cross the Rapidan after the Battle of the Wilderness. Indeed, they felt hurt because our new commanding General, fresh from the West, would not recognize the customs and precedents so firmly established. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Confederates were much disappointed in General Grant.

It was not until daylight on the morning of May 8th that the Second Corps filed into the Brock road and followed the Fifth Corps south from the Wilderness battlefield toward Spottsylvania Court House. Barlow's Division led, followed closely by Gibbon. The troops marched south on the same road over which we had hurried north on the afternoon of May 5th, to the relief of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac. The Regiment was now commanded by Major Welch. The experience of the last three days had cast its shadow over the troops. As they marched away, the men of the Regiment, unaccustomed to weeping, looked, with moistened eyes and quivering lips, into the burning woods behind them, where so many of their comrades lay, unburied—comrades who, in their dear old homes, had been their neighbors and schoolmates.

The head of the Second Corps reached Todd's Tavern at nine-twenty in the morning and the Regiment, about half an hour later, marched by the little old tavern, without even stopping for breakfast, and formed line of battle with the Second Division on the south side of the Catharpin road, facing southwesterly. There were four roads from Todd's Tayern, one running north to the Wilderness, one running northeast to Piney Branch church, where the Ninth Corps had been ordered, one going southeasterly to Spottsylvania Court House, on which road the guns of Warren's men could plainly be heard, and the other running southwesterly to Corbin's bridge, over the Po river. About one o'clock in the afternoon, Gibbon's Division was ordered to the support of General Warren and took the road toward Spottsylvania Court House. The Fifth Corps was heavily engaged and the Regiment reached the scene of action at about four o'clock and halted by the roadside to allow a portion of the Sixth Corps to pass. The Nineteenth bivouacked early in the evening of the 8th, near the Brock road and nearly a mile in the rear of Warren's line of battle. On the morning of the oth, at about ten o'clock, Gibbon's Division countermarched a short distance and then faced to the south, and advanced through the woods toward the Po River, near the old road that ran by Hart's house. The Division connected on the left with the Fifth Corps and on the right with Barlow's Division, which had also moved southeasterly since the preceding morning. While the Division was in the line of battle, facing, and near the Po. a Confederate wagon train was seen hurrying along the road toward the Court House on the opposite side of the river. The Nineteenth was hastily thrown out as skirmishers and advanced to the Po, where it was found that the Confederates had a strong line of flankers, marching along near the south bank of the river. The Regiment was halted and a battery came into position near us and opened fire upon the wagon train. A stampede was created among the mules and mule drivers, which furnished amusement for the Regiment for a short time. This all occurred under the personal observation of Generals Grant and Meade, with whom General

Hancock was consulting at the time, and it probably suggested to Grant the project of attempting to crush General Lee's left flank. Barlow's and Birney's Divisions on the right soon crossed the river and Gibbon's Division crossed a little later in the afternoon, between Barlow's Division and Warren's Corps, on a temporary bridge, hastily constructed.

On the morning of May 10th, the three Divisions named, of the Second Corps, began skirmishing and advancing toward. what was called the Block House bridge, which crossed the Po river, within the Confederate lines south of the river. It was here that Lieutenant Sturgis of the Twentieth Massachusetts was killed. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the Regiment recrossed the Po with the Division, on a pontoon bridge which had been laid near the place where we crossed the evening before, and went to the support of Warren's Corps, which was heavily engaged down the Brock road. About three in the afternoon our Division, under General Gibbon, reached the line held by the Fifth Corps and our Brigade, under General Webb, took position on the right of Carroll's Third Brigade, and on the left of Crawford's Division of the Fifth Corps. The line in this locality was commanded by General Warren. Gibbon's line of battle was strung along in a dense wood, consisting mostly of dead cedar trees, which rendered an orderly movement of the line utterly impossible. Owen's Brigade was in reserve. Word was passed along the line that when Crawford's Division charged on the right, Gibbon's troops were to cheer and join in the charge. The position of the enemy was a very strong one and the men of the Regiment hugged the ground pretty closely until the order was given to charge. When that order was received, the men took it out mostly in cheering, but it was a mournful cheer. We advanced about the same distance that Crawford's Division did, which was not very far. General Carroll claimed that some of his Brigade reached the Confederate works. Many of the wounded were burned to death in the fierce conflagration which raged in the dry timber. Just before six o'clock in the afternoon, General Hancock came along and the lines were readjusted, with the understanding that another effort was to be made to take the strong works

of the Confederates in front. It seemed to the men, who knew, as well as the officers, that these repeated charges placed the Union forces at a very unfair disadvantage and sacrificed hundreds of lives without adequate compensation. Hancock now had charge of the Fifth Corps and Gibbon's Division of the Second. The soldiers would cheerfully respond to any order General Hancock might give. Our Division had more confidence because he was there. So when the order was given to charge, Webb's Brigade went forward with the rest of the line, with a wild rush toward the nearest point of the Confederate works. On account of the trees and underbrush it was impossible to keep a regular line of battle. The troops could not live where the Confederate artillery, and more particularly its infantry, swept the ground over which the Union troops charged. The works to be captured were on higher ground, but the troops never reached the Confederate intrenchments. They came back from their fruitless effort in some disorder, and in his report, subsequently made, General Webb charged that the second line of battle, consisting principally of Owen's Brigade, broke to the rear. In this case it was more dangerous to be in the second line of battle than in the advanced line. During the first, and particularly during the second attack the woods between the lines took fire, and both in advancing and retreating the troops had to go around the burning places, which added somewhat to the confusion.

With relation to these charges made in connection with the Fifth Corps, Colonel Charles H. Banes, the Assistant Adjutant-General of Webb's Brigade, and who had excellent facilities for observation, as follows:

"The failure of the Second and Fifth Corps did not deter the General commanding from a renewed attempt on the same position. Accordingly, regiments had scarcely reformed before an officer made his appearance with directions to repeat the assault at precisely six o'clock. In spite of the horrible losses required by obedience to this command there was an approach to the ridiculous in the manner of its communication. No officer of higher rank than a Brigade Commander had examined the approaches to the enemy's works on our front, and the whole expression of the person who brought the message seemed to say 'The General commanding is doubtful of your success.' The moment the order was given, the messenger put spurs to his horse and

rode off, lest by some misunderstanding the assault should begin before

he was safe out of the range of the enemy's responsive fire.

"Promptly at the appointed hour the Division moved out of the woods toward the coveted works. The men had weighed the probabilities of success and decided that the attempt was hopeless. The advance along the line was made without enthusiasm, and it continued only a short distance, when a halt was made and firing commenced and continued for a brief period, when the whole force fell back as suddenly as before.

"The result of the second attempt, although not attended with as heavy loss as the first, was more demoralizing. Some of the best troops of the Second Corps, the equals of any soldiers that ever carried arms, not only retired without any real attempt to carry the enemy's works, but actually retreated in confusion to a point far to the rear of the original line, and remained there until nearly night. Brigade staff-officers who were sent to recall the scattered troops found them gathered about their regimental flags, quietly preparing coffee and comparing experiences about the movement on Laurel Hill. In the two attacks of this day, the Second and Fifth Corps lost over five thousand men, while it is probable that the enemy did not lose one thousand."

Mott's Division of the Second Corps had been sent to the left and was formed in line of battle between the left of the Sixth Corps and the right of the Ninth, early in the day. At the same time as one of the charges made by the Nineteenth, Mott's Division, and twelve picked regiments under the command of Colonel Emery Upton, charged at different places to the left of the Spottsylvania road. General Mott was unable to accomplish anything, but the troops under Upton won imperishable renown. They captured the enemy's works, including over a thousand prisoners, but, not being properly supported, were compelled to fall back. This gallant attack of Upton's is mentioned in order to record the fact that the Fifth and Sixth Maine Volunteers formed a portion of Upton's storming party and won honor on the field of battle for the Pine Tree State.

There had been no losses in the Regiment since leaving the Wilderness battlefield, until May 10th. The loss would have been much heavier on this day had it not been that we were partially screened from sight by the dense woods in front.

The Regiment with the rest of Webb's Brigade threw up works during the night and remained in position with the other Brigades of the Division during the 11th. There was no heavy engagement on this day but the troops

upon both sides were constantly engaged in constructing and strengthening their intrenchments and each seeking for a weak point in the other's position. The sharpshooters of the enemy commanded completely the position of our line of battle. In the afternoon of May 11th, it rained hard, and late in the evening word was passed along the line to get ready to move with the utmost quiet and secrecy. Sometime before midnight our Division of the Second Corps, having been preceded by the First and Third, much earlier in the evening, started toward the rear and left of the line of battle and soon after midnight the Nineteenth, with Webb's Brigade, reached the ground of Mott's futile attack, on the left, near Brown's house, on the preceding afternoon. Orders were issued that strict silence must be observed throughout the entire command during this march to the left. Arms and accourrements, canteens, haversacks and tin dippers were to be carried so as to make no noise, and all commands were given in whispers. Staff officers were seen whispering to regimental commanders and pointing the way. The movement over rough ground and through woods was necessarily slow, with frequent halts, at which time the men, worn out by loss of sleep, and the terrible nervous strain which they had endured during the past eight days, would drop down for a moment's rest and fall asleep almost as soon as they touched the ground. A particularly laughable incident took place during one of the halts. A pack mule, on which was strapped blankets and cooking utensils, of some officer's mess, had become frightened at something far in the advance, and had broken away from his darkey attendant. The mule came galloping back between us and the enemy, but hugging close to Gibbon's Division. The kettles and frying pans struck the trees along the mule's flight and every few leaps the mule let off panicstricken brays that could be heard a mile, followed by disembowelled groans, that struck terror to the hearts of the tired soldiers. It seemed for a minute as though a legion of devils armed with frying pans and mounted on mules were charging the Union lines. Some regiments started on the run through the woods as though his Satanic Majesty was

after them. Fortunately no shots were fired in the excitement and the stampede was soon checked.

During the day an order was promulgated, stating that Butler had captured Petersburg and that Sherman had whipped Joe Johnston somewhere in Georgia, all of which was encouraging to the men, but none of which was true.

It had been a long, tiresome march; but, in fact, the Division when it formed in line of battle in the early morning of the 12th, was not more than a mile and a half to the left of its position on the preceding day. The old Second Corps was to assault the salient,—the projecting angle of the Confederate fortification—which had been pushed out to the north, nearly to the Landron house. This portion of the Confederate line was held by "Stonewall" Jackson's old Corps, now commanded by Ewell. The Union lines of battle were formed before light, to the south of the Brown house and in front of some abandoned intrenchments. There was a clearing which ran from the vicinity of the Brown house to the Landron house, which was a little to the left of the ground over which the charge was to be made. Aside from this clearing, which curved to the right, looking from Brown's to Landron's on toward the enemy, the ground in front was thickly wooded. Barlow's Division, which had done such brilliant work south of the Po River on the 10th, was given the place of honor in leading the charge.

The troops of the Second Corps were now formed for the grand assault. Birney's Division was placed on the right in two lines of battle, separated by a few paces. Barlow's Division was placed on Birney's left, in column of regiments, doubled on the center. Mott's Division was formed in Birney's rear in single line of battle. Gibbon's Division was formed in two lines of battle, Webb's Brigade being in the second line and the Division being in the rear and extending the whole length of the line occupied by Birney and Barlow. Here was an almost solid rectangular mass of nearly twenty thousand men to charge against the enemy's works. The same tactics, only on a larger scale, were to be employed that Upton used two days before. As soon as it was light enough

to see anything (for there was a dense fog at the time), the whole Corps stepped off together.

Webb's Brigade was in the rear line of battle on the extreme right, and, however solicitous the men of the old Nineteenth might have been for glory, no loud complaints were heard that morning because the Regiment was not in the front line. The charging column had to travel about three-quarters of a mile from its starting point to the enemy's line of works. The Regiment had to struggle through thickets, over fallen timber and across boggy ground, which retarded the advance and disarranged the lines. The distance was covered, however, in an incredibly short space of time. Nothing was heard until the Confederate picket reserve at the Landron house fired into the left flank of Barlow's men, killing and wounding several. As soon as the men in front could see the works at the salient they burst into a loud cheer and rushed forward. The shot and shell from the Confederate lines generally passed over the heads of the Regiment. Webb's line hurried forward and when, without much regard to formation, it reached the enemy's intrenchments, a terrible contest was raging. Many prisoners had passed over the breastworks on their way to the rear. The writer remembers well of seeing Anson Turner, a private in Company F, step up to a Confederate officer and slap him on the shoulder, hard enough to fairly stagger him, and shout: "How are you, Johnny Reb, this morning? I am d——d glad to see you." The officer did not reciprocate this friendly greeting. General Hancock had lost his hat and was seen bareheaded long before the troops reached the works. The Regiment climbed over the breastworks and joined in the wild pursuit. enemy had retreated, hastily firing as they went. Major Welch was severely wounded near the breastworks, but not until he had captured the flag of the Thirty-third Virginia, a regiment which belonged to the "Stonewall" brigade, commanded then by General Walker, who escaped capture. Major Welch took the flag to the rear and this practically ended his military service at the front. On May 30th Major Welch addressed a letter to General Hancock, from Armory Square Hospital, Washington, where he was being treated for his wound, stating that he then had the flag of the Thirty-third Virginia with him, which he captured May 12th. Major Welch stated that the occasion of writing this letter was that he learned that General Hancock had been making inquiries about the flag. Major Welch further stated that he had intended to send the flag to the Governor of Maine, but would do as Hancock might direct. A peppery indorsement was made on this letter by General Meade, alleging that, under the circumstances, Major Welch's conduct in carrying the flag to Washington was "exceedingly reprehensible." The flag was returned, but no fair-minded man believes that Meade's indorsement was justified, even if the army regulations had not been strictly observed.

While pursuing the enemy between the salient and the McCool house, our Brigade commander, Gen. Webb, who was a most popular and deserving officer, was severely wounded in the head and was borne from the field. The Confederates rallied near a second line of breastworks. General Lee came near being captured here. The Union lines were thoroughly disorganized, each man fighting independently, and our men were forced back slowly toward the line of works which had been first taken. Up to this time the attack had been a brilliant success. The charge and pursuit had continued for nearly two miles. All semblance of regimental formation had disappeared and when the well organized counter attack was made by the enemy, the Union troops fell back and took refuge behind the captured works. These offered a good protection from the furious assaults of the enemy during the day. Mott now had the right of the Second Corps line connecting with the Sixth Corps, Birney came next, then Gibbon, and Barlow held the left of the line. When the lines were reformed behind the captured works it was between five and six o'clock.

In this assault, the Second Corps had captured 4,000 prisoners, upward of thirty stands of colors and eighteen cannon. Among the prisoners were Major-General Edward Johnson and Brigadier-General George H. Steuart. The



Alexander S. Webb, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A. and U. S. V.

enemy's strong line of works for nearly a mile had been captured and was retained during the day. Johnson was a graduate of West Point and was there with General Hancock. When he, with the other prisoners, went to the rear, Hancock at once stepped forward and, in that graceful and courtly manner so familiar to his soldiers, extended his hand, saying: "General Johnson, I am glad to see you." Johnson took his hand, and with tears coursing down his face, replied: "General Hancock, this is worse than death to me." With a smile on his face. Hancock answered: "This is the fate of war, General, and you must not forget that you are a soldier." He then turned and cordially offered his hand to Steuart, who drew back and remarked: "Under the circumstances, I decline to take your hand." Quickly came the response from General Hancock: "Under any other circumstances, sir, it would not have been offered." General Hancock then turned his back on Steuart and entered into conversation with Johnson, and shortly after ordered Captain Mitchell, one of his Aides, to supply General Johnson with a horse and accompany him to Meade's headquarters. Colonel Joseph N. Brown, of the Fourteenth South Carolina Regiment, commanding McGowan's Brigade that day, states in a letter of recent date that he heard Johnson, after his exchange, relate the above conversation which took place between General Hancock and himself, and Hancock and Steuart. Colonel Brown writes of Johnson that he was "one of 'Stonewall' Jackson's generals on whom, next to Ewell, Lee greatly relied." He was much of a gentleman, as well as a brave soldier. He died in Richmond in 1880." Steuart resided in retirement after the close of the war in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, where he died near the close of 1903.

At six o'clock in the morning, General Wright's column, comprising a portion of the Sixth Corps, marched upon the field and was conducted by one of Hancock's staff officers to the right of Gibbon's Division, where the fighting was desperate. While at this point of observation, a shell exploded and a piece of it hit Wright upon the thigh, but he did not leave the field. A few minutes afterward

Brigadier-General L. A. Grant's Vermont Brigade marched up close to the works and was ordered to support Gibbon's Division, and he also relieved a portion of Barlow's line.

The Confederate intrenchments were built of large logs, piled several thick, one upon the other, and the spaces between them filled in with dirt. It was as high as a man's head and its width and solidity made it a formidable obstacle. There was an abattis in front along a portion of the line, substantially built.¹

Soon after the works were captured it began to rain. There was some thunder and heavy showers, especially in the forenoon, and the warm, damp air mingled with the smoke of the battle made it difficult to see far in advance. Late in the afternoon it rained steadily.

Who can describe that desperate struggle of May 12, 1864? Able writers have attempted to give graphic accounts of the engagement. It was probably the fiercest battle of the war. From four o'clock in the morning until after midnight, twenty long hours, the battle raged furiously and continuously. The works captured by the Second Corps in the morning were held by that Corps and the Sixth during the day. The enemy sought to recover these works. Repeated unsuccessful charges were made against them during the day. Along these breastworks for nearly a mile, in a drenching rain, with the Confederates on one side and the Union soldiers on the other. firing directly into each others faces, the awful contest was waged. Bayonet thrusts were given across the intrenchments and soldiers reversed their rifles and clubbed each other over the head. Wounded men, bleeding, and blackened with the smoke of battle, were limping and crawling to the rear. Squads of Confederates at first placed dirty handkerchiefs on their bayonets, and when near our lines, lowered their rifles and fired into our faces. The same trick did not work, however, a little later, when tried the second time. During the day ammunition was brought in boxes on men's shoulders and

¹ In 1902, the writer visited this battlefield, and these works, after thirty-eight years, were in many places more than four feet high, and he brought away many pieces of shell and bullets taken from the intrenchments.



The "Bloody Angle", Spottsylvania—May 12, 1864.



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passed to the men. Some men of the Regiment fired two hundred rounds of cartridges each that day.

Artillery was brought up in the morning and the guns were planted on elevated ground in the rear of the Union lines and shot and exploding shells were fired over the heads of the troops. In a few places guns were pushed up close to our lines, where they poured canister into the faces of the Confederates. A section of Brown's Battery (B), First Rhode Island, took position on the right of our Division and very near the Nineteenth and did excellent service during the day. A gun with six horses attached went galloping into position in the rear of the Brigade with one horse dead and dragged along by the others. Large standing trees were literally cut down by infantry fire and small trees and limbs were whipped into splinters. The dead in front of our lines, in some places, were piled two and three deep, the wounded so helpless that they could not crawl away, and the mangled, torn and bleeding forms were sights never to be forgotten on earth.

Between nine o'clock in the evening and midnight the Regiment got together, in a low place in the woods, a short distance to the rear of our line of battle. The men had been scattered during the day along the Brigade, if not along the whole Division front. The confusion and mingling of the different organizations in the morning's charge had not been entirely repaired during the progress of the battle. While the firing in front had somewhat slackened after dark, it had not wholly ceased until after midnight. It was a dirty and despondent crowd of soldiers who gathered about the smouldering fires, made their coffee and recounted the experiences of the day. Some members of the Regiment went back to the field hospitals to hunt for wounded comrades, and the others dropped upon the wet ground and went to sleep.

What a tired, wet, dirty, hungry crowd the Regiment was on the morning of the 13th of May! What a contrast between its appearance then and eight days before! Colonel Connor, Major Welch, Captains Parsons, Whitehouse and Smart, and Lieutenants Emery, Palmer, Pierce and Nye had been wounded. Many familiar faces were missing among the rank and

file. It would be many months before the Regiment would again see the soldierly form of General Webb, and in the death of General Sedgwick, who had formerly commanded our (Second) Division of the Second Corps, many felt a personal bereavement.

General Francis A. Walker, who served on Hancock's staff as Assistant Adjutant-General, in discussing the struggle of the enemy for the recovery of the salient, writes: "Never since the discovery of gunpowder had such a mass of lead been hurled into a space so narrow" as that covered by the day's operations of the Second Corps. A large oak tree was cut down by the bullets in front of, and just to the right of, the Brigade. Many of the Regiment saw the fallen tree during the afternoon. The stump of this tree can still be seen in the National Museum at Washington, where it stands with this inscription: "Section of an oak, about two and a half feet through, which stood within the Confederate intrenchments near Spottsylvania Court House, which was cut down by musket balls during the attempt to recapture the works, previously carried by the Second Corps, Army of the Potomac."

On this morning the Regiment, under the command of Captain Nash, advanced to the front, where it remained all day. The Fifth Corps occupied the right of the line, then the Sixth, Second and Ninth, and all crowded into the space around the historic "angle" and extending from the Ny river on the left to the Todd's Tayern road on the right, near the point where General Sedgwick was killed three days before. Russell's Division of the Sixth Corps occupied the salient. Owen's Brigade, under General Carroll, was put upon the skirmish line and pushed forward near the McCool House. The enemy had retired during the night to a new line of works constructed near what was called the Harrison house, being about one-half mile south of its position occupied the previous morning. General Carroll, who was suffering from a wound received in the Wilderness, was again severely wounded while urging forward the brigade of skirmishers which he commanded. This time he was wounded in the left arm, the rifle ball completely destroying the elbow. He had been Colonel of the Eighth Ohio

Volunteers. Spottsylvania was General Carroll's last battle. He was a brave officer and very popular with his men. His familiar figure was sadly missed by the Nineteenth Maine, although the Regiment was never under his immediate command. This day the Third and Fourth Divisions of the Corps, commanded by Generals Birney and Mott, respectively, were consolidated under the command of General Birney. Mott was assigned to the command of one of the Brigades. General Meade issued a circular on the 13th congratulating the army on its success in the last eight days' contest, and especially on the brilliant victory of the 12th at the salient. He recounted the surmise that the enemy had "abandoned the last intrenched position." but the soldiers knew that he had constructed another line of works, equally strong, four or five hundred yards in the rear of those captured by the Second Corps on the preceding day.

The First and Second Brigades of our Division were advanced in front of the captured works and the Third Brigade held in reserve. A strong skirmish line was advanced and developed the enemy's new position, in front of which were the Confederate skirmishers. The Regiment suffered no loss during the day and was relieved during the night. On the 14th of May the Regiment was in line of battle all day. The batteries at, and to the right of, the Landron house opened fire upon the enemy in the very early morning. Between seven and eight o'clock a strong skirmish line from the First Division advanced up very near to the enemy's works and remained there firing all day. At five o'clock in the morning of May 15th, our Division, preceded by Barlow's, marched to the rear and to the left, passing near Army headquarters. These two Divisions went as far as the Fredericksburg road. and just at night our Division marched a portion of the way back towards its position in the morning, where it rested all night. The Regiment had a good rest on May 16th until nearly five o'clock in the afternoon. Then the Division packed up and marched to the Cousins house, which was outside of the picket line and several miles to the rear of the right of the Union line of battle. Here were the Second and

Sixth Corps hospitals, which the Confederates had had possession of and rifled, and which the Division removed with teams and ambulances within the Union lines. On this day, General Tyler's Division of heavy artillery, from the defense of Washington, and the Corcoran Legion, consisting of four Irish regiments from New York, comprising in all about 8,000 men, were assigned to the Second Corps. Among the heavy artillery regiments of this Division was the First Maine, under command of Colonel Daniel Chaplin. On May 17th the Regiment rested until about eleven o'clock in the evening, when it fell in with the Division and moved toward the right and the front.

All night troops were marching up and forming in the vicinity of the place where our Regiment halted, and among the troops the Corcoran Legion was particularly noticeable by reason of their brilliantly colored uniforms.

Colonel H. B. McKeen, Eighty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, was here assigned to the command of the First Brigade of the Second Division, and commanded the Brigade until the battle of Cold Harbor.

In the early morning of May 18th, the Regiment found itself near the same place where it charged at daybreak May 12th. The space in front of and to the right of the Landron house was filled with the troops of the Second Corps. The Sixth Corps was on the right and occupied the old works to the east of the salient. Barlow's Division joined the Second Division on the left, and the Sixth Corps on the right. Division was formed for the charge with the First and Fourth Brigades in the front. The First was on the left and adjoining Barlow's Division. The Nineteenth had position on the left of the Brigade and was today in command of Captain Nash. The Fourth Brigade was made up of the Corcoran Legion and was placed in line on the right of the First Brigade. Owen's and Smyth's Brigades, the Second and Third, were formed in the rear in line of battalions en masse. The old Regiment found itself in the front line of battle and facing a serious and doubtful proposition. At a little after four o'clock in the morning, the lines of battle moved out over the works and to-

ward the old McCool house. When they came into the clearing to the north and east of that house, the enemy opened with shell and canister. The Confederates were posted in strong works, their front being completely covered by fallen trees and slashing. Some of the troops near the center of the Division were protected by thick woods in front, which prevented the enemy from reaching all portions of the Division line. The enemy's fire, however, was so heavy that the troops made but little headway and were forced to retire. Many of the regiments had not fired a gun. The Corcoran Legion on the right, when it came to falling back, did not wait upon the order of their going. Owen's Brigade in the rear behaved so badly that General Gibbon later preferred charges against Owen for disobedience of orders. The Regiment lost about fifteen men in wounded and prisoners. Strange as it may seem, one or two men belonging to the Regiment were taken prisoners. Another useless and foolish charge had been made without accomplishing anything, unless it was to determine that the enemy was still there and able to defend his works. Neither Wright nor Burnside succeeded in getting very near the enemy's works. General Humphreys speaks of the wounded of the 18th of May as "almost entirely of the Second Corps," so one would naturally suppose that neither Wright nor Burnside advanced very far that morning. The ground in some places was nearly covered with dead soldiers who had fallen on the 12th and had lain there unburied and exposed to the hot sun for six days. All the way from the old intrenchments to the McCool house were thousands of dead soldiers and many dead horses. The dead men were nearly all black in the face and bloated. and the stench that came from the battlefield made many of the soldiers extremely sick. It was a pitiful and hideous sight!

About nine o'clock that evening, the Regiment started with the Division and marched to the rear and the left and went nearly the whole length of the Union line, crossed the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania road and halted near Anderson's mill, on the south side of the Ny river. This place was three miles from the Court House. The Corps all as-

sembled near this point, except the Fourth Division, and the Nineteenth went on picket. About six o'clock the next afternoon, May 19th, Ewell's Corps made an attack upon Tyler's Division near the Harris house on the Fredericksburg road, north of the Ny river and in the rear of the Union lines. Birney's Division was hurried off to the relief of Tyler. Considerable excitement was caused by this attack in the rear, as the firing could be plainly heard by the Regiment. General Hancock galloped off and took command of the troops in the engagement. It was a sharp and short fight, and Ewell was driven off. This was the first engagement of the First Maine Heavy Artillery and its loss was large, but it acquitted itself with honor.

It was on May 19th that the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin Regiment joined our Brigade. It was a large and splendid Regiment and its brave Colonel, Frank A. Haskell, commanded the Brigade for a few hours at Cold Harbor the next month, where he was killed.

The Regiment remained on picket until the evening of the 19th, when it was relieved and marched to the rear. A welcome mail was delivered, and after supper the boys sat around the fires reading letters from home. Here we rested until the evening of May 20th.

The Union forces had now been fighting around Spottsylvania Court House for twelve days. The losses in the Regiment had been severe, as the following list will show:

CASUALTIES AT BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA.

(Including Po River) May 8th to 18th, 1864.

Major James W. Welch, wounded, May 12th; Captain Nehemiah Smart, Company E, wounded, May 12th; First Lieutenant George R. Palmer, Company I, wounded, May 10th; Second Lieutenant Henry W. Nye, Company C, wounded, May 12.

Company A.

Sergeant Leonard H. Washburn, killed, May 10th; George H. Hussey, killed, May 12th; Loring W. Willey, killed, May 10th; Charles H. Bigelow, wounded, May 12th; William Blake, wounded, May 12th; John Donahue, wounded, May 10th; Franklin Eastman, wounded, May 10th; Charles H. Groves, wounded, May 12th; Robert W. Groves, wounded, May 11th; Thomas J. Hurley, wounded, May 10th;

Amos R. Jones, wounded, May 12th; Stephen D. Morrill, wounded, May 10th; Robert Sumner, wounded, May 10th; Benjamin F. Shaw, wounded, May 10th; George E. Stevens, wounded, May 10th.

Company B.

Andrew J. Knowles, killed, May 12th; Edgar S. Batchelder, wounded, May 12th; Wilbur Crockett, wounded, May 12th, died Columbia Hospital, Washington, June 23d, 1864; Orson E. Crummett, wounded, May 12th, died, June 9th, 1864; Charles F. French, wounded, May 12th,; Corporal Washington Patterson, wounded, May 12th; Corporal Walter B. Shaw, wounded May 12th; Loran Waltz, wounded, May 12th; Benjamin F. Ward, wounded, May 12th.

Company C.

Asa Plummer, killed, May 12th; Sergeant Eugene A. Boulter, wounded, May 10th; Corporal Russell B. Gray, wounded, May 10th; Mayo Bickmore, wounded, May 18th; Reuben A. Huse, wounded, May 12th; Nathan D. Hoxie, wounded, May 12th; Charles Manter, wounded, May 12th; John G. Pierce, taken prisoner, May 12th.

Company D.

Adolph Bohnn, wounded, May 10th; George H. Day, wounded May 18th; Enoch Hollis, Jr., wounded, May 10th.

Company E.

Corporal Robert F. Staples, killed, May 12th; Thomas S. Blanchard, killed, May 12th; William J. Colson, killed, May 12th; Corporal John B. Campbell, wounded, May 10th; A. J. Curtis, wounded, May 12th; Harvey T. Herris (or Harris), wounded, May 12th; Alpheus F. Morman, wounded, May 10th; Parish L. Strout, wounded, May 12th; Corporal Fred A. Nickerson, taken prisoner, May 12th, also reported killed in action, May 12th.

Company F.

Sergeant Walter Jerald, wounded, May 12th; Samuel T. Blake, wounded, May 12th, died, July 5th; Michael King, wounded, May 10th; Addison D. Gilbert, prisoner, May 12th; Patrick Sweeney, taken prisoner, May 12th, died in Andersonville Prison, August 27th.

Company G.

Sergeant William P. Worthing, wounded, May 12th; Benjamin R. Marston, wounded, May 12th; William B. Small, wounded, May 12th.

Company H.

Martin V. B. Dodge, killed, May 12th; Luke T. Richardson, killed, May 12th; Corporal H. H. Murphy, wounded, May 12th; Corporal John H. Pollard, wounded, May 12th, died at Finley Hospital, Washington, May 29th; Corporal James L. Small, wounded, May 18th; Jackson Cayford, wounded, May 18th; Albert V. French, wounded, May 12th; John Huntley, wounded, May 10th; Nahum B. Pinkham, wounded, May 10th; George Tucker, wounded, May 10th.

Company I.

John H. Dixon, killed, May 10th; John Reed, killed, May 10th; Sergeant George E. Holmes, wounded, May 12th, died June 15th; John Emerson, wounded, May 12th; Edwin S. Jacobs, wounded, May 10th; William H. Hall, wounded, May 10th, died in Washington from amputation, September 5th; William H. Little, wounded, May 12th; Freeman G. Pierce, wounded, May 12th.

Company K.

Ezra L. Fowles, killed, May 9th; Philander H. Tobie, killed, May 12th; Corporal Lawrence J. Rourke, wounded, May 12th, died of wounds, May 28th; Corporal Weld Sergeant, wounded, May 12th, and died of wounds July 6th, '64; Charles Holmes, wounded, May 9th; Willis M. Porter, wounded, May 12th; Josiah H. Porter, wounded, May 12th; James R. Wallace, wounded, May 12th.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and mortally wounded	-	-	-	-		-		21
Wounded, not fatally -		-			-		-	56
Prisoners, two of whom died in	captivit	у	-	-		-		5
			Total				-	82

One of the lamentable incidents connected with the battle of Spottsylvania was the death of General Sedgwick. He was killed on the morning of May 9th by a Confederate sharpshooter. He had for a long time commanded our Division prior to the battle of Antietam where he was wounded. General Sedgwick had been offered the command of the Army of the Potomac one or more times but his modesty prevented his acceptance. He was a brave, conscientious officer, beloved of his soldiers, and in his death the country suffered a serious loss. General H. G. Wright succeeded to the command of the Sixth Corps.

When the army was preparing to leave the vicinity of Spottsylvania, the companies of the Regiment were commanded by the following officers, viz: Company A, Lieutenant Tucker; Company B, Lieutenant Hinkley; Company C, Captain Nash; Company D, Sergeant Lord; Company E, Sergeant Sawyer; Company F, Lieutenant Small; Company G, Lieutenant Farr; Company H, Lieutenant Garland; Company I, Lieutenant Carver, and Company K, Captain Bunker.

After Major Welch was wounded until June 18th, the Regiment was in command of Captains Nash, Fogler and Bunker. Captain Fogler returned to the Regiment about May 29th, and was in command only three or four days when he was wounded and left the Regiment. Captain Starbird during this time was on the staff of the General commanding the First Brigade of the Fourth Division. Captain Burpee and Lieutenants White and Page were also on detached service.

Whatever may be said about the plan and the results of the Battle of Spottsylvania, there was a series of blunders on the part of the Union forces in getting there from the Wilderness battlefield.

It has been the fashion for historians of the Civil War to write partisan history, to pervert facts for selfish ends. Northern writers have attempted to belittle the ability of Confederate officers and attribute Confederate victories to accident, rather than to skill and bravery. Southern writers have attempted to exaggerate their victories and minimize their defeats. It is the victor who counts the dead and writes history. To the conquered there remains only the painful regret. Surely we are sufficiently far removed from those perilous days and are ripe enough in experience to view the events of the war without prejudice and to record the facts of history with due regard to the truth. To illustrate what I mean, General Grant, in his Memoirs, states that during the night of May 6th "Lee's army withdrew within their intrenchments" and during the next day "showed no disposition to come out of his works." 1 On the other hand, General Lee reported to his government that Grant's army had withdrawn to their intrenchments on the Brock road. Both of these officers stated one side of the truth. Neither army had any intrenchments except what had been hastily constructed during the battle. Pray, why should General Lee accommodate General Grant by coming out from behind his rifle pits and allow the Army of the Potomac, exceeding in number the Army of Northern Virginia by two to one, to shoot them from behind the Union intrenchments on the Brock road? General Grant had stated before crossing the

¹ Personal Memoirs, Vol. 2, p. 202.

Rapidan that his "objective point" would be General Lee's army. He had no difficulty in finding the "objective point." As a matter of fact, May 7th was gladly accepted by both armies as a day of comparative rest.

The Confederate Army was successful in marching around our left flank and securing a strong position at Spottsylvania Court House, very much to our discomfiture. General Grant and other writers attribute this to an "accident." General Grant states, in his Memoirs, that "Lee, by accident, beat us to Spottsylvania. . . . He ordered Longstreet's Corps—now commanded by Anderson—to move in the morning (the 8th) to Spottsylvania. But the woods being on fire, Anderson could not go into bivouac and marched directly on to his destination that night. By this accident, Lee got possession of Spottsylvania." In 1879, General Anderson, then an old man, in a letter in which he said he had no papers with which to refresh his "treacherous memory," made statements which might justify the quoted comments of General Grant. Fortunately, however, we have some data preserved in the published Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. General Anderson's Corps was the advance guard of the Confederate infantry from the Wilderness to Spottsylvania. General Lee's order to Anderson cannot be found. The order of General Lee to General Ewell has been published.² The order is signed by W. H. Taylor, Lee's Assistant Adjutant-General, and is dated May 7th, 1864, 7 p. m. It is directed to Lieutenant-General Ewell, Commanding Corps, and reads as follows: "General Lee directs me to say that he has instructed General Anderson to put Longstreet's Corps in motion for Spottsylvania Court House as soon as he can withdraw it from its present position.3 He will proceed either by Todd's Tavern or Shady Grove Church, as circumstances may determine. The General desires you to be prepared to follow with your command," etc.

Unfortunately, General Anderson made no report covering this period. General Pendleton, the Confederate Chief of

¹ Volume 2, page 211. 2 Volume 36: Part 2, page 968.

³ The italics are ours.

Artillery, in his report states that the artillery of the First Corps (Anderson's) received orders to march to Spottsylvania the night of May 7th. So General Lee beating us to Spottsylvania would appear to have been the result of design, rather than an accident.

General Badeau and other writers from our side of the controversy have declared that Lee had the shorter route to Spottsylvania Court House. The shortest road from the Wilderness battlefield to Spottsylvania Court House is by the Brock road south to Todd's Tavern, and following the same road from Todd's southeasterly to the Court House. The Union Army held the Brock road on the night of May 7th as far as Todd's Tavern. General Humphreys, one of the most careful writers of that period, is honest enough to admit in his history of this campaign that the left of Hancock's Corps was two or three miles nearer the Court House than the right of Longstreet's Corps by the shortest route that the Corps could take.

The writer has been in correspondence with General E. M. Law, now residing in Florida, who commanded a Brigade, and temporarily a division in Longstreet's Corps. Under date of June 29th, 1904, General Law wrote as follows:

"We always regarded May 7th as a rest day. We were ready to continue the fight if you should attack, but it seemed to be a waiting game to see what the other side would do. General Grant's statement that General Lee showed no disposition to come out of his works on that day is manifestly an unfair statement, if he means anything more than that both armies were perfectly willing to rest on May 7th behind their hastily constructed works. General Anderson, commanding Longstreet's corps, was ordered late in the afternoon of May 7th by General Lee to put his corps in motion for the Spottsylvania Court House as soon as he could withdraw it from its position. I think we started about ten p. m. The shortest line was by the Brock road, which your troops held. We had the longer route. We marched by Corbin's bridge, on Shady When we reached the vicinity of Spottsylvania, Grove road. we found General Fitz Lee being forced back by the Federal cavalry, supported by the infantry. We placed ourselves

squarely across the track and from that point the lines around Spottsylvania developed."

The writer regards this statement of General Law as an absolutely fair one.

Now what was the reason that General Meade's plans were thwarted? On May 7th, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, General Grant issued an order to General Meade to make preparations during the day for a night march of the army. One Corps was to take a position at Spottsylvania Court House, and one Corps at Mr. Alsop's house, about half way between the other two Corps. He merely suggested to General Meade that Warren should have the advance and that Hancock should follow. General Burnside was to move to Piney Branch church within supporting distance of the other Corps. At three o'clock of the same afternoon General Meade issued his orders to General Sheridan and the different Corps commanders, and the start was to be made at half-past eight o'clock by General Warren down the Brock road, and his destination was the Court House. General Sedgwick was to march at the same hour for his position near Alsop's, by way of Chancellorsville. General Hancock was to follow closely Warren's Corps upon the Brock road, and take a position at Todd's Tavern. eral Sheridan was to keep the roads open and advise the Corps commanders of the approach of the enemy. He had a copy of General Meade's order. General Meade reached Todd's Tavern in company with General Grant at midnight. They found Gregg's Cavalry Division there, and General Merritt was a little beyond Todd's in the road to Spottsylvania. Neither Gregg nor Merritt had received any orders from General Sheridan. At one o'clock in the morning of May 8th, General Meade issued his orders for General Merritt to push his command on beyond Spottsylvania Court House, and for Gregg to move to the vicinity of Corbin's bridge and there to watch in the direction of Parker's store, over which road the Confederates would have to march to reach the Court House. General Sheridan was notified by some one of these orders issued by General Meade. When General Merritt started out to execute General Meade's orders he found himself opposed on the Brock road by the Confederate cavalry under General Fitzhugh Lee. General Gregg in attempting to reach Corbin's bridge also met with opposition, for the Confederate infantry were hurrying along by Corbin's bridge and on the Shady Grove road, having anticipated the movements of the Army of the Potomac.

General Sheridan complains in his Memoirs that affairs would not have turned out as they did, had not General Meade countermanded his orders to Gregg and Merritt. According to General Sheridan's own admissions, his orders to Gregg and Merritt were not issued until the early morning of May 8th, and in those orders he directed Gregg to move at daylight and cross the Po River at Corbin's bridge, and General Merritt to move down the Brock road at daylight. When we remember that at daylight on the morning of May 8th, Anderson's Corps had passed Corbin's bridge and was well on its way to Spottsylvania, and that Merritt moving three hours earlier than Sheridan had ordered him to move, and over the same road, was unable to make much headway until the head of Warren's Corps appeared, it does not seem that General Sheridan either appreciated the situation then or was willing to acknowledge his mistake afterwards. General Humphreys candid and scholarly review of this controversy is commended to the consideration of persons who desire to get at the facts of the case.1

The crossing of the Po on May 9th by the Second Corps in its movement upon the left flank and rear of the Confederate Army was a brilliant and strategic move. But the wisdom of that movement seems very doubtful, considering the fact that as soon as the Second Corps seemed to be successful, two of the Divisions were hastily withdrawn across the Po and carried to the left to make useless charges against the Confederate works, leaving the brave Barlow with his Division south of the Po to meet the onslaughts of Heth's Division of infantry.

Lieutenant-General Grant, when he took command of the Armies of the United States, and made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, did not contemplate attending to the details of the military movements. As a rule, he in-

¹ The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65, pp. 67 to 70.

dicated to General Meade, in general terms, what he desired, and that officer attended to the details of the operation. Through General Grant's orders, the various armies were intended to move like clock-work. General Sherman was to advance from Chattanooga, the same day that the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan. Orders were also issued to General Crook in West Virginia, General Sigel in the Valley, General Banks on the lower Mississippi, General Steele on the Red river and General Butler, commanding on the James river. It was intended that the movements of all these armies should be as nearly simultaneous as possible. Men everywhere acknowledge the comprehensive grasp and the executive ability displayed by General Grant from the day he took command of the armies of the Union. No one would detract from the world-wide fame and honor so justly his due. Whether the foregoing criticisms on the movements of the Army of the Potomac during May, 1864, are just, the impartial student and historian of the future must determine.

On May 20th, an event took place which those who witnessed it will never forget. A young soldier of Company K, Nineteenth Massachusetts, a regiment belonging to our Brigade, was shot to death, pursuant to the sentence of a general court-martial. This young man, when twenty-one years of age, enlisted from Boston in this regiment and thereafter deserted and joined another regiment. He was apprehended, tried and sentenced by a general court-martial, but, upon the urgent solicitation of his mother, he was pardoned by the President. On the 17th of May a circular order had been issued from Corps headquarters, requiring the summary trial and punishment of stragglers. While this order provided that testimony should be taken, it further directed that "no record need be kept of it." This soldier was charged with having deserted "his post and the colors of his regiment" at the Wilderness and also, May 10th, on the Po river. He was acquitted by the court of the charge of cowardice in the Wilderness, but found guilty of the charge on the Po river. This meant that the soldier's courage failed him and that he did not advance with his regiment. General Meade approved the sentence of

death and ordered that it be carried into effect "in the presence of so much of the Division to which the prisoner belongs as can be properly assembled." The soldiers of the Nineteenth Maine were spared the pain of witnessing this soldier's death. Colonel Charles H. Banes, the Assistant Adjutant-General of our Brigade, thus describes the scene and criticizes the wisdom of the proceeding:

"The behavior of this prisoner at his death-scene seemed to give a denial to the specifications against him. He walked unsupported in front of the firing party to the place appointed for the execution, and stood with his back to the grave and his face to the provost guard When the order to fire was given, he exclaimed, Oh, my poor mother!'

and fell, an example of military severity.
"Whether the effect of an execution for an alleged physical or moral weakness of this character is beneficial to the service, or at least is necessary to the preservation of discipline, is a disputed point. A soldier may act with questionable courage on one occasion and redeem himself on another. While there are crimes in the army that appear to merit death, the failure to perform duties from want of courage, however detestable the offense, is one that could be held up to scorn very effectually by the continued existence of the culprit in some position of disgrace, which would at the same time give the offender an opportunity to recover his reputation on some future occasion.'

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE NORTH ANNA.

The Second Corps started at two o'clock on the evening of May 20th for another movement by the left flank, General Barlow's Division leading, followed by Gibbon's Division. General Torbert with a small force of cavalry had the advance. Most of the cavalry under the command of General Sheridan was absent from the army, now on a raid toward Richmond. The Corps moved out about three miles near Massaponax church, and there waited an hour for the cavalry to get off. The men of the Regiment were supposed to have each fifty rounds of ammunition. Many of the men threw away all cartridges except what could be carried in their cartridge boxes, but they did not advertise it. As one of the boy's expressed it, "When I fire all the cartridges my cartridge box will hold, I shall not want any more; or if I should want more. I can borrow them from the dead around me." We reached Guiney's station in the early morning, marching by the old Chandler house, pointed out to the boys by the colored people as the place where "Stonewall" Jackson died the year before. Everybody seemed to agree that we were having an easier time because Jackson was dead. The line of march for the troops crossed the Fredericksburg and Richmond railway, and the Regiment hurried to Guiney's and thence south on the east side of the railroad to Bowling Green and Milford. Bowling Green, reached before noon of May 21st, was quite a large village. The stores were all closed and mostly empty, and the houses were all in a somewhat dilapidated condition. The soldiers broke open some of the stores and obtained a supply of tobacco, which they needed, and some other things which they did not need. The jail was broken open before our Regiment arrived, and a negro living there informed us that two prisoners, "a colored gentleman and a white man," had been released. The station at Guiney's had been burned

by the Union cavalry several days before, and at Bowling Green and at Milford the cavalry had left evidences of their visit. At Milford, a pretty little village, a train of cars had been intercepted and the mail intended for General Lee's Army was scattered around on the street. There was some fighting at Milford by General Torbert, but he had driven the enemy out across the Mattapony river, and prevented them from destroying the bridge.

One of General Hancock's orderlies was captured between Guiney's Station and Milford while carrying back a dispatch to General Meade. Around Milford there was a good country, with comfortable and commodious residences. The grain was up and looking well, and the corn fields showed the corn just coming out of the ground. There were very few white men about.

The Second Corps crossed back over the railroad near Milford station and marched south a short distance, and then crossed the Mattapony river. After following a narrow, crooked road some distance south, we went into position a little more than a mile west of the river, facing west toward the Telegraph road over which Ewell's Corps of Confederates was hastening south. This was a very hard day's march for the Regiment on account of the dust and heat, the distance being between twenty and twenty-five miles. The men went to work with a will and in an incredibly short space of time had constructed very strong earthworks. Barlow's Division was on the right of our line, Tyler's Division at the left, Gibbon's in the center, with Birney in reserve. During the night there was an alarm caused by some of the new troops imagining that the enemy was attacking them. Private Solomon O. Pease of Company E was taken prisoner on this date, and died while a prisoner of war.

On the next day, May 22nd, the Regiment went to the left of the Brigade and extended the breastworks in that direction, connecting on the left with the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery. About eight o'clock in the morning of May 23rd the soldiers fell into line again and left the intrenchments which they had been constructing with so much pains and started

south, General Birney's Division leading, followed by the Fourth Division, and then the Second, and the First Brigade brought up the rear. The orders promulgated would have carried the Second Corps to a point where the Telegraph road crosses the North Anna river. During the forenoon we crossed a small stream bearing the ambiguous name of "Pole Cat Creek." General Grant rode a part of the day with General Hancock at the head of the Second Corps. A little before noon the column reached Chesterfield. General Torbert had the advance and was skirmishing with General Rosser's Confederate cavalry. There is a creek running southeasterly and emptying into the North Anna a short distance west of the point where the Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad crosses that river. It is a hilly country both sides of the creek, and when the Corps reached the vicinity of the creek everybody thought it was the river. General Hancock reported to General Meade that his Corps had reached the North Anna at half-past two and his skirmishers had crossed. We could hear the whistles of the locomotives on the Virginia Central railroad, and some of the boys suggested that we might capture the train and start for Maine. The Second Division crossed to the east side of the railroad, and held the extreme left flank of the Union line. Some men of the Regiment were wounded in the afternoon from artillery firing from the south side of the North Anna river. The country was open along the entire length of the Corps line just north of the river and both sides improved the opportunity for artillery practice. The enemy exploded a shell among the troops just to the left and rear of the Nineteenth, which did fearful execution. The Confederates held the railroad bridge during the night and burned their end of it, the blaze lasting an hour. Further to the right General Birney drove the enemy across the river and prevented their burning the bridge in front of his Division. This was an ordinary country bridge known as "Chesterfield bridge," but sometimes erroneously called "Taylor's bridge," constructed of plank, with posts on each side, and having a top rail of one board six or eight inches wide. There is a place called "Taylorsville" a few miles south of this river, on the river

road. The bridge was from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet long. Captain Spaulding stated in his report that during the night of May 23rd, the Regiment constructed earthworks near "Taylor's bridge." He was not present at this time and received his information from others.

On the morning of May 24th a foot bridge was constructed south of the railroad bridge by the skirmishers in front of Gibbon's Division, and the skirmish line was pushed to the south side of the river. Two pontoon bridges were soon laid and Smyth's Brigade crossed about eight o'clock, quickly followed by the other Brigades of the Division. An hour later Birney's Brigades began crossing on the Chesterfield bridge above described. The Regiment, with the other troops, soon built a new line of works a short distance from the river. Smyth's Third Brigade was soon advanced in line of battle and drove the enemy back into the edge of the woods, where he was attacked with great fierceness by the enemy. The Nineteenth Maine was called for about four o'clock in the afternoon to help out Smyth's Brigade, and later the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Massachusetts were ordered to report to General Smyth. The Regiment hurried to the left of the line in the direction of a large house called the Doswell house. There was an old barn on the left, considerably nearer the river than the house, and an old chimney stood some distance to the right of the Regiment. The Aide who conducted the Regiment in its hurried march seemed excited and did not know just where we were wanted. The firing in front was pretty heavy and the shells were flying over our heads. The batteries on our side could not do anything to help, owing to the uneven surface of the ground. The frightened Aide pointed where he thought the Regiment should make its sacrifice, and disappeared from sight. The Nineteenth charged up the steep hill and came out on a plain in front of the Confederate works in the edge of some woods. There were no troops for some distance to the right of the Regiment, and none could be seen to the left. The enemy's works were not more than twenty rods away, and as soon as the Regiment appeared at the top of the hill, the men faced a storm of shot and shell, in the face of which no line of

battle could live long. Here the Regiment lost heavily and fell back over the brow of the hill. This was just after sunset. Lieutenant O. R. Small and the writer crept up to the top of the hill and endeavored to get some of the helpless wounded to the rear and out of danger, but the enemy kept up such a continuous fire that nothing was accomplished. General Smyth in his report of this battle acknowledged the assistance rendered by the Nineteenth Maine. The night before the Second Corps crossed the North Anna, Warren, who had reached the river shortly before Hancock, crossed without serious opposition, about three miles above the railroad bridge at Jericho Mills. The Sixth Corps crossed the river, at the same place that Warren crossed, to reinforce the Fifth Corps. Burnside's Ninth Corps, which on this day, May 24th, was formally incorporated in the Army of the Potomac, held the north bank of the river between the two crossing places. Stevenson's Division of this Corps was afterwards thrown across the river to reinforce the Union right wing, while Potter's Division was sent to Hancock.

There was a heavy thunder shower in the afternoon, followed by another the next day. There was also a rain storm in the forenoon of May 26th. These were the first rains we had had since May 13th, when in front of the bloody angle at Spottsylvania.

The Regiment fell back and constructed rifle pits during the night, and the next forenoon, May 25th, rejoined the Brigade further to the right of the Union line and built another line of works. Sergeant-Major William A. Wood was taken prisoner May 24th, while inspecting the picket line in the woods. He was a splendid young fellow from Bowdoinham, not yet twenty-one years old, and was liked by everybody in the Regiment. He spent many months in Andersonville prison and died recently at his old home from the result of an accident.

Strenuous efforts were made by General Grant to unite south of the river the widely separated flanks of his army, but without avail. Lee's Army held the south bank of the North Anna for nearly a mile, with both of his flanks thrown back and resting on natural obstructions. His right flank ran back

nearly due south, covering Hanover junction, and rested on an impenetrable marsh known as 'Sexton's Swamp," while his left flank running southwesterly rested on Little river. After the successful passage of the river by the Union Army, General Lee thrust the center of his army between the two wings of the Army of the Potomac, putting General Grant at a great disadvantage, and compelling him, when he desired to reinforce either wing, to make a double passage of the river. General Grant in his report simply states that, "finding the enemy's position on the North Anna stronger than either of his previous ones, I withdrew on the night of the 26th to the north bank of the North Anna."

One would naturally have supposed that General Lee would have improved this opportunity to strike the Army of the Potomac a stunning blow. It seems to the writer now, after the lapse of many years, that General Lee never had a better chance to inflict terrible punishment on his antagonist than on the North Anna. We have the authority of General Fitzhugh Lee, in his excellent biography of General R. E. Lee, that it was the intention of the Confederate leader to assume the offensive and attack the Union Army here, but a severe illness, confining him to his tent, alone prevented the carrying out of his purpose.

The army recrossed the river without being molested, on the evening of May 26th, and the Sixth Corps led the way for another flanking movement to the left and down the Pamunkey river.

It may assist the reader somewhat to state that the Mat, Ta, Po, and Ny rivers unite to form the Mattapony river. The Pamunkey is formed by the confluence of the North and South Anna; and the Pamunkey in turn uniting with the Mattapony forms the York, which empties into Chesapeake Bay.

The loss in the Second Corps on the North Anna in killed, wounded and missing was about six hundred. How the Regiment fared in this engagement may be learned from the following statement:

CASUALTIES ON THE NORTH ANNA. May 23rd-26th 1864.

Sergeant-Major William A. Wood, prisoner, May 24th; First Lieutenant Loring Farr, Company G, wounded, May 23rd.

Company A.

Levander Sawtelle, wounded, May 24th.

Company B.

Silas Dean, killed, May 24th; Moses Larrabee, prisoner, May 24th.

Company C.

Oliver B. Bessey, wounded, May 24th.

Company D.

Corporal Prescott D. Hinds, killed, May 24th; Augustus Coffin, killed, May 24th; Sergeant Charles F. Cooper, wounded, May 24th; Ford S. Hawkins, wounded, May 24th; Benjamin B. Siegars, wounded, May 24th.

Company E.

Benjamin F. Trefethen, killed, May 24th; Corporal James H. Shaw, wounded, May 24th, died in general hospital, June 8th, 1864; John Hartshorn, wounded, May 24th.

Company F.

Andrew J. Berry, killed, May 24th; Edward P. White, wounded, May 24th.

Combany H.

Joseph W. Gridley, wounded, May 24th; Charles B. Whitney, mortally wounded, May 24th (Muster Out Roll reports that he died in Vermont, June 17th, of wounds received at Taylor's bridge, June 12th, 1864).

Company K.

Elijah C. Butler, killed, May 24th; Newell B. Tilton, killed, May 24th; Samuel Mereen, wounded, May 24th.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and	mon	rtally w	ound	ed		-	-	-		-	-		-		9
Wounded,	not	fatally	-		-	-		-	-	-		-		-	10
Prisoners	-		-	-		-	-	-		-	-		-		2
								Tot	al	_		-	-	-	21

At about the time of the battle on the North Anna. Colonel Cunningham returned to the Regiment for a short time. After the battle at that place, he inquired particularly for Corporal Prescott D. Hinds of Company D. When he was informed that Corporal Hinds had just been killed in the engagement, he appeared very much affected and said: "I am very sorry; I knew his people well. His father was a leading citizen in our locality." This incident is furnished by George S. Perry of Company F.

Dr. J. Q. A. Hawes, Surgeon of the Nineteenth, in a public letter from Fredericksburg, under date of May 25th, 1864, makes the following statement as to our losses:

"In my own regiment, the Nineteenth, our number is now reduced to near one hundred muskets. In the terrible fight on the sixth instant the Nineteenth was badly cut up. Colonel Connor was badly wounded, in the left thigh. He is now at Washington, and is quite as comfortable as can be expected. Major Welch, from Augusta, received a flesh wound in the thigh. I hear that one-half of our Captains are wounded, and a larger portion of the Lieutenants. Of the enlisted men I expect to find merely a small squad as a representative, a few weeks since, of a noble Regiment. Surely this is sad to us here, but sadder to the dear friends at home. Our soldiers have fought bravely, manfully, and to the last, and those who are now called to mourn the loss of their friends, have no remorse of their conscience, that the defenders of their country from the Pine Tree State did not do their duty on the field of battle.

CHAPTER X.

BATTLES OF TOTOPOTOMOY AND COLD HARBOR.

The Regiment started back across the North Anna, with the Corps, at eleven o'clock at night, May 26th, and lay down to rest near the railroad some distance north of the river, at halfpast one on the morning of May 27th. A detail had been made from the Corps, which on the night of the 26th and the morning of the 27th had been destroying the railroad back toward Milford. Fires were built of the cross-ties and other wood, and the rails were pried up; the middle of the rails were placed over the fires until they were red hot, when they were twisted around trees and stumps. On the night of the 26th, a demonstration having been made by some of our cavalry above our extreme right to deceive the enemy, the larger portion of the cavalry, closely followed by the Sixth Corps, started for Hanovertown on the Pamunkey. General Sheridan had returned from his cavalry raid on the 24th. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th, the Second Corps was off, and at ten o'clock that night the Regiment lay down on the ground about three miles from the Pamunkey, and nearly thirty miles from the starting point. Those who participated in that march, after the lapse of more than forty years, will recall that long, hot, dusty and tiresome march. It was through a region of country that had not been devastated by the tread of hostile armies, except occasional cavalry raids. The visible supply of fowls and pigs on the north side of the Pamunkey was greatly reduced during that day, and at many a farm house reluctant hands passed out from their scanty supply, food to the hungry soldiers. How good that food tasted! When the men inquired how far it was to Richmond, the spiteful reply would be, given by the women, in their peculiar Southern dialect, "It is so far you will never get there!" On this march the Second Corps followed the route of the Sixth and kept near the North Anna and later the Pamunkey. The Fifth and Ninth Corps kept on roads further to the east and had a longer distance to march. The resting place of the Regiment for the night of the 27th of May was opposite a point on the Pamunkey, some four miles above Hanovertown. We were up and off at six o'clock on the morning of May 28th, and with the Corps crossed the Pamunkey river on a pontoon bridge at Huntley's, opposite the Nelson farm, a little before noon. The Second Corps was preceded by Rickett's Division of the Sixth, at the crossing. The Regiment marched nearly two miles west of the river and took its position with the Corps on elevated ground and began building intrenchments. The position of the Corps was between the Sixth Corps on the right and the Fifth on the left, and the right of our Corps was near a farm house said to belong to a man named Pollard.

The point where the Regiment crossed the Pamunkey is about eighteen miles from Richmond. There is a tolerably direct road from Hanovertown to Richmond, passing through Hawes Shop, Hundley's Corner, Bethesda Church, and Mechanicsville, crossing the Chickahominy on the Mechanicsville bridge. This road is called the Old Church road. The Totopotomoy and Chickahominy are lined upon both sides with a broad expanse of low, swampy lands and generally covered with timber and almost impassable thickets. In some places these two rivers are not more than six or seven miles apart. The Totopotomoy empties into the Pamunkey a couple of miles below Hanovertown, and the Chickahominy runs some four miles east of Richmond, and unites with the James some distance below Charles City Court House. The army had now come into a region of country where it was most difficult to manœuvre on account of the low, wet ground bordering on the rivers and creeks and their many tributaries running in all directions.

The Nineteenth remained practically in the position occupied during the night of the 28th until about noon of Sunday, the 29th of May, which was a beautiful day. Then we advanced a short distance and built another line of works. Evidences of a cavalry fight at Hawes Shop were seen in widely scattered dead horses and slight earthworks. At noon the First Division under General Barlow was taken out of the Second Corps line,

and advanced to the west in the direction of the Totopotomov. On the morning of May 30th the Regiment, with the Division, advanced about five miles in a southwesterly direction and built another strong line of works. The enemy's sharpshooters were very active and the men of the Regiment were kept pretty near the ground. Barlow's Division joined us on the right. Gibbon's Division was all on the left of the Old Church road. while Barlow's Division was on the right. There was a signal station all day on the Skelton house, not far from the right of the Regiment. In the afternoon the house was riddled with shot and shell by the enemy, but the signal station flag was kept in motion all the afternoon. The artillery firing was very brisk. Mortars were here first used from our side. The music of the Witworth gun was often wafted to us by the enemy. We received a mail at night and drew three days' rations, making five days' supply the men were supposed to have. Two men in the Regiment were wounded this day, and a large detail from the Regiment was sent on the skirmish line for the night. The Fifth Corps on the left had crossed the Totopotomov and was pressing on towards Bethesda Church. Burnside was in reserve. At half-past six in the afternoon of the 30th, heavy firing, especially of the infantry, was heard on our left along Warren's lines, and at seven o'clock p. m. orders came to Hancock to attack in order to relieve the pressure in Warren's front. The Totopotomoy in this locality was three or four feet deep and in places not more than fifteen or twenty feet wide. When the order came to attack, the skirmish line was advanced to the foot of the hill on the other side of the creek. The top of the hill was held by the enemy occupying rifle pits. Before anything more was done orders were received not to advance any further. Barlow's Division was heard, heavily engaged on the right. Two of our men were reported wounded during the day. The Regiment had been under constant fire all day from the sharpshooters. A welcome mail was distributed in the Regiment about dark. Early in the evening white rockets were thrown up by the enemy as signals, the import of which the men wished they understood. The entire Regiment spent all night on the skirmish line across Totopotomov creek. It had

been a hot, wearisome day, and there was some grumbling at the prospect for the night; but some one had to do the work, and the Nineteenth had been exempt from skirmish duty during the day. A comparatively quiet night was passed by the Regiment although the early hours were spent in cautious fear.

"Intoxicated by the drugs of sleep, my eyes are heavy and yet strict vigils keep;

Imagination fills my drowsy brain with scenes of battle, fields of maimed and slain;
The stumps and bushes into phantoms grow, and shadows shape themselves into the foe."

The Eighth New York Heavy Artillery and the Corcoran Legion during the last days of May were united to form a new Brigade, the Fourth in our Division, commanded by General Tvler.

On the morning of May 31st, the First and Second Brigades of the Division, preceded by a strong skirmish line, advanced to the top of the hill on the southwesterly side of the Totopotomoy, and about eleven o'clock in the forenoon charged, but the enemy's artillery opened with such effect that the line fell back a short distance and threw up earthworks. Colonel McKeen was in command of our Brigade. The rifle pits of the enemy's skirmish line were captured and held. Owen's Brigade, down near the left of our Regiment, was just west of the road leading from the position held by the Union troops to Cold Harbor, and was near a farm house, owned by a man by the name of Jones, and some distance to the left from the Skelton house, where the signal station had been established. The Cold Harbor road crossed the creek a little south of the Jones house. The Third Brigade of our Division, under the command of Colonel Smyth, was supporting our Brigade, and about two o'clock in the afternoon crossed the Totopotomoy and massed in our rear. There was a swamp to the left and in front of the Division, and the enemy had a battery of five or six guns in front and a little to the right of our Division, which swept the ground between the lines with shell and canister. Repeated orders were sent to the Regiment to press forward the skirmishers and line of battle.

We were under constant fire all of June 1st. The day was very hot, as had been the day before, and it was a long time

between sunrise and sunset. Frequent orders came to get ready to charge. The men were short of rations and cross. Nearly twenty wagons belonging to the Corps had been captured near the White House, the new base of supplies. About five 'o'clock in the afternoon a charge was made on the enemy, but as usual it was unsuccessful. When dark our Brigade was relieved by the regiments of Smyth's Third Brigade, and marched to the rear, recrossing the creek, and after some halts being made, marched back by the Jones house and nearly back to Hawes Shop, and then struck south on our way to Cold Harbor. All night long in the heat and dust the Regiment plodded on, frequently halting, and then turning to the right and again to the left, without seeming to make much progress. A Captain Paine, sent to us by Meade, was to conduct the Corps from the vicinity of Hawes Shop to Cold Harbor. He was not a good guide, because he did not know the way; hence the frequent halts and the unsatisfactory progress. The Second Division, leading the way, was followed by the First and then the Third. The sick and wounded were all sent to the White House during the afternoon of June 1st.

There are numerous little incidents connected with every battle, the relation of which goes to complete its history, just as the faint tint, or light touch here and there, form the finishing touches to the artist's picture on the canvas. On the afternoon of June 1st, and just before Captain Fogler, who was in command of the Regiment, was wounded, a forward movement was ordered. Our Regiment was joined on the left by the Fifty-ninth New York. The ground was uneven and partly covered with trees, and as the troops advanced they ascended quite a hill. The left of the Nineteenth and the right of the Fifty-ninth were intermingled, and a commissioned officer of the New York Regiment, evidently thinking one of the recruits of the Nineteenth was lagging too far behind, struck him with the side of his sword. Captain Fogler saw the act. His face was blazing with indignation as he made toward the New York Irishman wearing the shoulder straps. I had never seen him mad before. He informed the Fifty-ninth officer, if he ever undertook to meddle with another man of the Nine-



William H. Fogler, Captain Co. D.

teenth Maine, while he was in command, he would run him through. The language he used was quite emphatic, and if Captain Fogler were not now dead, and were it not that our memories are so treacherous, I should say that he swore. The officer sneaked off toward the left as though he believed our gallant commander was a man of his word. In the judgment of the writer the old Nineteenth never had a better officer than Captain Fogler. Long after the war, he served the State of Maine as one of the judges of its highest court until his death, and there, as in the army, he was honored and beloved

CASUALTIES. BATTLE OF TOTOPOTOMOY

May 28th to June 1st, 1864

Captain William H. Fogler, Company D, commanding regiment, wounded June 1st.

Company A. William Cotter, wounded, June 1st.

Company B.

Sergeant Benjamin S. Crooker, wounded, May 31st; William H. Churchill, wounded, May 31st; George W. Dwinell, wounded, May 31st; Charles H. Prescott, wounded, and died May 17th, 1865.

Company E. Nathan S. Winslow, Prisoner, died Andersonville, Aug. 13, '64.

Company F.

Rufus S. Maxwell, wounded, June 1st.

Company K.

Peter Lee, killed, June 1st; Leroy Farrar, wounded, June 1st.

In the intense heat, and through suffocating clouds of dust, the trying march from Totopotomov to Cold Harbor took all night, and the Regiment stacked arms at the latter place between six and seven o'clock in the morning of June 2nd.

The rear of the Corps did not arrive until in the afternoon. Our Regiment, being near the head of the column, had the most of the day for rest. We occupied, for the greater part of the day, breastworks which had been constructed a day or two before by the Sixth Corps. The Sixth Corps had been drawn to the right in line of battle and its left connected with the Second Corps. Orders had been issued for an attack of the enemy's works at five o'clock in the afternoon of June 2nd. Owing to the delay in getting into position, and the condition of the troops that brought up the rear of the Second Corps, on the march

from Totopotomoy, the attack was postponed until 4:30 in the morning of June 3rd. The troops of the army were arranged for the coming battle in the following order: Wilson's Cavalry held the ground from near the Pamunkey river to the vicinity of Bethesda Church; General Warren, with the Fifth Corps, stretched for a distance of some three miles from the left of Wilson's cavalry to the neighborhood of Beulah Church, his line being protected for part of the distance by swamps; Burnside's Ninth Corps formed the rear, as a support to the right of Warren's line; the Eighteenth Corps, under General W. F. Smith, connected with Warren's left, and then came the Sixth Corps, under General Wright. General Hancock, with the Second Corps, held the extreme left, and his line extended nearly to the Chickahominy river. The space between Hancock's left and the river was occupied by cavalry pickets. Our Division, under General Gibbon, held the right of the Second Corps, while General Barlow's First Division held the left, General Birney's Division being held in reserve. There was no massing of troops to attack a particular point in the breastworks. There were no reserves anywhere, except Birney on the left and Burnside on the right. Birney was never ordered forward to the support of the other two struggling Divisions of the Corps. A little after ten o'clock in the morning he was sent to the right, to help out General Warren. Direct assaults on well intrenched lines rarely proved successful during the war. In no instance during the campaign had the Union troops been successful in assaulting breastworks, except the partial success of General Upton's charge on May 10th, and the brilliant achievement of the Second Corps in capturing the salient at Spottsylvania, on May 12th. In both of these instances there was a heavy massing of troops and the assault was against one point only of the enemy's intrenchments.

Now the order was to charge along the whole length of the lines, some seven miles or more in length, hit or miss.

As soon as it began to grow light on the morning of June 3rd, the order to charge was given. It must be confessed that order was not received with much hilarity. It was the same order the troops had heard and obeyed almost daily for twenty-

eight days. Except in the Battle of the Wilderness it had always been a charge against strong intrenchments. If the Second Corps ever felt and showed its unwillingness to charge intrenchments, it was at Cold Harbor. There was some hooting at the Brigade commanders by the soldiers, but when it was ascertained that these officers themselves were going to lead the men, there was no further hesitation. The ground had not been looked over. There was no effort made to examine the enemy's intrenchments to find a weak place in them, if there were any.

On this morning the four Brigades of our Division were commanded by Generals McKeen, Owen, Smyth and Tyler, respectively. Tyler and Smyth took the front line, Tyler on the right and Smyth on the left, in line of battle. They were supported by the other two Brigades following in close columns of regiments. McKeen's Brigade, in which was the old Nineteenth, followed Tyler, and Owen followed in support of Smyth. The two supporting brigades were ordered to push rapidly forward and over the front line in column and effect a lodgment in the enemy's works, and not to deploy until they got over. It was about half-past four in the morning when the Second Division of our Corps started across the open field for the Confederate intrenchments, in the above order. The First Division, under General Barlow, was upon our left and constituted the left of the army. The Nineteenth, having Tyler's Brigade in line of battle in front, did not suffer as much as the front line. The country across which the troops charged was rolling, with an impassable swamp upon our left, and as we pushed toward the enemy's line of works, the red clay soil of the enemy's intrenchments soon showed in the distance. After their skirmishers had retreated from our front, their artillery swept the field. Still the men pressed on, and, struggling against the heavy fire of the enemy, pushed gallantly up to within forty or fifty yards of the Confederate works. We could see no men to shoot at. They were all protected by their earthworks. The Regiment pushed through General Tyler's decimated line of battle and deployed near the right of his line. Taking advantage of a little rise in the land in our front, the Regiment fell

upon the ground, and, in an incredibly short space of time, with bayonets, tin plates or whatever they could lay their hands upon, threw up a slight earthwork in front, sufficient to protect them from the enemy's bullets. Before we passed through General Tyler's line of battle, it had been forced back a considerable distance, and the ground in our front presented a most pitiful sight, with its dead and wounded. The battle proper did not last thirty minutes. When our (McKeen's) Brigade reached the front it was pretty well to the right of Tyler's Brigade. Many of the killed and wounded of the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery were in our immediate front, when the Regiment halted. None of Tyler's men penetrated the enemy's works except a portion of the One Hundred and Sixty-fourth New York, under command of Colonel J. P. McMahon, which Regiment kept to the left of the swamp, to which reference has been made, being thus separated from the rest of the Brigade. Colonel McMahon gained the breastworks, with the colors of the Regiment in his hands, and fell dead in the midst of the enemy. General Barlow captured some three hundred prisoners and three cannon on our left, but was unable to hold his advanced position by reason of the enfilading fire of the enemy.

Colonel McKeen, in command of our Brigade, was killed before the Nineteenth reached its advanced position. Colonel Frank A. Haskell, of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin, succeeded to the command and in a few minutes fell, mortally wounded. A Major from one of the other regiments then assumed com-

mand of the Brigade temporarily.

Between eight and nine in the morning, General Hancock was directed by General Meade to make another attack, in connection with the Eighteenth Corps, unless he considered it "hopeless." Fortunately for our Regiment, now in the front line and near the strong fortifications of the enemy, Hancock, knowing another attack would be fruitless, declined to order it. Between one and two in the afternoon orders were given by General Meade to suspend further offensive operations, to intrench and advance against the enemy by regular approaches. The Regiment did not receive nor require the order to suspend "offensive operations," for all our efforts had been strictly

and actively defensive for several hours. We were fortunate in finding a few fence rails by following down a deep ravine to our left. These were serviceable in constructing rifle-pits. The Confederates made an attack and attempted to drive us back a little after seven o'clock in the evening, but were repulsed. There was artillery firing all day, including coehorns. Whenever there was a chance to fire at anything, it was improved by the infantry and the sharpshooters. In the evening spades and other intrenching tools were brought up, and the men worked all night. During the darkness our position was advanced and a new line of intrenchments was constructed. After dark some soldiers of the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery crept back from the front where they had lain all day, in a hollow, where the Confederates could not reach them with their rifles.

Colonels McKeen, Haskell and McMahon, who were killed in this battle, were all young men. They had served as staff officers and won honors on the battlefield, before being commissioned to command regiments. They were warm personal friends and serving in the same Brigade with the same rank. Colonel McKeen's commission bearing the earliest date, he was commanding the Brigade. Haskell was Colonel of the Thirtysixth Wisconsin and McMahon Colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-fourth New York. Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles (retired), who commanded a Brigade under Barlow in this battle. is authority for the statement that on the night of June 2nd these three officers slept on the ground under the same blanket. They were talking together during the evening, and bantering one another as to which one would probably be hit first the next day. Within fifteen minutes from the time Gibbon's line of battle started, the next morning, these three officers were lying dead on the battlefield. McKeen was killed first, then Haskell, his successor in command of the Brigade, fell, and then McMahon was killed inside the Confederate intrenchments.

Major Mitchell, of General Hancock's staff, made this remark on the third of June: "Altogether this has been one of the most disastrous days the Army of the Potomac has ever seen, and the old Second Corps has especially suffered." Gen-

eral Gibbon, in his report of this battle, makes the following statement: 'From the 3rd to the 12th, the Division was occupied in perfecting its position and pushing forward works toward the enemy-constantly under fire, both cannon and musketry, day and night, losing some two hundred and eighty officers and men, killed and wounded. During these nine days, the labor and military duty of the Division were of the hardest kind and performed under the most disadvantageous circumstances—confined for ten days in narrow trenches, with no water to wash in and none to drink, except that obtained at the risk of losing life; unable to obey a call of nature or to stand erect, without forming targets for hostile bullets, and subjected to the heat and dust of midsummer, which soon produced sickness and vermin. The position was indeed a trying one; but all bore it cheerfully and contentedly, and constructed covered ways to water and to the rear and joked of the hostile bullets as they whistled over their heads, to find a less protected target far in the rear of the lines. I regard this as having been the most trying period of this trying campaign."1

From the 4th to the 11th of June, we occupied practically the same position. Siege operations were carried on and the Union lines were advanced slowly by regular approaches. The men of the Nineteenth will recall the deep wells that the boys dug, with somewhat artistic steps descending to the bottom, where a little poor water was obtained. There was almost constant skirmishing by day and during the nights there was frequently heavy artillery and musketry firing. The lines of battle were in such close proximity that constant watchfulness was necessary in order to prevent surprises. Both sides appeared to be apprehensive lest some advantage might be obtained by the other. In order to obtain water in any quantities, or to bring up supplies from the rear, soldiers passed back and forth in zigzag trenches covered for a portion of the distance. Loopholes were made near the top of the breastworks, through which the soldiers would insert the muzzles of their rifles and wait for a "good shot." The writer recalls seeing a soldier of the Regiment, whose name he cannot

¹ War Records, Vol. 36, Part 1, p. 433.

remember, after having fired, quickly withdraw his rifle and put his eye to the hole, to see the effect of his shot. In a moment came the dull sound of a bullet crashing through his head, and the soldier fell dead as a clod among his comrades. A Confederate skirmisher had correctly timed the interval between the soldier's firing and his desire to investigate the result of his shot. A few years ago, and after we had begun to collect material for this history, Captain Charles E. Nash wrote as follows: "I think there is an omission in your list of at least one casualty at Cold Harbor. I remember vividly a tragic incident there of a soldier—I think of Company B, whose name I cannot recall—who prepared his supper, ate it, repacked his dishes, was hit and killed by a sharpshooter and buried by his comrades near the breastwork, all within one hour's time." If this soldier was not Harvey C. Joice, of Company I, the writer cannot ascertain who the unfortunate soldier was, although he remembers the incident mentioned by Captain Nash.

There was one incident that afforded some satisfaction to the soldiers while confined in the trenches at Cold Harbor and which has never been seen in print. The writer made a record of the same at the time, and has a very distinct recollection of the fact. At times while lying in the trenches here, there had been an agreement between the two lines of battle that there should be a cessation of all firing until one side or the other gave notice. This arrangement had been carried out for short intervals several times before this incident happened. During one of these truces, the men were carelessly lounging about, glad of the opportunity to stretch themselves. Some had gone for water, some were bringing up wood and some from both sides were looking over the tops of the breastworks. They were all unguarded and most of them were in plain sight of each other, talking good-naturedly back and forth between the lines. Suddenly from the Confederate side, on a piece of rising ground, rang out the sharp report of a rifle and a man belonging to another regiment, who was bringing up an armful of wood directly in the rear of the Nineteenth Maine, fell forward on his face, dead. For a moment everyone on both sides stood in mute astonishment; then there was a sudden rush for cover.

Someone from the Nineteenth went and got a bugler from one of the Massachusetts regiments and directed a plan of surprise for the "Johnnies." Word was passed along the line for everyone to be ready with their rifles when the order "forward" was given by the bugler. Then the clear notes of the bugle were heard, sounding the charge, and for half a mile along the lines, the Confederates jumped upon their breastworks, ready for business. All along the Union line there blazed forth a sheet of fire from the rifles of the men, concealed behind their breastworks. Many a Confederate soldier dropped in his tracks, and those not struck by our bullets quickly concealed themselves behind their intrenchments. From our side came laughter and cheers; from theirs came oaths and curses. The shot that killed the Union soldier probably came from some irresponsible idiot who knew no better. Doubtless the Confederates regretted the act as much as anyone, but the friendly relations between the lines were somewhat strained thereafter.

From the 3rd to the 7th of June the wounded who had fallen on the first day, lay between the lines, some of them faintly calling to be taken away. The dead were unburied. General Morgan, of General Hancock's staff, concerning this dreadful interval, thus speaks: "It was understood at the time that the delay was caused by something akin to a point of etiquette. General Grant proposed a flag of truce as a mutual accommodation. General Lee replied that he had no dead or wounded not attended to, but offered to grant a truce if General Grant desired it to attend to his own. General Grant was then compelled to ask a suspension of hostilities as a favor to the Union Army. The assault occurred on the morning of the third, the first flag was not sent until the evening of the fifth, and the cessation of hostilities did not finally take place until nearly five full days after the assault. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the wounded who had not been able to crawl into our lines at night were now past caring for, and the dead were in a horrible state of putrefaction. Better the consuming fire of the Wilderness and the Po than the lingering, agonizing death of these poor men, whose vain calls for relief smote upon

the ears of their comrades at every lull in the firing." General Francis A. Walker, the able historian of the Second Corps, and likewise on General Hancock's staff, in his life of General Hancock, and relating to the same affair, wrote as follows: "During all of this interval, it was known that scores of our desperately wounded were lying in the narrow space between the two lines, uncared for and without water. All who could crawl in to the one side or the other had already done so; hundreds had been brought in at great risk to their rescuers; but there were still those who lay helpless where it was simply death for a Union soldier to show his head. Moreover, the dead of the third nearly all lay where they had fallen. If it be asked why so simple a duty of humanity as the rescue of the wounded and the burial of the dead had been thus neglected, it is answered that it was due to an unnecessary scruple on the part of the Union Commander-in-chief. Grant delayed sending a flag of truce to General Lee for this purpose, because it would amount to an admission that he had been beaten on the 3rd of June. It now seems incredible that he should for a moment have supposed that any other view could be taken of that action. But, even if it were so, this was a very poor way of rewarding his soldiers who had fallen in the attack or of encouraging their comrades to take similar risks. It was not until the 7th that an arrangement was reached for a cessation of hostilities, between six and eight p. m., for the burial of the dead and removing the wounded. By this time, most of the latter were past caring for. Hardly was the flag of truce over when another outburst occurred which soon rose to the greatest fury."2 Those who are desirous of examining the correspondence between General Lee and General Grant concerning this unfortunate affair will find the same in the Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 3, on pages 600, 638, 639, 666 and 667. While the dead were being buried between the lines under this flag of truce, the men of the two armies fraternized, talked and joked together, exchanged

¹ Walker's History of the Second Corps, p. 518. 2 Pp. 225, 226.

newspapers, and traded coffee and tobacco, as though there was

no war going on.

General Lee felt safe enough to withdraw Early's Corps from the intrenchments at Cold Harbor on June 13th and dispatch it to the Shenandoah Valley, on its famous raid to capture Washington.

In the early evening of June 12th the Second Corps, whose soldiers were nearer the enemy's lines than any other Corps in the army, was quietly and stealthily withdrawn.

CASUALTIES OF THE NINETEENTH MAINE AT THE BATTLE LOF COLD HARBOR.

June 2nd to 12th, 1864.

Company A.

Charles H. Tibbetts, wounded, June 3rd.

John Rice, wounded, June 4th, died Augusta, Maine, August 8th, 1864.

Company C.
Sergeant Alphonzo Nichols, wounded, June 3rd; Ezra F. McIntire, wounded, June 13th; Olney W. Titus, wounded, June 12th, died June 19th; Aaron C. Plummer, wounded and died, June 4th.

Company D.
Corporal Frederick H. Wyman, killed, June 3rd; Jackson Mixer, killed, June 3rd,

Company E.
William Jones, prisoner, June 12th, died in Andersonville prison,
August 15th.

Company H.
Corporal Frank A. Sherman, wounded, June 5th; Thomas W.
Merrow, wounded, June 5th.

Harvey C. Joice, killed, June 9th.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and mortally wounded	-	-	-		-		6
Wounded, not fatally -	-	-	-	-	-	-	- 5
Prisoner and died in prison	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
•			Tota	.1	-	-	- 12

Speaking of the withdrawal from Cold Harbor, General Walker makes this statement: "As the Second Corps turned southward from Cold Harbor to take its part in the second act of the great campaign of 1864, the historian is bound to confess that something of its pristine virtue had departed under the terrific blows that had been showered upon it in the series of

fierce encounters which have been recited. Its casualties had averaged more than four hundred a day for the whole period since it crossed the Rapidan. It had lost 5,002 in the Wilderness, 5,457 at Spottsylvania, 1,651 on the North Anna and the Totopotomoy, and 3,510 at Cold Harbor; in all 15,710. even these figures fail to tell the amount of the injury that had been sustained. Twenty-seven general and field officers had been killed or mortally wounded, and several times that number disabled. In a disproportionate degree, it was the bravest and most enterprising officers, the bravest and most enduring soldiers, who had fallen in the assaults upon their intrenched positions. These were the men who went farthest to the front stayed there longest and fell back most slowly and grudgingly. Moreover, the confidence of the troops in their leaders had been severely shaken. They had again and again been ordered to attacks which the very privates in the ranks knew to be hopeless from the start. They had seen the fatal policy of 'assaults all along the line,' persisted in after the most ghastly failures; and they had almost ceased to expect victory when they went into battle. The lamentable story of Petersburg cannot be understood without reference to facts like these."11

On the 11th of May General Grant wrote to General Halleck that he proposed "to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Well, if the line was to be a direct line, we were now getting pretty near the terminal station. General Lee stood resolutely facing his antagonist, and the last battle had been most decidedly in his favor. It seems very apparent that at first General Grant did not appreciate Lee's ability nor the valor of his soldiers. He had never met their equals in the West. As soon as Grant crossed the Rapidan, on May 4th, he wired Halleck: "Forty-eight hours now will demonstrate whether the enemy intends giving battle this side of Richmond!" That looks as though Grant half expected Lee would run. He evidently underrated the strength and ability of his antagonist and doubtless shared the opinion of other western officers that there was something lacking in the fighting qualities and endurance of the Army of the Potomac. Grant learned,

¹ Walker's Life of Hancock, pp. 228, 229.

however, before his campaign was far advanced that he was not fighting Buckner, Beauregard, Van Dorn, Pemberton or even Bragg, and that the soldiers whom Lee commanded were the choicest and bravest of the whole Confederate army. eyes were gradually opened to this fact. It has been contended by some of our historians that the "hammering" process wisely inaugurated by General Grant, made necessary the frightful track of bloodshed from the Wilderness to Petersburg. They further claim that the Union army could well afford to sacrifice two or three lives for one, in that campaign, and that the loss of 60,000 men in killed and wounded, without inflicting a proportionate loss upon the enemy, counts for nothing as long as we were successful in the end. Surely to admit that Grant could not avoid paying such an enormous price for his success is to concede the superior generalship of Lee. General Grant did not despise strategical or tactical movements of his army at Vicksburg or at Chattanooga. The continual hammering process he reserved for the Army of the Potomac. He was not too great, however, to profit by his experience. The blunders and horror at Cold Harbor, General Grant was manly enough, at a later time, to acknowledge and deplore. There were no other Cold Harbors in our history after the early days of June 1864—certainly none for which he was responsible.

Again, on May 11th, General Grant wrote to Halleck: "I am satisfied the enemy are very shaky and are only kept up to the mark by the greatest exertion on the part of their officers." In looking back now, after the lapse of all these years, we can see how mistaken General Grant was. Even after the battle of Cold Harbor, Lee detached Breckenridge to meet Hunter, who was pressing south, via Staunton, towards Lynchburg, and on June 13th, the very day we crossed the Chickahominy, General Early with the Second Corps (Ewell's) of Lee's Army, was hurrying north, to threaten the city of Washington.

After the Battle of Cold Harbor and before leaving there, General Gibbon, commanding our Division, preferred charges against Brigadier-General J. T. Owen, commanding the Second Brigade, for failure to obey orders to move his Brigade to the

attack on the enemy's lines, at Spottsylvania, May 18th, and at Cold Harbor, on the 3rd of June. General Grant sent Owen, under arrest, to Fortress Monroe, and recommended that he be mustered out of the service. The recommendation of Grant was approved, and by order of the President, General Owen was mustered out July 18th, 1864. He entered the service as Colonel of the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania. His residence was at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia. The Sixty-ninth was mostly composed of Irish.

"Paddy Owen," as he was called by the soldiers, was a familiar figure in Gibbon's Division. He was not very highly regarded as a commander. His burly form and red face were not seen any more by the Regiment after Cold Harbor. He was placed under arrest and reprimanded by his superior officers so often that it became monotonous; yet he was commended many times for his coolness and bravery in battle in the earlier years of the war. At the battle of Fredericksburg, Owen placed himself in front of his Brigade and led his troops in the charge on the Confederate intrenchments.

On the night of June 11th, our Division was relieved by the Third Division of the Sixth Corps, and we marched to the rear about a mile and had a good night's rest. The Regiment rested all day June 12th and enjoyed a good wash and a general cleaning up.

CHAPTER XI.

SOUTH OF THE JAMES RIVER AND BATTLES IN FRONT OF PETERSBURG JUNE 16-20, 1864.

A little before midnight, on June 12th, the Regiment, under command of Captain Nash, started with our Division, preceded by the First Division, and crossed the Richmond and York River railroad, near Dispatch Station; thence past Ratcliffe's Old Tavern, and crossed the Long Bridge over the Chickahominy at three o'clock in the afternoon. Here we rested and made coffee, and started again before dark. At about midnight we camped down between Charles City Court House and the James river. It was talked among the members of the Regiment that we encamped upon the farm of ex-President Tyler, who had died a little more than a year before in the city of Richmond. Tyler's place, however, was nearly two miles southeast of the Court House, and the Regiment did not march as far east as that. On the next day, June 14th, our Corps began crossing the James on transports, at a place called Wilcox's Landing, Birney's Division being the first to cross. Our Division began crossing at about halfpast three in the afternoon, and the last of the Division crossed a little before ten at night. Barlow's Division crossed later in the night. The Regiment marched about a mile from the landing into the woods and lay down for the night.

Wilcox's Landing is on the northern bank of the James river, and Wind Mill Point is directly opposite, on the southern bank. These places are twelve miles below City Point, thirty-five miles from Cold Harbor and twenty miles from Petersburg.

On June 15th, while resting at Wind Mill Point, the original members of the Fourth Maine Regiment having served their three years, were discharged. The recruits from the regiment, both present and absent, numbering 278, were trans-

ferred, on the rolls, to our Regiment. As a matter of fact, only seventy-five men from that regiment joined ours. The other soldiers transferred from that regiment, on paper, were some of them prisoners of war and others were in hospitals. The men of the Fourth Maine who served with us were excellent soldiers and an honor to the Nineteenth.

The men of the Regiment remained where they slept on the night of June 14th, until nearly noon June 15th, under strict orders not to wander away, and to be ready to march at a moment's notice. At about half-past ten o'clock the head of Birney's Division moved out on the long march for Petersburg, and the head of our Division started in the column about noon. We did not enjoy the confidence of General Meade and so he did not reveal to us the secret of our destination. Barlow's Division was marching on a road parallel to that on which we were marching. The twenty miles covered by the Regiment on this day made a very hard march. It was intensely hot, the roads were dusty, and the color of the soldiers' uniforms could not be distinguished. The men suffered for lack of water, as none suitable for drinking purposes could be found on the march. Many men fell out of the ranks, prostrated by the heat. About the middle of the afternoon firing was distinctly heard toward the front, and the troops began to close up. The soldiers' steps lengthened and the last few miles were rapidly paced off, amidst the dust and heat of that June day.

Between ten o'clock and midnight, June 14th, General Hancock was informed by General Meade that Butler would send 60,000 rations for his Corps to Wind Mill Point. As soon as these rations were received, Hancock was told that he would move his Corps by the most direct route to Petersburg. Meade ordered Hancock to take up a certain position there, to be determined by certain land-marks, and subsequently the position was found to be an impossible one. No intimation was given him as to whether any troops would precede or follow him, or for what purpose he was sent to Petersburg. The rations did not arrive, as promised, and the Corps marched off without them about half-past ten o'clock, June 15th. General Hancock was not informed that General W. F. Smith or anybody else was

to make an attack on Petersburg. He was neither commanded nor requested to march rapidly. Between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, and when within five or six miles of Petersburg, Hancock received an order from General Grant directing him to hasten forward to Petersburg and go to the support of General Smith, who commanded the Eighteenth Corps, and who claimed to have carried some of the enemy's works." At about the same time a request came from General Smith requesting him to bring the Second Corps to his support. The Corps was then rushed forward to the support of Smith's troops. General Smith was Hancock's senior in rank. General Smith had fooled away the afternoon and his Corps had been kept in check by a handful of Confederate troops. There is nothing very creditable in recalling this day's work. But for the blundering or incompetency of somebody, Petersburg ought to have been in the possession of the Union troops on June 15th, before sundown.

General Lee seemed to be completely bewildered by Grant's movements south of the James. On June 16th, at 10:30 in the morning, when the Second Corps was pushing its way into Petersburg, Lee, from Drewry's Bluff, on the south side of the James, telegraphed Beauregard, at Petersburg: "I do not know the position of Grant's Army and cannot strip the north bank of the James river." Even as late as 5:30 in the afternoon of June 17th, he sent a messenger to General W. H. F. Lee, at Malvern Hill, saying: "Push after the enemy and endeavor to ascertain what has become of Grant's Army."

The Regiment arrived in sight of Petersburg about four o'clock in the afternoon, but it was after dark when our Brigade reached the line of battle of the Eighteenth Corps. Our Division, under Gibbon, was placed in position after midnight. We relieved a portion of General Smith's Corps, and were somewhat surprised to find ourselves mingling with the men of the Eighth Maine Regiment as it marched back to the rear, while we were marching forward to take their places. The Nineteenth was placed between the Friend House and the Prince George Court House road. Smith had in the afternoon captured the outer line of works. General Birney's Division was

on our left. There was occasional firing all night. The skirmish line was pushed out in advance, but no skirmishers were called for from our Regiment. In a very short time some of the men were put to work strengthening the rifle pits, while the balance of them were soon lying on the ground fast asleep. The soil here consisted of sand and made a very soft and self-adjustable bed. On the 17th of June, the Nineteenth lay behind the works all day, although there was some fighting on our left. At the close of operations on June 17th, General Hancock was obliged to relinquish, temporarily, the command of the Corps, by reason of the breaking out anew of his Gettysburg wound. He was absent from the Corps from June 17th to the 27th. General Birney tried to fill his place. On the morning of June 18th our Regiment was moved to the left and advanced to the front line, when the men found themselves on the extreme right of the Third Division, commanded by General Mott. On both the 17th and 18th, Dow's Sixth Maine Battery, with its six Napoleons (twelve-pounders), was in the line on our right, doing effective work. It was a section of this same battery which did such splendid work on the plank road in the Wilderness on the afternoon of May 6th. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th, the Third Division, under General Mott, made a general assault on the enemy's line in the vicinity of the Hare house, which assault, as usual, resulted in ignominious failure. It was here that the First Maine Heavy Artillery, assigned to the Third Division May 20th, met with its awful and unprecedented loss, in sight of the Nineteenth Maine-During the charge of Mott's Division, we were kept busy keeping back the Confederate skirmishers, who were trying to get in on Mott's right flank. Colonel Chamberlain. Twentieth Maine Regiment, was wounded in the charge. His regiment belonged in the Fifth Corps, which occupied ground considerably to the left of the Second Corps.

A young soldier belonging to one of the New York regiments was brought back from between the lines of battle and died with a scrap of paper pinned to his coat, containing the following pathetic message, written in lead pencil:

"June 18,

My dear father and mother, sisters and brothers:

I am here on the battlefield wounded in two places-once through the bowels and once in the left shoulder, and must die within twentyfour hours. The battle rages terribly, but, my dears, I die for my country, and I pray God to take me to that home in heaven where I hope to meet you all. Good-bye forever.

TAMES.

To Uriel Markell, Spencer, Tioga Co., N. Y."

This touching letter was forwarded to the parents and the boy was buried by his comrades, with tears streaming down their cheeks, as they thought of the bereaved father and mother in the distant home.

LOSSES OF THE REGIMENT IN THE BATTLE OF PETERS-BURG.

June 16th to 18th, 1864.

Captain E. A. Burpee, Company I, prisoner, June 18th.

Company A. Joseph W. Anderson, wounded, June 16th; Charles H. Tibbetts, wounded, June 16th: Isaac W. Tibbetts, wounded, June 19th.

Company B.

James H. Hutchinson, wounded.

Company E.

Robert Carlin, Jr., mortally wounded, June 18th—died, June 19th; George H. Sylvary (4th Me.), killed, June 18th; Otis Colson (4th Me.), wounded, June 18th; Nathan Winslow (4th Me.), prisoner.

Company F.

Lorenzo M. Richardson, wounded, June 18th.

Company H.

Corporal S. M. Downs, wounded, June 18th; C. L. Ring, wounded. June 18th.

Company I.

Hezekiah Merrow (4th Me.) killed in action, June 18th.

The men got what rest they could behind the breastworks on June 19th and were relieved by a division of the Sixth Corps on the evening of the 20th, and marched what seemed to be several miles to the left. We encamped for the night near the Norfolk and Petersburg railroad. On the afternoon of June 21st we advanced, gradually extending our line forward to the left, in the direction of the Weldon railroad. The morning of June 22nd found us considerably advanced and behind shallow rifle pits which had been hurriedly thrown up during the night. They were not much protection, and during the forenoon the

men were induced to strengthen these rifle pits by the most persuasive of arguments—Confederate sharpshooters.

President Lincoln arrived at City Point June 21st, and in the afternoon of that day rode with General Grant to the lines in front of Petersburg.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF JERUSALEM PLANK ROAD.

The history of June 22nd, 1864, records one of the most humiliating disasters that ever befell the Nineteenth Maine. Neither the soldiers of the Nineteenth, nor the regiments of the Division and Corps, were responsible for the disgraceful results of that day. The fault lay with the officers in command of the troops. It appears that our Corps, temporarily in command of General Birney, was ordered to hold its connection with the Fifth Corps on the right and to swing forward to the left, using the right Brigade as a pivot, but to keep connection with the Sixth Corps on the left. Much of the advance was through woods and thickets, and it would have been slow work even if there had been no enemy in front. The Sixth Corps had necessarily a much longer distance to march before coming in contact with the enemy. The Jerusalem plank road runs nearly south from Petersburg, and where the Second Corps was manœuvering was about equidistant from the Norfolk and from the Weldon railroads. The Corps had all crossed to the west of the Jerusalem road. The Brigade was commanded by General B. R. Pierce, formerly Colonel of the Third Michigan, who had been slightly wounded four days before. The Nineteenth was in the edge of some woods fronting a clearing. The Division hospital was established at the Cheeves house, on the eastern side of the Jerusalem road and about half a mile directly to the rear of the Regiment.

The regiments of the First Brigade were arranged in the following order, from left to right: First Minnesota Battalion, Nineteenth Maine, Nineteenth Massachusetts, Forty-second New York, Eighty-second New York, Fifteenth Massachusetts, Fifty-ninth New York, Twentieth Massachusetts, Thirty-sixth Wisconsin and Seventh Michigan, the latter regiment being

near the Jerusalem plank road. The Second Brigade, under command of Major O'Brien, One Hundred and Fifty-second New York Volunteers, was on our left. The regiment on the extreme right of the Second Brigade and adjoining ours was the Seventy-second Pennsylvania. Firing from the front began to increase about two o'clock and by three o'clock in the afternoon, while our men were engaged in watching toward the front and firing, a Confederate line of battle charged along the rear of the Union lines from left to right, killing and wounding many and taking a large number of prisoners. The first thing the Nineteenth knew of the approaching calamity was the giving way of the Second Brigade and First Minnesota Battalion on our immediate left—the men of which did not run directly to the rear, but ran more lengthwise toward the right and in the rear of our Regiment, closely pursued by the exultant foe. The men of the Regiment had no chance whatever. If they desired to avoid being taken prisoners, their only course was to get far enough to the rear so they could face the Confederates and fire upon them. There had been no strong works built the night before. When the Nineteenth faced this sudden danger, the ground in the rear of McKnight's Battery was filled with Mott's Third Division troops, in a disorganized state, fleeing and followed closely by the Second Brigade of our own Division. Captain McKnight's men stood by their guns until the enemy came up to them, some from the rear and some over their own works from the front. calling upon them to surrender. The men of the Nineteenth Maine retreated rapidly a short distance and then halted in the woods, across an old wood road, under the immediate direction of General Pierce. The First Minnesota Battalion was thrown to the front as skirmishers. Three or four regiments from the Fourth Brigade here joined the Nineteenth Maine and the First Minnesota and advanced under the direction of General Pierce. Twice our line was pressed forward to recapture McKnight's Battery, but now the enemy were firing from behind our own works, and that firing was so deadly that it was impossible to accomplish anything. The charge of the enemy from left to right exhausted itself when it reached the Thirty-sixth Wiscon

sin regiment, which regiment lost heavily in killed and wounded during the afternoon, but more especially in prisoners. Of the six non-commissioned officers who constituted the color guard of the Nineteenth the morning of June 22nd, Color-Sergeant Preston J. Carter, of Company C, and Corporal Otis Little, of Company I, were killed, the former with the colors in his hands; Sergeant Wm. B. Sawyer, of Company E, and Corporal John Day Smith, of Company F, were wounded, and Sergeant John T. Frost, of Company D, and Corporal N. C. McFarland, of Company K, were taken prisoners. Three times during that afternoon the man bearing the colors was shot dead in his tracks, but another man would immediately catch the flag and bear it to the front. Not once did the old flag touch the ground.

Preston J. Carter was a clean, manly fellow, about twenty years of age. He came to us from the Fourth Maine, about the time we left Cold Harbor. He had borne the colors of the Fourth Maine, and when coming to our Regiment he took the same position. He was finishing his course of study in the Rockland High School when he enlisted in the Fourth Maine, leaving a widowed mother at home. He was an only son. Young Carter had been with the Nineteenth scarcely two weeks, yet every man in the Regiment who knew him came to respect him.

General Meade had become impatient at the slow progress made in the advance of the Second Corps, by reason of the left of the Corps waiting to keep its connection with the Sixth, so he ordered General Birney, soon after noon, to push the left wing of his Corps forward without regard to the position of the Sixth Corps. This was what gave the enemy the opportunity he was looking for. Then, perhaps, the left flank of the Corps, in its advanced position, ought to have been better protected by facing to the south some of the brigades on the extreme left of the Corps, to prevent just what occurred. It was openly charged and talked among the officers and men at the time that some of the officers at Division and Corps head-quarters were unfit for duty by reason of intoxication.

Official wrath had to be visited upon somebody, and so General Gibbon, smarting under a sense of mortification,



Corporal John Day Smith, Co. F.

relieved General Pierce, who was in no wise at fault, and assigned Colonel William Blaisdell, of the Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers, to the command of our Brigade. Colonel Blaisdell was from Boston and nearly fifty years old, but was a brave, faithful officer. He was killed the next day after assuming command of the Brigade.

That portion of his report relating to this engagement, made by Captain Spaulding, who had returned two days before and was in command of the Regiment on this day, is as follows: "At three o'clock in the morning of June 22nd, advanced to the skirmish line and commenced throwing up earthworks under destructive fire. Occupied this line until about two in the afternoon, when the troops on the left were discovered to be falling back. It was impossible to change front in that position, as the enemy in our old front would have an enfilading fire of artillery and infantry on our line. The Regiment held this position until the enemy were close upon its left flank and rear, when it was compelled to retire, losing heavily in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Regiment was then placed on the left of the line, which was immediately formed to retake the battery and works lost. Advanced twice with that line upon the enemy. The casualties on this day were very numerous. The colors fell three times, the men who successively bore them being shot dead."

In 1892 the writer went over the battle ground of the 18th and 22nd of June, 1864, in company with General Mahone. This Confederate officer commanded the troops that made us so much trouble on the Jerusalem plank road, on June 22nd. General Mahone was hospitable and presented the writer with a Confederate map of the battlefield, and made to him the following statement:

On the morning of June 22nd, 1864, my division and the division of Wilcox occupied the ground in front of the Second Corps, Army of the Potomac. My headquarters were in the rear of the ground afterward occupied by Fort Mahone. On that morning, General Lee rode up to my tent and sat on his horse, looking through his field-glass, where my skirmishers were quite briskly engaged with those of General Gibbon. During the preceding night and early in the morning of this day, Gibbon's skirmishers had been pushed out in front, and his line of battle advanced through the woods up to the edge of the clearing, which, in some places, extended to our lines. After finishing his inspection,

he put up his field-glass, and, turning to me, said: 'General, I don't want the Federals to advance any further in this direction.' I replied: 'General Lee, do I understand that you wish me to drive them back?' Lee

answered: 'You understand me correctly, sir.' And, having saluted me in the most formal manner, he rode back toward the city.
"I knew every foot of the ground in and around Petersburg. There was quite a deep ravine near the right of my division, which extended down toward and beyond the Federal line. I sent my scouts down this gully, asking them to report to me as soon as possible the result of their observations. General Wilcox, who was not under my immediate command, wished to accompany me with a portion of his division, My scouts reported to me that the place where this ravine came out into the Federal lines was not occupied by troops, but that the left flank of the Federal line was some little distance from this ravine. They also reported that there was a line of battle evidently pushing its way through the woods, a considerable distance to the rear and on the right of this valley. That body of troops was evidently the Sixth Corps. my plan at once, to push my division down into this gap between the Second and Sixth Corps, and endeavor to get into the rear of the Second Corps. I took most of my division along, leaving a part of a brigade in my original line of battle, and hurried down this ravine until I had reached the rear of the left flank of the Second Corps, and, as far as I could ascertain, without having been observed by any of the Federal troops. I hastily formed my division for a charge along the rear of the Federal line, from its left flank toward its right. I requested General Wilcox to accompany me, as a support, with the small force which he had. He insisted, however, that he ought to move farther to the right and strike some portion of the Sixth Corps. I confess, I was pretty indignant when he started on his wild goose chase. My appearance upon the left flank and rear of the Federal line was a complete surprise There was a regiment or two upon their left flank which were easily brushed aside.
"The Federal troops were willing enough to run, but the difficulty

was, they didn't know which way to start. We captured those who hesitated and those who could not run as fast as my men. Many of my troops stopped to drive the prisoners over toward our lines, so that by the time I had reached McKnight's Battery and captured that, the force of my charge was nearly spent. I pressed my troops forward, however, and I would think that I reached a point some ten or twelve rods beyond this battery. Just before reaching McKnight's Battery, Wilcox rode up, following the sound of my guns and trailing along in the rear, and asked me where he should go. I told him he might go to h-1, for all I cared. His troops had accomplished nothing. In the meantime, the Federals had recovered somewhat from their stampede, and I hastily gathered the spoils of victory and withdrew to my original line, practically unmolested. I felt, at the close of the day, that I had done something toward evening up the score which the enemy made at Spottsylvania, on May 12th."

From June 15th to the 30th, the losses in the Army of the Potomac were reported at over 13,500, nearly 4000 of whom were prisoners. The Second Corps loss was reported at 6600, and of this number about 2300 were prisoners. The reports do not show the losses on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 22nd separately. General Walker states that the Second Corps lost in prisoners on the 22nd of June, 1700 men. These losses would not seem so large if we had had any substantial fruits to show for them. Of course some damage had been inflicted upon the enemy, but nothing to compensate for our heavy losses. The list below shows how the Nineteenth fared on this day:

CASUALTIES OF REGIMENT AT THE BATTLE OF JERUSALEM PLANK ROAD.

June 22nd, 1864.

Second MLieutenant Lafayette Carver, Company I, mortally wounded, died same day.

Company A.

Sergeant Hiram W. Gage, wounded.

Company B. Sergeant Charles W. Hopkins (4th Me.), wounded; Charles A. Chandler, wounded, died July 2nd at Corps Hospital; Erastus T. Wilson, wounded.

Company C.

Sergeant Preston J. Carter (4th Me.), killed with colors in his hand; Alfred Keene, killed; Orrin Sargent, killed; Asa Douglas (4th Me.), wounded; Albert Grover (4th Me.), wounded; Albert J. Gray, wounded.

Company D.

Oliver Cromwell, wounded; Henry Martin, (4th Me.) wounded.

Company E.

Judah Cilley, wounded, died in Carver General Hospital, August 30th; John C. Pinkham, wounded.

Company F.
Corporal Richard H. Spear, killed, June 23rd; Corporal John Day Smith, wounded; Thomas Hefferan, wounded.

Company G.

Corporal Charles R. Powers, wounded, died July 22nd, David's Island, N. Y. Harbor; George F. Doe, wounded, June 23rd; Daniel B. Hanson, wounded; Corporal Orrin P. Smart, wounded, June 23rd.

Company I. Corporal Otis Little, killed; Corporal Harrison B. Bowley, wounded.

Company K.

Sergeant George E. Grows, wounded, died July 7th, 1864; Sergeant Stephen P. Trafton, wounded; Corporal Charles B. Flinn, wounded; Albert W. Bryer (4th Me.), wounded, died July 7th, 1864; Amasa P. Jackson, wounded; John S. Chapman, wounded, died of wounds, July 27th; John H. Williams, wounded.

PRISONERS.

Company A.

Corporal Perham Heald.

PRIVATES-Richard Allum (4th Me.), Geo. H. Baker (4th Me.), William Crosby, (4th Me.), died in Andersonville Sept. 12th, 1864; Benjamin F. Charles, John R. George, Sylvanus B. Hatch (4th Me.), Joseph F. Ingalls, George W. Jackson (4th Me.), Henry Leavitt, died Andersonville, Sept. 12th, 1864 (other reports state died Nov. 1st, 1864); John W. Meader, M. W. McManus (4th Me.), William H. Nottage, Joseph A. Overlock, Sanford B. Sylvester (4th Me.), Manuel Sidelinger (4th Me.), Bradford B. Wells, David Williams.

Company B.

Judson Dexter (4th Me.), Edwin O. Sanborn,

Company D. Sergeant John F. Frost; Corporal Levi M. Poor.

PRIVATES-Oliver Cromwell, died October 18, 1864; Joseph E. Clark, (4th Me.), died in prison, October 2; James B. Eaton, (4th Me.), Hiram B. Hoffses, died at Andersonville, December 27th, 1864; John Huzzey, John Jones, William F. Moody, Charles W. Merrill (4th Me.), Myrick Perham, John F. Russ (4th Me.), John A. White, died Andersonville, October 15th sonville, October 1st.

Company E.

John Carr, died in prison, September 15th; Augustus Campbell, Henry N. Tyzaac.

Company F.

Sergeant Philip H. Foster.

PRIVATES-J. C. Briggs, died at Andersonville, August 8th; Patrick Bray (4th Me.), N. O. Gowell, died Andersonville, January 11th, 1865; William Howard, Maxim Layois, Freeman Jones (4th Me.), Isaac Jordon (4th Me.), died Andersonville prison, Feb. 6, '65; Charles A. Wood (4th Me.).

Company G.

James Ballard, died Andersonville prison, Oct. 11, '64, erroneously reported deserted; William H. Jackman, Peter Lee, Alfred J. Marston. died at Andersonville, September 12th.

Company H.

Charles Prescott, died Andersonville, January 7th, 1865.

Company I.

Corporal Warren B. Thorndike, died Andersonville, March 20th, 1865; Corporal Alden W. Dyer, Joseph Boardway (4th Me.), Augustus Burgin, (4th Me.), died Andersonville prison, Sept. 11th, 64; Francis Kelley, Jeremiah Kelley, (4th Me.), died Andersonville prison, Oct. 28th; Andrew J. Miles, Francis Mulligan, Joseph H. Norton, Elijah Ware, J. B. Walker, Edwin Savage, Andrew Springer, G. E. Sherwood.

Company K. Corporal Nathaniel C. McFarland, wounded and prisoner, died Andersonville March 13, '65; Reuben Gibbs, died, Andersonville prison,

January 23rd, 1865.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and mortally wounded	-	-		-	12
Wounded, not fatally		-	-		19
Prisoners, of whom at least 18 died in prison	-	-		-	66
Total		-	-		97

Concerning the engagement of June 22nd, B. F. Fairbanks, of Company H, writes: "The Confederates made a sudden and unexpected dash upon us from the left flank and rear and captured portions of the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth

Massachusetts Regiments and a goodly number of the Nineteenth Maine. To save ourselves, we were obliged to fall back from our works. After a short time we re-formed, when a charge was ordered, and Captain Spaulding led us.- The enemy made a stubborn resistance, but was finally driven back over our works. I remember distinctly of seeing the cook of one of the company officers coming up to us with a gun in his hands as we were about to charge. He had been taking a little too much firewater and was full of fight. I noticed him a little to my left and I do not think he knew which company he was in, or where he belonged. I saw him afterward fall, mortally wounded. In this charge a ball struck my cartridge box and a minute later one struck the barrel of my rifle. The firing kept up between the lines until late in the night. The pitch on a dry tree, a few rods in front of us, had caught fire by some means and made quite an illumination. It was after dark, and this fire gave the enemy a little better view of us at this point. I heard some officer order a soldier to go and put out the fire, with a canteen of water. In obeying the order, the soldier succeeded in partly extinguishing the blaze. The same officer sent a second soldier to see what had become of the first. The second soldier found the first one dead near the tree and he himself was wounded before he got back to our lines."

Corporal W. S. Vinal, of Company I, who was taken prisoner on this occasion, gives the following description of his experiences:

[&]quot;On the 22nd day of June, '64, the Regiment was lying in front of Petersburg near the plank road, where the enemy made an attack on the left, broke the Union line and captured some 2000 prisoners, fifty-five being from the Nineteenth Maine. The most of them were taken from the right of the Regiment. We were marched to rebel headquarters where they deprived us of our haversacks, shelter tents and blankets—what I called putting us in light marching order. Then some of us who were captured on the right of the line were marched into the city Petersburg and confined in some buildings along the river which were used before the war for tobacco warehouses. Those taken from the left of the line were held above the city, and on the following morning we joined them. On the 24th of June we were taken to Richmond, where some were placed in Libby Prison and the others were sent to Belle Island, in the James river. This is where the boys of the Regiment were separated. I was confined with those who were in Libby, where we remained about one week. During this time we were taken into a room, a tew at a time, and searched for money or anything of

value, which was taken from us. From Libby Prison we were sent by train to Lynchburg. A few days before we arrived there our cavalry made a sweep down through that country and tore up about twenty miles of railroad track between Lynchburg and Danville, so when we got to Lynchburg we had to march from there to Danville, a distance of about seventy miles. We were given three days' rations for the march through and were four days making the distance. Our rations lasted about two days, so the last two days we had to go without anything to eat. We reached Danville the night of the Fourth of July and left there the 6th, arriving at Andersonville on the 9th of July. that time there were about twenty thousand prisoners confined there, and from that time on they were bringing in new prisoners about every day. The same day I reached there I was talking with one of the old prisoners, who told me he was from the Nineteenth Maine, I think, of Company F.1 As I remember, he said he was captured at Gettysburg, on the skirmish line, July 3rd, 1863. He was on Belle Island the winter before, and the spring after the stockade was built he was sent down to Andersonville. I don't know whether he got home or not. They commenced to take prisoners out of Andersonville about the first of September. At that time there were about 3000 men taken from the stockade and sent around to different prisons, and this was where our boys became separated. There was quite a number of us kept together, and we were the last ones to get out of the stockade. About the middle of October we were sent to Millen and placed in the stockade there. It was about ninety miles from Savannah. We remained there until November. I suppose the reason for moving us from place to place was to keep us away from Sherman's Army. We were taken out of the Millen prison about the middle of November and were informed that we were to be removed to Savannah for parole. We left the prison about eight o'clock one cold and stormy night, but remained at the station until nearly morning, when we were placed on the train and sent to Savannah. We arrived there in the afternoon, and then were taken a short distance from the station and placed in a field, with a guard around us, where we were kept until the following day. It was very cold. Eleven of the boys, those who were weakest and feeblest, were frozen during the night. The next afternoon we were loaded on to some platform cars. I now supposed that we were going down the river to be paroled, but the next day we brought up at Blackshear, about ninety miles south of Savannah. Here we were taken some distance from the town, near a stream. A guard was placed around the encampment and artillery was also stationed at different points. Here were collected about 6000 prisoners within this enclosure. One day they brought us tables and writing materials, took out 3000, paroled them and sent them to Savannah. Next day they took another thousand and paroled them. They did not send them away, but kept them The next day they put the last thousand, which they by themselves. did not send away, in with the rest of the prisoners. On the following day, the second thousand they sent to Savannah, and the first thousand they sent away. I learned afterwards they carried them to Salisbury, North Carolina. We remained at Blackshear a short time, when we were packed again into box cars and sent down to Thomasville and put into about such a place as we had at Blackshear. After remaining here for two or three weeks, one morning we had orders to 'fall in,' and we were compelled to march to Albany, a distance of seventy-five miles.

¹ This man was probably Corporal George W. Andrews, Company G; Eli Noyes, Company B, or John H. Estes, Company H.

From Albany we took the train to Andersonville, arriving there December 25th, '64. In this awful place we remained until the next There were about 8,000 prisoners in this stockade during the winter. The Confederates commenced to take the prisoners out again the last of March and send them through to Vicksburg. They sent through that way 4,000 and the rest of us remained in the stockade until April 22nd, 1865, when they commenced to take us out again. A number of the Nineteenth men came out among the last thousand. About nine o'clock on the morning of April 22nd we were placed on a box car and remained there until the next morning, when we were sent down to Albany, a small village about forty miles south of Andersonville. From there we marched through to Thomasville, about seventy-five miles from Abany, and then took the train to Lakeside, Florida, where we arrived on the 27th of April. That night a quartermaster came into camp and told us we were to draw two days' rations and on the next morning we were to be sent into our lines. We drew our rations that night, and on the following morning two trains came down from the city and took about one-half of our number and carried them out on the road forty miles to a station called Baldwin. They returned and took the remainder of us about three o'clock. We reached Baldwin about five o'clock and remained there about an hour. At last—Oh! at last —they told us to go, and we went without a second We tramped on through their picket line, which was about one half-mile from the station, and followed the railroad through to Jacksonville, Florida, a distance of about twenty-five miles. We went within a few miles of the city that night and the next morning went into the city. We were about as ragged and dirty a set of fellows as you could wish to see. We got into Jacksonville the morning of the 29th of April, remained there about a week and were sent home and discharged from the service. Many of our regiment—among them Corporal Levi-M. Poor, of Company D, residing at Agusta, went into our lines via Vicksburg.

"I have purposely omitted from this account the scenes of indescribable cruelty, suffering and horror in those awful prison pens. No one can ever know what our boys suffered, except the knowledge be had through bitter experience. It all comes back to me like an awful nightmare after all the years that have passed since the long

months of hunger, sickness and brutality."

This somewhat extended statement of Corporal Vinal is given because it is a fair sample of the experiences of our men, captured on the 22nd of June.

Another soldier of the Nineteenth, captured on the same day, writes:

"The first man I met on the inside of the stockade at Andersonville, whom I knew, was our Sergeant-Major, W. A. Wood. He looked at us as we marched into the prison, and, with tears in his eyes, said: 'My God, boys, you don't know what a terrible place you have come to.' You remember what a clean, neat young fellow our Sergeant-Major was. Well, he looked then like all the rest of us. I was impressed by the

expression of hopelessness in the faces of nearly all of the prisoners."

On the 23rd of June the Regiment moved somewhat to the right, where there was sharp picket firing in the afternoon, but no general engagement. Sergeant Richard H. Spear, of Company F, was killed in the afternoon by a sharpshooter while dividing up rations for the company. Sergeant Spear was a young man of education and promise and exceptionally brave in the face of danger. There was some terrific cannonading between the lines on the morning of the 24th, and by noon the Regiment was relieved. On Saturday, June 25th, we rested all day in the hot sand. There was heavy firing, both artillery and infantry, at night on the right. It was a very hot day, and the movement of the troops and wagons kept the air filled with clouds of dust. The Regiment, together with the Brigade, early in the day of June 27th, moved toward the left flank of the army and formed in line of battle. We were sent out in support of the picket line, where we remained until six o'clock the next afternoon, when we were relieved and rejoined the Brigade. On the 20th we again moved to the front with the Brigade and relieved a portion of the Sixth Corps, occupying the breastworks which they had built. Here we remained until July 1st. It was cloudy, hot and dusty. The Regiment was mustered at ten o'clock the 30th of June-the lists being made on old slips of paper. On the night of July 1st an attempt was made at dress-parade. It was a parade, but the men looked like tramps. The next day we moved about half a mile to the right and formed line of battle in support of the line occupying the breastworks there. We remained some time in this place. The only celebration of the Fourth of July consisted in throwing a few shells into Petersburg. was almost impossible to obtain water suitable for drinking purposes. On the 5th there was considerable picket firing, and on the 7th heavy cannonading to the right. July 8th we received the joyful news of the destruction of the "Alabama," the Confederate privateer, and the somewhat startling news of the invasion of Maryland and the threatening of Washington by the Confederate General Early, who had quietly withdrawn

from the intrenchments at Cold Harbor on the 13th of June and started northward for the Shenandoah Valley. The details for work on the fortifications were heavy during these days. The troops of our Division on the 9th of July moved into the works in the front, relieving the Sixth Corps, which had been summoned to take steamers for Washington to beat back Early's troops from Maryland soil.

On June 11th, 1864, General Burnside wrote to General Meade, complaining that one William Swinton, a correspondent of the New York Times, had written to his paper a libel upon the Ninth Corps and upon himself. He requested from General Meade the privilege of having Swinton arrested and paraded through the camps of his corps with a placard marked: "Libeler of the Press," and expelled from the lines of the army. This was a dose of medicine that had been administered to one Edward Crapsey, a correspondent of the Philadelphia Enquirer, five days previously.

Mr. Swinton was a scholarly man of excellent character, but quite free in his criticism of the generals in command of the troops in what he regarded as useless slaughter of the men. He possessed the art of compressing into a sentence or paragraph a bit of characterization that would long cling to a man through weal or woe. He had referred to Meade's "excessive circumspection" and written of a certain battle: 'Where, oh where, meanwhile, was Burnside!" He thus incurred the wrath of Burnside and, later, the hostility of General Meade.

On July 6th, 1864, Swinton, together with a correspondent of the New York Tribune, was ordered to leave the army, the order having been made by General Meade, at the direction of General Grant. After the war, Swinton wrote "The Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac" and numerous other books, and later became professor of belles lettres in the University of California. General Grant, in his "Memoirs," speaks of Mr. Swinton as having "surreptitiously followed the army." In the order expelling him, however, he is designated as a "duly registered correspondent."

Mr. Swinton is, concededly, one of the fairest and most accurate historians of the war. In speaking of Swinton's History,

General Hancock wrote, after the war, that he believed "that the Army of the Potomac had been fortunate in its historian and that Swinton's array of facts will not hereafter be surpassed in accuracy."

After the expulsion from the army of Mr. Crapsey and Mr. Swinton, many of the newspaper correspondents in writing of the movements of the Army of the Potomac would not make any mention of General Meade, by name, nor make any reference to him. No doubt General Meade suffered in reputation from the disguised hostility of many Northern papers. haughty, disagreeable manners were, no doubt, partly responsible for this condition of things. Early in the campaign, May 13, 1864, General Grant wrote to Secretary Stanton as follows; "General Meade has more than met my most sanguine expectations. He and Sherman are the fittest officers for large commands I have ever come in contact with." In the summer of 1885, when writing his Personal Memoirs, and on his death bed, General Grant placed on record the following estimate of General Meade: "He was an officer of great merit, with drawbacks to his usefulness that were beyond his control. * * * * He was unfortunately of a temper that would get beyond his control, at times, and make him speak to officers of high rank in a most offensive manner. No one saw this fault more plainly than he himself and no one regretted it more. This made it unpleasant at times, even in battle, for those around him to approach him even with information. In spite of this defect, he was a most valuable officer and deserves a high place in the annals of his country."

Charles A. Dana, in writing from City Point to Secretary Stanton, under date of July 7th, 1864, made the following severe criticism of General Meade:

"A change in the commander of the Army of the Potomac now seems probable. Grant has great confidence in Meade, and is much attached to him personally, but the most universal dislike of Meade which prevails among the officers of every rank who come in contact with him, and the difficulty of doing business with him felt by every one except Grant himself, so greatly impair his capacities for usefulness and render success under his command so doubtful that Grant seems to be coming to the conviction that he must be relieved. The facts in the matter have come very slowly to my knowledge, and it was not until yesterday that I became certain of some of the most important. I have long

known Meade to be a man of the worst possible temper, especially towards his subordinates. I do not think he has a friend in the army. No man, no matter what his business or his service, approaches him without being insulted in one way or another, and his own staff officers do not dare to speak to him, unless first spoken to, for fear of either sneers or curses. The latter, however, I have never heard him indulge in very violently, but he is said to apply them often without occasion and without reason. At the same time, as far as I am able to ascertain, his generals have lost their confidence in him as a commander. His order for the last series of assaults upon Petersburg, in which he lost 10,000 men without gaining any decisive advantage, was to the effect that he had found it impracticable to secure the cooperation of corps commanders, and therefore each one was to attack on his own account and do the best he could by himself. * * * * * *
For instance, I know that General Wright has said to a confidential friend that all of Meade's attacks have been made without brains and without generalship. The subject came to pretty full discussion at Grant's headquarters last night on occasion of a correspondence between Meade and Wilson * * * * * * * * This started the conversation in which Grant expressed himself quite frankly as to the general trouble with Meade and his fear that it would become necessary to relieve him. In such event, he said, it would be necessary to put Hancock in command."

Mr. Dana was at this time Assistant Secretary of War and was with the army for the purpose of communicating confidentially with the President and Mr. Stanton respecting the progress and outlook of the campaign being prosecuted by the Army of the Potomac. While the statements of Mr. Dana as to the hostile attitude of the officers of the army toward General Meade are doubtless somewhat exaggerated, yet they reveal somewhat the sentiments of General Grant and other officers high in command. Mr. Dana's letter is inserted here for the further reason that it shows General Grant's high estimate of General Hancock, the popular commander of the Second Corps. Late in July, General Grant addressed the following letter to President Lincoln:

"CITY POINT, VA., July 25th, 1864.

President A. Lincoln: After the late raid into Maryland had expended itself, seeing the necessity of having the four departments of the Susquehanna, the Middle, West Virginia, and Washington under one head, I recommend that they be merged into one. * * * It would suit me equally well to call the four departments referred to, a military division, and to have placed in command of it General Meade. In this case, I would suggest General Hancock for the command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Gibbon for the command of the Second Corps.

"Hoping that you will see this matter in the light I do, I have the honor to subscribe myself, etc.,
"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

It is evident that this recommendation did not appeal very strongly to the President, because he never acted upon it. President Lincoln was wiser than General Grant.

CHAPTER XIII.

BATTLES OF DEEP BOTTOM AND STRAWBERRY PLAINS.

On July 9th, Captain Spaulding, who was in command of the Regiment, was detailed for court-martial duty at the Second Corps headquarters. He records in his diary that on the trial of a Commissary of subsistence, General Barlow appeared as a witness for the prosecution and General Miles for the defense. On July 11th, Captain Spaulding states that Barlow appeared as counsel for another officer, who was being tried by this august court, and made a most eloquent plea in his behalf.

Just before daylight on the morning of the 12th, the Corps withdrew from the trenches and marched to the left and rear for nearly a mile and closed en masse, near the Williams house. It was terribly hot. We remained there all day and until the next morning, when the Brigade marched about a mile and a half to the right and formed in two lines. Here we laid out a regular camp and policed the grounds. Stumps were cut down and the company streets leveled. The men wondered whether this laborious task was imposed upon them for the purpose of preparing a camp in which to stop some time and rest, or whether it was done simply to keep them at work and prevent them from resting. When we moved, a couple of days later, the opinion seemed to be unanimous that it was done for the latter purpose.

On the night of the 15th there was a light rain, which cooled the air after a long hot spell. Constant complaint was made by the men that they were unable to obtain decent drinking water. On Sunday, July 17th, religious services were held in the evening. On this day a First Lieutenant's commission in Company A, was received by Second Lieutenant Henry Sewell. Captain

Parsons, who was wounded in the Wilderness, returned to us on July 20th and reported for duty. The Regiment moved frequently, first to the right and then to the left, working on an unfinished fort here and building breastworks there, until the 26th. Captain Whitehouse returned for duty with his Company on July 23rd, having been wounded on the 6th of May.

The Regiment, with the Corps, started late Tuesday afternoon, July 26th, and marched all night toward the right. The head of the column arrived at the pontoon bridge over the Appomattox at Point of Rocks at ten o'clock at night. We crossed the river at sunrise on the morning of July 27th and proceeded toward Deep Bottom, leaving Bermuda Hundred on the right. Barlow's Division, which was at the head of the column, reached the lower of the two pontoon bridges at the northern part of Jones' Neck at about three o'clock in the morning. This territory over which we marched between the Appomattox and James rivers was ground occupied by Butler's Army. General Grant said that, by reason of its position, Butler's command was as useless for offensive operations "as if it had been in a bottle, strongly corked."

There were two bridges across the James river, one above and one below Bailey's creek. This creek is five or six miles long, runs due south and empties into the James. The Second Corps crossed the lower bridge at six or seven o'clock in the morning. The pontoon bridge over which we crossed was thickly covered with hay, to prevent the enemy from hearing the tramp of the horses' feet and the wheels of the artillery.

Captain Spaulding, in his official report as the commanding officer of the Regiment, states that, after crossing the river early on the morning of July 27th," the Regiment was soon after deployed as skirmishers and, advancing nearly a mile through the woods, met and engaged the enemy. Was relieved and rejoined the Brigade after dark. The two following days the Regiment did not meet the enemy, but was employed in building breastworks and throwing up earthworks." Our position on the 27th was on the left of the Corps line, with Barlow on our immediate right. In the morning of July 28th our Division was relieved by a portion of the Eighteenth Corps and marched

to the right, in support of General Sheridan. Our left was then on the New Market and Long Bridge road. Sheridan drove the enemy from his front, so we had no serious work to do.

During the 27th and 28th of July, the gunboat "Mendota" did very effective work, firing over our lines fifteen-inch shells. These projectiles generally landed where they were most needed and kept the "Johnnies" sidestepping in a very lively manner.

Our only loss in the engagement at Deep Bottom, July 25th to 28th, was Lewis Ordway, (4th Me.), of Company A, who was mortally wounded and died July 28th.

This is sometimes called the First Deep Bottom engagement, inasmuch as the battle of Strawberry Plains, fought the middle of August, 1864, is often called the Battle of Deep Bottom.

By this expedition to the north side of the James, Grant hoped that Hancock and Sheridan might together break through the enemy's lines and attempt to capture Richmond by a sudden dash. If we failed in that, it was believed that the demonstration would draw a large force from Lee's army to the north side of the James, and thus prepare the way for exploding Burnside's mine in front of Petersburg. In one way the movement was a success. More than one-half of the Confederate army was drawn to the north side of the James river. General Grant rode along our line on the afternoon of July 27th. The First Division captured a few prisoners and four splendid twenty-pound Parrotts, with their caissons. This was regarded as a pretty good exchange for McKnight's guns, captured from us on the Jerusalem plank road. The loss of the Second Corps on this expedition was some less than two hundred, of which forty-five occurred in our Division.

We recrossed the James on the night of July 29th and marched all night, arriving in the rear of the Eighteenth Corps, in front of Petersburg, early in the morning of July 30th. The Nineteenth saw from a distance the explosion of the "Burnside mine." We could see the dirt, smoke and debris in the air and hear the crashing roar of the artillery. That was all. A kind Providence kept the Second Corps out of this day's disgrace. At dark we moved back to the same position we had occupied

before starting for Deep Bottom. The Regiment remained here until Friday, August 12th, heavy details being made daily for fatigue duty.

August 4th was National Fast day, and no unnecessary work was done on that day. On Sunday, August 7th, the Nineteenth attended religious services at Division headquarters. A single regiment of seventy-five or a hundred tired, dirty soldiers would not inspire much enthusiasm for a Chaplain's sermon, so it came about that religious services were frequently held at Division or Brigade headquarters.

There is not much pleasure in describing our second expedition to Deep Bottom. It is now conceded by all that it was planned through a misconception of the facts and executed without adequate preparation. As one of the men expressed it, we "lit out" at three o'clock in the afternoon of August 12th and, after a hard march, our Corps arrived at City Point at ten o'clock, and bivouacked for the night. At four o'clock in the afternoon of August 13th, all of the infantry of the Second Corps, with the intention of deceiving the enemy, embarked on board of transports. The idea was to encourage the belief that we were going to Washington, and that was what General Grant wanted the "Johnnies" to think. The "Daniel Webster," "Prometheus," "Columbia," and "City of Albany" were among the steamers on which we embarked. Having gone down the James river about five miles, we then, at ten o'clock at night, turned and steamed up again to Deep Bottom. It was a terribly hot night and the mosquitoes were distressingly thick. The men of the Regiment who were present in this expedition may forget battles and the details of campaigns, but they will always remember the experiences of this night and the scorching heat of the next day. The men could neither sleep nor rest. The transports arrived at Jones' Neck near Deep Bottom, just before daylight on Sunday morning, the 14th of August.

Engineers or quartermasters or somebody else had forgotten that it would not be the proper thing for the soldiers to jump into the James river and swim ashore. The tide had gone out, the water was low and one of the larger steamers grounded. Many of the transports were ill-adapted to this use. A few light-draught river steamers would have been of great service at this time. No wharf or platform had been constructed upon which the troops could land. One of the smaller steamers was run close to the shore and used as a sort of a bridge over which some of the soldiers from the larger steamers landed. Some time from six to seven o'clock, our Division, now under command of Colonel Thomas A. Smyth, went ashore in sight of the enemy's scouts, on the other side of Jones' Neck toward Chapin's Bluff. Well, the men felt a good deal like boys who had stolen around and come up to the old farmer's melon patch from the rear and saw the farmer, with a bulldog and shotgun, calmly looking over the fence into their faces and wearing a smile that was not reassuring.

General Birney, who was in command of the Tenth Corps, was operating with his troops on the west side of Bailey's creek. He broke through a portion of the enemy's line and captured four guns and some prisoners. He crossed to the east side of

the creek on the 15th and joined Hancock's forces.

After a short stop at the landing place, we marched across Strawberry Plains toward the New Market road. The old Pottery, where the Regiment was a little more than two weeks before, was on our left. Here the Regiment formed in line of battle and remained until afternoon. The heat was simply suffocating. For forty successive days no rain of any account had fallen. Springs had dried up and the land was parched and dry. Clouds of dust were raised by the tramping soldiers, and everything partook of the color of the soil. As the Nineteenth pushed out toward the New Market road, men dead and men dying from sunstroke were lying by the sides of the road.

A little after noon our Brigade was sent to help out General Barlow. The Regiments of the Brigade were massed in a cornfield, near an old roadway that led into the New Market road. A portion of Barlow's Division had been ordered forward and had been driven back by the enemy. General Barlow had command now of both the First and Second Divisions. After he was unable to accomplish anything with his own Division, he ordered up our Brigade, now commanded by Colonel Macy, of the Twentieth Massachusetts, to make an assault on the enemy's

line. This attack upon the enemy was near Fussell's Mill. General Hancock in his report states that he expected Barlow to attack with the greater portion of his two Divisions. Instead of doing that, and after his own Division had failed him, he ordered our small Brigade to attack the enemy's line. The following description of this charge is thus recorded in Captain Spaulding's diary:

"In making this charge, it appeared that our losses were fearful. There was a deep gulch between the point of starting and the enemy's line. The hills on each side were very steep. These hills were covered with running blackberry vines, which tripped the men in running down hill, causing very many of them to fall. At that time it was thought that all of these men were killed or wounded by the fire of the enemy. At the bottom, two ditches or streams ran along, about four rods apart, The Nineteenth Maine and First Minnesota crossed the first and advanced to the second, which was right under the enemy's works. We saw nothing all day long of any general or staff officers. After dark, I directed Captain Parsons to go back to the other ditch and down that to the left to find the Brigade. He did so and went on until he reached hearing distance of the enemy, and found that the Brigade had retired without rendering us notice or orders. The Nineteenth Maine and First Minnesota then retired to within the new lines, and late at night found the Brigade."

Captain Spaulding, in his official report of the Battle of Strawberry Plains, commends "the bravery and noble daring of Sergeant Clarendon W. Gray, Color-Sergeant of the Regiment." Sergeant Gray was from Stockton, entering the service in 1861, when eighteen years of age, in Company I, Fourth Maine Regiment, and two months before this battle was transferred to the Nineteenth. He was promoted, December 2nd, 1864, to be Second Lieutenant of Company B.

Captain Parsons, in "Maine at Gettysburg," thus describes the movements of the Regiment during this expedition:

F "Toward night of the 13th it went on board transports, which dropped down the river a few miles and lay at anchor until in the night, whenthey turned and steamed up river to Strawberry Plains, where early in the morning of the 14th it disembarked and marched to Deep Bottom; after considerable delay it formed line of battle along Bailey's creek at right angles to the river, the Tenth Corps on the left. The Nineteenth formed the extreme right of the Second Corps, reaching Fassett's mill with Gregg's Cavalry Division on the right flank. General Barlow, who was to make the attack, as he was desirous of winning promotion, had been placed in command of the First and Second Divisions of the Second Corps. He had succeeded in getting only the extreme right Brigade in position when the attack was ordered. The line was formed just back of the crest of a ridge; in front was a deep

ravine, through which flowed the creek below the mill. The enemy was posted in rifle-pits on the opposite crest. Colonel Macy, who commanded the Brigade, remaining on his horse, on ground where no officer could go mounted, was soon injured by the stumbling of his horse and taken to the rear. The command to charge having been given, the Brigade advanced double-quick; the left soon entered a heavy timber, the right moving over the crest, down the open bluff, across the creek, where it was obstructed by a thicket of underbrush so dense that a single man could not penetrate without difficulty. The only opening through this thicket was a narrow cart-road. The Regiment halted immediately under the rifle-pits of the enemy, where it remained until after dark not receiving any communication from general or staff-officers. Finding itself deserted by the troops on its lett, without orders it withdrew by the right flank across the mill-dam and joined its Division in the rear. On the 18th it was under a severe artillery fire when two attacks were made by the enemy on on our line."

General Barlow, who commanded the right portion of the line, thus complains of the soldiers :

"None of the troops that came under my observation that day behaved with their usual vigor and gallantry under fire."

He distinctly states in his report that his own Division would not do his bidding, and then adds:

"Therefore, I ordered the First Brigade of the Second Division to advance upon the works."

In this charge, Major Patten, commanding the Twentieth Massachusetts, was mortally wounded. The Regiment on subsequent days was not engaged, but was under severe artillery fire.

A Brigade of cavalry, including the First Maine, under command of General Irvin Gregg, did some brilliant work on August 16th on our right. They charged in column of fours across the creek, capturing the enemy's intrenchments, and chased the "Johnnies" up the Charles City road to White Tavern, about six miles from Richmond. The Confederate General Chambliss was killed in this engagement, and his body was buried by our men. Under a flag of truce, the enemy subsequently carried the body of General Chambliss within its own lines.

While waiting in this locality, some of the boys had a genuine feast on apples and green corn.

Colonel Chaplin, of the First Maine Heavy Artillery, was mortally wounded on the picket line on the 17th of August—probably shot by a Confederate sharpshooter. General De

Trobriand, his Brigade commander, subsequently stated that Colonel Chaplin was struck "a mortal blow" on the 18th of June, at Petersburg, by the useless "butchery" of his Regiment. When Colonel Chaplin saw his men "sacrificed under his eyes by a fantasy as deadly as useless, a melancholy discouragement took hold of him." He was a brave officer and greatly loved by his Regiment.

During the night of the 16th, General Grant ordered a fleet of steamers from City Point to Deep Bottom. These steamers returned to City Point before daylight on the following morning. The object of this display was to convey the impression to the enemy that the Union force was withdrawing and induce him to come out of his works and attack. The *ruse* was not successful. The troops opposed to the Union forces were the Divisions of Field, Wilcox and Mahone, with Hampton's and W. H. F. Lee's Cavalry Divisions. At the same time that General Hancock was operating north of the James, General Warren was pushing for the right flank of the Confederate army on the Weldon railroad. These movements kept General Lee guessing as to where the next attempt would be made on his widely extended lines.

At dark on August 20th, we started back across the James, our Division leading. We crossed the upper pontoon bridge and moved on toward Petersburg.

The loss of the Second Corps in this expedition was reported as 915 killed, wounded and missing. This engagement is sometimes called the "Battle of Strawberry Plains," and sometimes "Deep Bottom." Strawberry Plains covers quite an extent of territory somewhat nearer the James than the place where the severest fighting had occurred. It was nearer the battlefield, however, than Deep Bottom. Shortly before the close of the war, General Meade issued General Order No. 10, from headquarters, Army of the Potomac, prescribing the battles each regiment would be entitled to place upon its flags. Among the names of the battles in which it had "borne a meritorious part," the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers was ordered to inscribe upon the colors of the Regiment the battle of "Strawberry Plains." The last engagement described in this narrative

is the only battle that can properly be designated by that name.

This engagement at Strawberry Plains was the last in which General D. B. Birney figured. He entered the service in April, 1861, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twenty-Third Pennsylvania Infantry, and was promoted through the successive grades, and became a Major-General before the Battle of Gettysburg. In the Battle of Strawberry Plains, he was in command of the Tenth Corps, to which position he was assigned on the 23rd of July. General Birney started out in the beginning of the Wilderness campaign as commander of the Third Division. Second Army Corps. Once or twice he had been temporarily in command of the Second Corps. He was regarded as an able and successful Division commander. Brigadier-General William Birney, a brother of David B., commanded a Brigade of colored troops in the Tenth Corps. In connection with General Terry, he had advanced his Brigade against the enemy's works above Fussell's mill and carried them, but the troops were unable to hold them for any great length of time.

These brothers were born in Alabama and were sons of James G. Birney, who was also a Southern man by birth, but who was driven out of the South because of his anti-slavery views. As a candidate of the Liberal party, James G. Birney ran for President in 1840 and 1844. On October 10th, 1864, General D. B. Birney, broken in health by reason of the exposure and hardships of the campaign, reluctantly asked for a leave of absence from the army. He went to his home in Philadelphia, where he died October 18th, 1864. His brother, William Birney, lived in the city of Washington after the war, where he was honored by the Government in being appointed to important official positions, and where he recently died.

CASUALTIES OF THE REGIMENT IN THE BATTLE OF STRAW-BERRY PLAINS.

August 14th to 18th, 1864.

Company A. Llewellyn Lincoln, (4th Me.), wounded, August 14th.

Company B.

Corporal Samuel N. Robertson, wounded, August 14th.

Company D.

Jeremiah M. Cromwell, wounded, August 14th.

Company F. Thomas A. Baker, wounded and prisoner, August 14th; Frederick Culombe, (4th Me.), wounded and prisoner, August 14th.

14th.

Company K.

Sergeant Thomas M. Hagan, wounded, August 14th; Richard M. Blaisdell, wounded, August 14th.

CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLES OF REAMS' STATION AND BOYDTON ROAD.

The Regiment did not arrive in the vicinity of Petersburg from the north side of the James, until Sunday morning, the 21st of August. It was a tiresome and exhausting march. Mott's Division, at this time, was not with the other two Divisions of the Corps, but was holding a portion of the intrenchments around Petersburg, west of the Jerusalem road. Scarcely had the jaded men of the Regiment hobbled back to Petersburg and thrown themselves upon the ground to rest, when the First and Second Divisions, under command of Miles and Gibbon, respectively, were ordered to move beyond the left of the army to destroy a portion of the Weldon railroad. The boys felt that they were entitled to rest long enough to get their breath. They were dead tired. pressions used by the men, when ordered to "fall in," were not such as one hears in polite society. the writer will not shock the reader by putting them in print. At noon the two Divisions filed into the road and marched southwest several miles and began throwing up breastworks near the Strong house. About three o'clock in the afternoon, Hancock conducted the Divisions across the country in a westerly direction, and massed the troops in the rear of the Fifth Corps, south of Dr. Gurley's residence. It had rained all day and all night on the 19th of August, and it rained nearly all night on the 21st. The country through which the troops marched was very wet. The Regiment passed the night in the mud and rain. The men were tired enough to sleep anywhere, provided they could keep their heads above water. On Monday, the 22nd, the Nineteenth, with the Second Division, was permitted to rest during the day.

Since August 18th, General Warren, with two Divisions of the Fifth Corps, and later reinforced by two Divisions of the Ninth, had been manoeuvering and fighting in this locality. Warren had done excellent work and had taken possession of the Weldon railroad near Globe Tavern and destroyed the road for some distance, both north and south. He was directed to hold the ground he had gained at all hazards. Many of the same Confederate troops that had opposed Warren here, later confronted Hancock at Reams' Station.

The First Division of our Corps, under command of General Miles, was ordered, on the afternoon of August 22nd, to move south on the Weldon railroad about two miles to the Perkins house, destroying the railroad as the Division advanced. The next day the Division pushed on and destroyed the railroad to within one mile of Reams' Station. General Barlow returned from the hospital during the day and resumed command of the Division, which, by reason of his illness and his old wounds, he only retained one day.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, August 23rd, the Nineteenth marched to the left several miles with the Second Division. following the general direction of the First Division. The Regiment was routed out at three o'clock in the morning of August 24th and marched to Reams' Station, reaching that place a little after sunrise. The First Division had destroyed the railroad from Globe Tavern nearly to Reams'. The two Divisions were united at this place. The station house had been burned, but there was an old church and a few scattering houses not far from the place where the station had stood. The country was flat and generally covered with woods. country roads intersect the railroad at this point, one leading to the Jerusalem plank road on the east and the Dinwiddie stage road, running from the railroad westerly to the Vaughn road and thence to Dinwiddie Court House. Then there was the Halifax road, parallel to the railroad and running north to Petersburg.

A statement of distances may aid the reader in understanding the movements of the troops during the battle. The Jerusalem plank road is less than four miles east of Reams' Station. The Globe Tavern, where Warren had his headquarters, was four miles south of Petersburg and between four and five miles north of Reams' Station. The Weldon railroad runs

directly south from Petersburg. During the 25th of August, General Meade was at Warren's headquarters.

The two small Divisions of the Second Corps were under command of Hancock, and in the battle the First Division was commanded by Miles and the Second Division by Gibbon. There were three small Brigades in each Division. The First Brigade of the First Division was commanded by Colonel James C. Lynch. Colonel Crandall commanded the consolidated Brigade, and the Fourth Brigade was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel K. O. Broady. Upon Broady's being wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel William Glenny succeeded to the command of the Brigade. In the Second Division, the First Brigade, to which the Nineteenth belonged, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Rugg, of the Fifty-ninth New York. The Second Brigade was commanded by Colonel Mathew Murphy, One Hundred and Eighty-second New York, and the Third Brigade by Colonel Thomas A. Smyth, of the First Delaware Volunteers.

There were at Reams' Station the remains of some earthworks which had been thrown up, either by the cavalry or the Sixth Corps, when a raid had been made through this region some weeks before. These poorly constructed intrenchments were formed something like three sides of a rectangle, with the shortest side or end of the rectangle facing west and one of the longer sides facing north and the other south. The angle at the southwest corner was slightly acute and at the northeast corner the angle was somewhat obtuse. The intrenchments facing west were seven hundred yards long and those facing north and south were each from eight hundred to a thousand yards in length. The side without intrenchments of any kind faced the Jerusalem plank road. An old church stood inside these works. The line of works facing west were a few yards west of and parallel with the railroad. The railroad, within the intrenchments, for a portion of the distance was in a cut and for a part of the distance above grade. The Halifax road ran parallel with and east of the railroad. Brown's Rhode Island Battery and Sleeper's Massachusetts Battery were within

the intrenchments, west of the railroad, during the engagement, and were both captured by the enemy.

About nine o'clock on the morning of August 25th, the Regiment started south from Reams' Station, moving down the railroad with the other Regiments of the Brigade and destroying the railroad as the men advanced. Smyth's Third Brigade had the advance. The Regiment found an opportunity during the forenoon, while resting in a cornfield, to feast on green corn and sweet potatoes. If the men had known what was in store for them before the sun went down, they would not have had such good appetites. The Regiment had gone hardly two miles south of Reams' Station, when sharp firing began in front and to the right of the line, in the direction of Rowanty creek. The railroad had been destroyed to the Malone's bridge road, a little over two miles south of Reams', and it was at this point that Hampton's Confederate Cavalry was encountered.

The Regiments of Smyth's Brigade were at once deployed as skirmishers on the right of the railroad, and the Nineteenth Maine, with some of the other regiments of the Brigade, formed in line of battle on the east side and nearly at right angles with the railroad. The Seventh Michigan and Fifty-ninth New York were advanced as skirmishers. About noon the troops were ordered to fall back to the station. Now let Captain Spaulding, who commanded the Regiment, describe the battle. The following is his official report:

"Headquarters Nineteenth Maine Volunteers,

August 30th, 1864. \\
"Sir: I have the honor to report that this Regiment reached Reams' Station on the morning of the 24th instant and was engaged

in the forenoon of this day in destroying the railroad.
"On the morning of the 25th instant, the Regiment advanced with the Brigade down the railroad about one mile from the station and formed on the east side and nearly at right angles with the railroad. In the afternoon we marched back and lay in support of the First Division during the first two attacks of the enemy upon that line. The Regiment, together with the Nineteenth Massachusetts, was then marched to the left and took position, making connection between the Second and Third Brigades, the part of the line occupied by those Regiments running at nearly right angles with the railroad. It was here exposed to the most terrific enfilading fire of artillery. It participated in the charge led by Colonel Smyth upon the enemy that occupied the works taken from the First Division. The charge proving unsuccessful

the Regiment fell back to the works it had left and formed line of battle upon the front side of the works, facing the enemy, who were now in the rear of this line. While in this position the enemy advanced up near our old front and both flanks, when the Regiment again changed front and engaged the enemy. It held its position here until the troops fell back upon its right and left, when it was obliged to fall back to the woods, where it again formed line and remained until about ten p. m., when it marched with the Brigade back to the rear.

"I am, Captain, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, J. W. Spaulding, Captain commanding.

"Captain J. E. Curtiss,
"Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, First Brigade."

The following is a copy of an article in the Portland Evening Express of January 8th, 1887, written by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Spaulding:

"At the Reunion of the Vermont Officers Association, held at Montpelier, November 3rd, 1886, General Francis A. Walker, of Boston, whose intimate relations with General Hancock during the war, as his Adjutant-General, gives peculiar significance to anything he may say relating to the military career of that great General, in an eloquent address upon the military character and services of Major-General Winfield S. Hancock, said: 'Time will not serve to tell the story of the blackest of days in the calendar of the gallant leader of the Second Corps, when on the 25th of August after his men had lost nearly 20,000 men in battle since it crossed the Rapidan on the 3rd of May, two of his decimated Divisions, scarce 6500 strong, caught in the ill-constructed intrenchments at Reams' Station, were driven from a portion of their works by repeated assaults from a superior force, with the loss of seven standards, nine cannon and 1700 prisoners. The agony of that day never passed away from the proud soldier, who, for the first time, in spite of superhuman exertions and reckless exposure on his part, saw his lines broken and his guns taken.'

"All who witnessed the daring and valor of General Hancock upon the field at Reams' Station, when a part of General Miles' Division was broken and routed by the enemy, will attest to the truthfulness of what

the soldier-orator says of his conduct that day.

"The published accounts of the engagement at Reams' Station have failed to do justice, however, to the men who fought upon the field. "General Humphreys states in the 'Virginia Campaigns of '64

"General Humphreys states in the 'Virginia Campaigns of '64 and '65: 'General Hancock said that if his troops had behaved as well as they had done before, he would have been able to defeat the enemy.' If this remark was intended to apply only to the small portion who gave way at the third charge of the enemy, it undoubtedly states no more than the truth; but if it was intended to include all the troops there engaged, it as much fails to do justice to gallant men, as it might reflect upon commanding generals to say, if they had manoeuvered with their accustomed skill, that small body of Union troops would not have been caught in that awkward position by such an overwhelming force of the enemy.

"It will be remembered that the fight at Reams' Station was brought about in this way: The First and Second Divisions of the

Second Corps and Gregg's Cavalry, all under command of General Hancock, were charged with the work of destroying the Weldon and Petersburg railroad, down as far as Rowanty creek, about eight miles below Reams' Station.

"By the evening of August 24th the command had completely destroyed the road to a point three miles south of Reams' Station. During the day the signal officers along the line in front of Petersburg had reported large bodies of the enemy's infantry passing south, probably directed against Hancock, whose command could easily have been withdrawn or reinforced during the night. The morning of the 25th found the enemy's cavalry supported by infantry across the left front. At a little after noon the troops were drawn back to Reams' Station, where there were some intrenchments, though badly arranged, having been hastily constructed by other troops on a former occasion. The First Division was placed on the right, in works running southerly, parallel with and just west of the railroad, and facing westerly; two Brigades of the Second Division were placed in some slight works running northeasterly from the railroad and facing southeasterly; and the other Brigade of that Division was formed along the railroad in support of the First Division. The line of battle thus formed a V-shape, and this enabled the enemy to so place his artillery opposite the apex as to completely enfilade the lines of both Divisions. Still the works in front of the First Division were such as to enable them to withstand any assault of infantry, and they did gallantly repulse two charges by a large force of the enemy's infantry, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, At this point of time, the Nineteenth Maine and the Nineteenth Massachusetts, two of the supporting regiments, were moved to the center of the left wing to fill a gap between the two Brigades on that part of the line.

"When the enemy again charged, a portion of the First Division gave away, whether from demoralization caused by the artillery fire, or from having seen the support drawn from their rear, or from some other reason, it would be hard to tell. It was sufficient, however, to let the Rebel forces, in largely superior numbers, through, and give them the possession of that part of the line which had been occupied by the First Division. This gave them a position in the rear of our left wing, which was already engaged with a strong line of Rebel skirmishers in their front. A portion of the line were ordered to turn their backs upon the Rebel skirmish line in their front and charge the enemy, now in the rear. The troops responded with alacrity and were led in person by General Thomas A. Smyth, who was one of the most gallant and dashing of the Union Generals. But the task was too great, and the small force returned to the line from which it advanced, just in time to receive and repel a charge from the enemy, coming up in the old front; then quickly facing about it engaged the enemy in the opposite quarter. Thus the small line fought, facing first to the front then to

¹ General Smyth was born in Ireland, and entered the service, October 17th, 1861, as Major of the First Delaware Infantry. He was promoted to be Brigadier-General October 1st, 1864, after having been recommended for promotion many times. General Smyth was mortally wounded at Farmville, Virginia, April 7th, 1865, and died two days later. He had been distinguished for bravery and good judgment in nearly every battle in which the Second Corps participated in 1864-65, and was the last general officer who was killed in the Union armies during the war.

the rear. I remember the Nineteenth Maine changed from one side of the works to the other four times during the engagement. Men never fought with greater coolness, courage or confidence than those along that line, and that, too, under the most demoralizing circumstances and surroundings. The position was held until a column of the enemy was discovered moving around the left, which was met, however, and resisted by our cavalry; but when the movement was discovered orders were given to retire from that line. Then occurred an incident which often happened at such times. The Nineteenth Maine being detached from its Brigade did not receive the orders, and that, with the dusk of evening and certain natural obstructions which intercepted its view, as well as the fact that its attention was concentrated upon the active work in hand in both front and rear, the Regiment did not learn of the movement of the balance of the line until all others had completely withdrawn, and the Rebel infantry fire came at once upon both flanks.

"A hurried examination disclosed the position of affairs, when the Regiment proceeded to rejoin the troops in the rear. In that movement the Nineteenth Maine lost, among the wounded, one of the bravest and most intelligent officers of the line in the army, Captain Charles E. Nash, of Augusta. To him was really due the preservation of the entire Regiment, for he first discovered its isolated position. He was dangerously wounded while running the gauntlet, when retiring from

that position.

The Regiment had no sooner gained the shelter of the friendly woods, where were assembled the rest of the Division, when General Hancock, riding alone, inquired, 'What regiment?' On receiving the answer, he exclaimed, with an expletive, 'The Nineteenth Maine will go anywhere! Deploy by the fence on the edge of the field in front and hold that postion.' The order was no sooner given than it was obeyed and the position held until midnight, when all of the forces were withdrawn.

'If any criticism is to be made upon the conduct of the Second Division upon that day, it cannot be applied to the men who carried muskets. They obeyed every order with the coolness, courage, intelligence and loyalty worthy of the reputation and record made by the Corps and its brilliant commander."

The foregoing is produced here because it gives a truthful and unbiased description of the Regiment's experience in this battle. The soldiers of the Nineteenth, who were present in this action, claim that it is the only just and fair statement which they have ever seen.

Captain Nash, who was severely wounded in this battle, was a brave and popular officer. When he entered the service he was, by profession, a newspaper editor, and possessed marked literary ability. He never returned to the Regiment, but was discharged November 28th. After his discharge from the army, Captain Nash was several times Mayor of Augusta and filled other important official positions. He died only a few years ago. Had Captain Nash lived, he would have

been the proper person to have written the history of the Nineteenth, in whose brilliant achievements he always took so much pride.

During the severe fighting at Reams' Station, Brigadier-General David McM. Gregg, with about 2000 men from his Division of Cavalry, was under command of Hancock and did excellent work on the skirmish line and flanks of the infantry. Charles H. Smith, then Colonel of the First Maine Cavalry, commanded a Brigade in this engagement. When Hampton's Confederate Cavalry was pushing up from the south and the southwest, they bumped up against the First Maine Cavalry, dismounted and armed with sixteen shooters and stationed on the outskirts of a swamp. The Confederates backed up and concluded to try some place where it would be easier to break through.

There has been a good deal of controversy over the battle at this place. The writer believes that here, as well as on the Jerusalem plank road, June 22nd, the men in the ranks were not responsible for the disaster to the Second Corps. Soldiers do not like to be shot down in front and on both flanks at the same time. The men who carry rifles do not plan battles, and they do not have the privilege of investigating to see whether their flanks are protected, or where the enemy may be found, except as they are ordered to do so by their superior officers. General Hancock was ordered to take two of his Divisions. Gibbon and Barlow, leaving the largest Division behind, immediately after returning from an exhausting expedition to Strawberry Plains, and hasten beyond the left of our army to destroy the Weldon railroad. We had succeeded in destroying a long stretch of the railroad and some valuable property. Every indication pointed to an attack by the Confederate infantry sent to oppose us. General Meade knew this better than Hancock and had advised him of the large force moving toward his front. Why these two small Divisions of the Second Corps should have been thrust out into the enemy's country, without support, and kept there, designedly, to be fallen upon by overwhelming numbers of the enemy and uselessly sacrificed, is pretty hard to explain.

General Hancock had at Reams' Station only 6500 infantry



Chas. E. Nash

and less than 2000 cavalry. The forces of the enemy were under the immediate command of General A. P. Hill. He had, including nearly 4000 cavalry under Hampton, from 14,000 to 16,000 men.

Now let the reader call to mind the fact that within four miles of Hancock's position, and connected by telegraph and the Halifax road running north to Warren's and Meade's headquarters, there were more than 20,000 Union soldiers lying idle behind their breastworks. These brave men were within sound of Hancock's guns and at the word would gladly have gone to the relief of Miles and Gibbon. The Divisions of Griffin and Crawford of the Fifth Corps, and Willcox and White of the Ninth, were South of the Globe Tavern. For all practical purposes, they might as well have been on another planet.

A little before three o'clock in the afternoon, Willcox, with his Division of the Ninth Corps, was ordered to reinforce Hancock. Instead of going directly down the Halifax road, within three and a half miles, and striking the Confederates on their left flank, he was ordered by Meade to go around by the way of the Jerusalem plank road, a distance of twelve miles. The mildest term which can appropriately be applied to such generalship is blundering incapacity. It is now conceded by everyone who has knowledge of the facts that General Meade could have reinforced Hancock at Reams' Station by a force of 10,000 men, and that they could have gone down the Halifax road and reached Hancock in one hour's time. Our men had been grumbling because they had been obliged to continuously fight the Confederates in their intrenchments. The opportunity was now presented when they would fight us in the open or in whatever earthworks we had constructed.

Here is the testimony of General Willcox, who, with his Division, was sent to the relief of Hancock:

[&]quot;I proposed to the officer who brought me my orders to march straight down the railroad, four or five miles at most, and join Hancock at once, instead of marching around twelve miles by the plank road. I was told that there was some apprehension of the enemy's getting round Hancock's left and rear, and that I must look out for that side. We passed the Gurley house at 3:55,marched across lots to the plank road and down to the crossroads at Shay's Tavern, where we arrived before six, and received a message from Hancock calling me up rapidly.

My troops were in good spirits. They heard the cannon firing and felt that, having assisted Warren of late materially and in the nick of an extremity, they were rather honored by this call from the grand old Second Corps, and we pushed ahead at a swinging gait. * * * * I pushed on, without halting, until seven o'clock, when I received word that if one or two Brigades could be got up in time the day might yet be saved. This was communicated to the troops, who threw off their blanket rolls and started at a double quick, which they kept up, with few breathing intervals, the rest of the way until I reported to Hancock."1

Willcox was too late to be of any assistance. His Division did not come within a mile of the battlefield, although eager to render service. Before Willcox reported to Hancock, many of Miles' and Gibbon's soldiers were marching to the rear of the Confederate lines, prisoners of war. Scores of mangled and bleeding forms were lying across the railroad, and in front and in the rear of these worthless intrenchments—a barren sacrifice.

General Francis A. Walker, serving on Hancock's staff, was taken prisoner. He states that when conducted to the head-quarters of the Confederate General Wilcox, he was asked who the brave officer was on the right of our line, who did such splendid work, rallying the troops. When informed that it was General Nelson A. Miles, General Wilcox paid a fine compliment to his daring.

The gallant record of General Miles recalls the fact that when he enlisted in 1861 in the Twenty-second Massachusetts Infantry, the Governor of that State refused to give Miles a Captain's commission, because he was too young for so important a place! So he was made First Lieutenant, and a few months later he was invited by those who saw the young officer's promise, to become the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixty-first New York Volunteers. This fine Regiment gave to the Union cause two Major-Generals—Barlow and Miles.

Three of the regiments which had come to the army since the beginning of the Wilderness campaign lost their colors at Reams' Station. On the 30th of August, Gibbon, as commander of our Division, issued an order depriving these regiments of their right to carry colors until, by their conduct in battle, they should show themselves competent to protect them. This order was approved by Meade. Sometime afterward, General

¹ Battles and Leaders, Vol. 4, p. 572.

Hancock raised an objection to singling out these three comparatively new regiments, whose commanders had been killed in battle, and not have the order apply to all regiments whose flags had been captured in battle by the enemy. His reference was particularly to the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiments, whose flags had been captured on the Jerusalem plank road, and the Twentieth Massachusetts, whose flag and many of whose soldiers were captured at Reams' Station. The Nineteenth Maine never suffered the humiliation of having its flag captured by the enemy. It had several times been forced back by the Confederates, and three successive color-bearers were killed in one battle, but no Confederate ever laid his hands upon the colors of the Nineteenth Maine.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the Union losses at Reams' Station in the Second Corps and in the batteries were 85 killed, 380 wounded, and 1733 missing. Of the killed, nearly one-fourth were commissioned officers—an unusually large percentage. Practically all of the missing were taken prisoners. During the three days at Reams', the cavalry lost about 150.

General Hill, the Confederate commander, reported his loss at 720. This was certainly a reasonable price to pay for five twelve-pound Napoleon guns, four three-inch rifle guns, ten caissons, 3000 rifles, thirty horses, eight or ten battle flags and over 1700 prisoners, all of which the Confederates captured in this engagement, and the killing or wounding of over 500 Union men. Hill claimed they took 2150 prisoners, but they didn't. He doubtless understated their loss, too. There was no attempt on the part of the Confederates to follow up the Union troops when they fell back.

LOSSES OF THE NINETEENTH MAINE AT THE BATTLE OF REAMS' STATION.

August 25th, 1864.

Captain Charles E. Nash, Company C, wounded.

Company A.

Tilly Huff, prisoner.

Company B.

Abijah N. Clay (4th Me.), killed; First Sergeant Darius S. Richards wounded; Alonzo V. Gregory, prisoner; Navard Grover (4th Me.), prisoner; Adoniram D. Hall, prisoner.

John W. Barnes, prisoner; James H. Flanders, prisoner, died Nov. 27th.

Company D.

James Pierce (4th Me.), wounded; Christian Anderson, prisoner; James O. Bean, prisoner while detached in Artillery Brigade; died January 15th, 1865, Salisbury Prison; Enoch Hollis, Jr., prisoner; William R. Sawyer, prisoner; John W. Young, prisoner.

Company E.

Benjamin Knowles (4th Me.), wounded; Joseph E. Farnham (4th Me.), wounded; Charles D. Poor, (4th Me.), wounded; Elisha P. Richards (4th Me.), prisoner; Benjamin Roberts (4th Me.), prisoner; died in Rebel prison, Nov. 23rd; Marcellus Freeman, prisoner.

Company F.

Leonard B. Ricker, prisoner; died a prisoner Nov. 5th.

Company G.

George F. Doe, killed; William Murphy, prisoner; Zelia W. Young, prisoner; Albert Quimby, prisoner, died a prisoner of war (date of capture also given Aug. 30, '64).

Company H.

George Fuller, wounded; Andrew J. Bashford, prisoner; Frank Fields, prisoner; Cyrus L. Ring (4th Me.), prisoner; died in Salisbury prison December 1st, 1864; Charles H. Stewart, prisoner; George L. Smith, prisoner; died October 28th, paroled prisoner at Anapolis, Md. Company I.

Leverett S. Boynton (4th Me.), prisoner, died in prison Nov. 27th; Peter Larkin, prisoner, died Andersonville prison Oct. 20th; Charles Miles (4th Me.), prisoner; Charles H. Powell, prisoner; Freeman York, prisoner.

Company K.

George H. Brown, prisoner; Edward B. Curtis, prisoner; William Greenwood, prisoner; Maurice Murray, prisoner.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and mortally wounded	1		-					2
Wounded, not fatally -					-	-	-	7
Prisoners, nine of whom died	l in	prison	-	-	-		-	33
			Total		-	-	_	42

Let us close the history of Reams' Station and forget the gross injustice which has been done the men who carried rifles in this battle, by the writers of history.

On Friday, the 26th of August, the Regiment went back to the Petersburg intrenchments and took position in the old works vacated by us on the 12th of July. On September 11th, the army began the use of "Grant's Railroad," as it was then called by the men. This road ran from City Point to places along the rear of our lines, with the western terminal on the Weldon railroad. It was a great convenience to the army.

In the early days of September, Generals Grant and Meade, somewhat mystified by the movements of the Confederates, and by the persistent rumor that Early was on his way from the Valley to join Lee, began to fortify, in anticipation of any attack that might be made upon our left flank and rear by the enemy coming up from the Halifax and Jerusalem roads. Works were constructed, heavy guns planted and streets were cut from the forts on the main line to the rear, so every organization would have a road to facilitate rapid movements. In case an attack should be made by a heavy force of the enemy passing around our left flank, it was thought that the main line of works facing Petersburg might be held by 2000 men for each mile of intrenchments, while the remainder of the troops might be spared to oppose any attack of the enemy from the left or rear. But the fear was groundless. In fact, Sheridan was preparing a series of entertainments for Early that kept him busy in the Valley for the balance of the season.

On the night of September 9th, General De Trobriand, with a portion of his Brigade from Mott's Division, made a night attack upon a portion of the Confederate picket line near the Jerusalem plank road. In a hand-to-hand fight he captured the pickets, turned their works, and during the hours of darkness strengthened them, so that they were thereafter retained.

General Gibbon was assigned temporarily to the command of the Eighteenth Corps on September 4th, and remained away until September 25th. During his absence, Colonel Smyth commanded the Division.

Beef was a scarce article in the Confederate camps, while we had an abundance. General Meade kept his herd of cattle for our supply some miles down the James from City Point, and south of the river, near Sycamore church. Good grazing ground was found there. It was placing a great temptation before the eyes of the hungry Confederates. General Hampton, with a force of cavalry, left the right of the Confederate lines and marched down on the west side of Rowanty creek, stole along the rear of our army from left to right, and went after our fresh meat. He made a night attack September 16th, and captured the cattle guards and 2400 beef cattle. You cannot make a

very rapid march with a large herd of cattle, yet strange to say, the "Johnnies" got away with the whole herd. They had to drive them from fifty to a hundred miles, and yet the Union forces gave them practically no annoyance during their return march. The result of losing our beef supply was the substitution of salt codfish for our meat diet, for a while. After being carried in a dirty haversack and wet a few times, codfish is not a specially inviting diet. A comrade from Company A writes, with relation to his experiences at this time: "Whenever I become sick or dissatisfied with food furnished me at home, I think of that stinking salt codfish we had to eat in the early fall of 1864, and a spirit of sweet contentment sweeps over my soul."

The late Colonel Starbird, in his lifetime, furnished the following information:

"Of the thirty independent companies organized in Maine in 1864 and 1865, the fifth was assigned to the Nineteenth Regiment, then stationed in the works in front of Petersburg. This Company was organized October 4th, 1864, and reported to the Regiment October 22nd, with three officers and sixty-four men. Addison W. Lewis was Captain, Edward B. Sargent, First Lieutenant, and Charles Bennett, Second Lieutenant. This Company, as an eleventh company, participated with the Regiment in the engagement on the Boydton plank road, October 27th, and received its first baptism of fire, where they bore themselves with the coolness and steadiness of veterans. As might be supposed, an odd number of companies, with the eleventh company very much larger than any of the others, and deficient in the knowledge which actual service gives, made the Regiment unwieldy and impaired its efficiency. For the good of the service, the War Department directed that both officers and men of the new company be distributed among the companies of the Regiment. This was done in November, 1864. Each officer and non-commissioned officer was given the same rank and position held by him in the unassigned company. Naturally, they disliked to lose their identity as a company. It was surprising how quickly they became assimilated with the men who had seen more than two years of field service. In a very short time one could not tell a new from an old soldier. So it proved to the These new troops served with the Regiment until the close of end. the war.

"Major J. W. Welch had been commissioned Colonel, vice Colonel Selden Connor, promoted to Brigadier-General. Captain W. H. Fogler was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Cunningham, resigned, and Captain I. W. Starbird to Major, in place of Major Welch, promoted,

all under date of August 16th, 1864.

"Colonel J. W. Welch was discharged for disability, October 21, 1864, on his resignation. Major Starbird, who had been in temporary command of the One Hundred and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, on being returned, assumed command of the Nineteenth on the 24th, being the only field officer present in the field."

The Expedition to the Boydton plank road, near the last of October, 1864, was the last effort made by Grant and Meade to reach the South Side railroad during the year. It had been the hope of those in command to compel the evacuation of Petersburg before winter, by getting and holding a position on this railroad which was the last of the great avenues connecting Petersburg, from the south and west, with the outside Confederacy. The plan was to have Hancock take two Divisions of the Second Corps, the Second and Third, under the command of Egan and Mott, respectively, pass over the Weldon railroad south of the Union fortifications, cross Hatcher's run below Armstrong's mill, and then push forward and get possession of the Boydton plank road. Then Hancock was to follow the Boydton road north, recrossing Hatcher's run at Burgess' mill, and from that point push for the South Side railroad. Hatcher's run flows east as far as the Boydton road, but shortly afterward makes a turn and then runs almost due south for several miles. It flows through a region covered with woods and an undergrowth which was almost as impenetrable as in the Wilderness.

The space between the left of our fortifications and the region through which Hancock was to move was to be occupied, simultaneously with Hancock's advance, by portions of the Fifth and Ninth Corps. General Grant did not believe that the enemy would be found in force as far west as the Boydton road at Burgess' mill. We shall see that in this he was in error.

Our Division drew out of the front line of works at half-past two in the morning of October 26th and took position in the rear of Fort Bross, not far from the Weldon railroad. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, the two Divisions of the Second Corps, having six days' rations issued to them, marched to the vicinity of the Robertson house, on the Halifax road, and rested for the night. The 27th of October was an eventful day for the Regiment. The troops were off, marching in a westerly direction, starting a little after three o'clock in the morning. The three Brigades of our Division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Rugg, Colonel Willett and General Smyth, respectively, took the Church road and came into the Vaughn road a little

over two miles from the Halifax road. Then our Division, under General Egan, advanced toward Hatcher's run. Lieutenant-Colonel Spalter, of the Fourth Ohio Battallion, was in command of the skirmish line this day. The skirmishers pushed the Confederates across Hatcher's run, south of Armstrong's mill, and it was here that Colonel Spalter was killed. The Division crossed the run and took the works of the enemy without much loss. When on the west side of the creek, our Brigade was put in advance and followed up the enemy and reached Dabney's mill at quarter past nine in the morning. Here our Brigade skirmishers captured Major Venable, an officer serving on Hampton's staff. Mott's Division took position on our left, and we reached the Boydton road between ten and eleven o'clock. After throwing out flankers on both sides of the road and skirmishers in front, the Division turned north on the Boydton road and toward Hatcher's run. When near Burgess' Tavern, which is less than half a mile south of Hatcher's run, the enemy opened fire on us from a slight elevation south of the run. to our left. Here a portion of the Regiment was placed on the skirmish line. The right of our Brigade rested on the Boydton road and the Second Brigade of our Division was on the right of the road. The enemy was posted on a ridge running parallel with, and some five or six hundred yards south of, Hatcher's run. Batteries I and C, Fifth United States Artillery, silenced the Confederate guns, and Smyth's Brigade drove the enemy across Hatcher's run and secured the bridge in the early afternoon. We were about crossing Hatcher's run at four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Confederates attacked our right flank and rear, coming in between the Second Corps and Crawford's Division of the Ninth.

General Warren had been ordered to send one of his Divisions across Hatcher's run and move northwesterly, keeping his right flank all the time on the creek. The Division assigned by Warren to perform this duty was that of Crawford. It was intended that this movement should serve the purpose of supporting Hancock after that officer had reached the Vaughn road and had begun the march toward Burgess' Tavern. Crawford crossed Hatcher's run at Armstrong's mill, a short

distance north of the point where Hancock crossed the same stream, and a little later in the day Crawford marched up the west bank of Hatcher's run, with his Division deployed. His progress was very slow and difficult by reason of the dense woods and thickets. No orderly formation could be maintained. After some hours, Crawford had advanced as far up the run as to be directly opposite some Confederate breastworks. From where Crawford then was to the position occupied by Hancock on the Vaughn road was less than a mile, but neither officer knew of the location of the other.

While these movements were going on, General Lee had resolved to put the larger part of Hill's Corps across Hatcher's run and attack Hancock's left flank. A reconnoissance showed the Confederates that our Division had secured and was holding the bridge at Burgess' mill, so they were compelled to cross further down stream. It so happened that the point of crossing Hatcher's run by Hill's force was about midway between Crawford and Hancock. The sound of the guns did not reach Crawford, owing to the density of the woods and the condition of the atmosphere. But the Confederates were in a more dangerous position than they realized.

McAllister's Third Brigade of Mott's Division and the Brigades of Smyth and Willett of his own Division, under General Egan, faced about and charged the enemy's right flank, capturing hundreds of prisoners and two colors. Major Mitchell, of Hancock's staff, placed himself at the head of the Thirtysixth Wisconsin, charged down the Boydton road, which was in the possession of the Confederates, and captured two hundred prisoners and one battle-flag, and put to rout the enemy's line of battle. The victory was complete, and the Confederates were glad to draw off and await reinforcements. Our own Brigade then took position on the right of the Boydton road, connecting with McAllister's. There were three separate attacks of the enemy, all of which were repulsed. General Egan took pains in his report to single out and compliment the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin and the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery for their gallantry in this battle. These were two of the regiments who were deprived of the right to carry colors because their flags had been captured by the enemy at Reams' Station. He said "no troops could have done better" than these two regiments.

At eleven o'clock at night we marched back to Dabney's mill. Early the next morning the Division recrossed Hatcher's run south of Armstrong's mill, and reached Fort Bross, October 28th, at five o'clock in the afternoon.

General Hancock's advance on the Boydton road was within three and one-half miles of the bridge of the South Side railroad across Hatcher's run. The result might have been very different had the troops designed for that purpose been able to keep the Confederates away from Hancock's right flank and rear.

The losses of the Second and Third Divisions of the Second Corps at Boydton Plank Road on October 27th, in killed, wounded and missing, were 1138. Gregg's Cavalry on our left flank, and in the attack on our rear, performed distinguished services. The First Maine Cavalry was under orders to proceed home to be mustered out, but remained and went into the battle voluntarily and did valuable work.

The Confederates remained in the vicinity of their last attack during the night and called to their assistance all the troops that could be gathered. The morning of October 28th, they began to advance cautiously, intending to annihilate Hancock, with 18,000 men concentrated during the night, but Hancock was not there. In the narrative and description given by Confederate officers of this and other engagements, one finds much romance and invention.

Silas Adams, of Company F, states that while the Nineteenth was nearly surrounded by the enemy on the Boydton road, and the enemy was sending in its compliments from every direction, the men were somewhat excited and could hardly be restrained from running to cover. Major Starbird, seeing the condition of things, and thinking it necessary to relieve the tension of the men, coolly mounted a rock, took his pipe from his pocket and proceeded deliberately to fill it. He then lighted it and began to smoke as calmly as though nothing unusual was occurring. He was a conspicuous mark for the enemy, but his

example had the desired effect upon the men of the Regiment.

The following is Major Starbird's official report of the battle on the Boydton Road:

"Headquarters Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, October 29th, 1864.

"Sir: I have the honor to present the following report of the movements of the Nineteenth Maine Regiment during the late engagement: October 26th, left bivouac near Fort Bross at 2:30 p. m., marched to and across the Weldon railroad and bivouacked for the night at 9 p. m. On the morning of the 27th, left bivouac near Weldon railroad and marched in a westerly direction; found the enemy in a slightly fortified position on the west side of Hatcher's creek. The Regiment was placed in position in the second line of battle, which, advancing, carried the works, capturing a few prisoners. We afterward marched by the flank to Burgess' mill, where a portion of the Regiment was sent on picket, capturing a wagon belonging to the Confederate army. On leaving this place, two companies were thrown out as flankers, and the march continued to and across the Boydton plank road, where we formed line of battle on the extreme left of the line, and exposed to artillery in front and rear. The line then advanced in good order, and occupied a new position on the left of the plank road in an open field, and was at one time almost surrounded by infantry. Under these trying circumstances the Regiment held the position with creditable coolness and courage. About 5 p. m. the Regiment moved to the right, supporting a portion of the Third Brigade. Soon after, an attack was made on our right, when four companies of the Regiment were sent to that point,—seven companies remained. Thus the Regiment remained until after dark, when the entire Regiment joined the Brigade on the plank road. We then formed a line on the plank road, throwing out pickets in front and rear. About twelve o'clock at night left the plank road and marched back to near Hatcher's creek, where we remained until 10:00 a. m., October 28th, at which time the Regiment was ordered to occupy the works on the creek captured the previous day, holding the road until the Division filed past, when it joined the column and continued the march to near Fort Bross, at which it arrived at 5 p. m., October 28, 1864. During the engagement, the Regiment lost one man killed, four men wounded and one supposed taken prisoner.

"Respectfully submitted,
"I. W. STARBIRD,
Major commanding Regiment.

"Captain Ryerson,
"Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, First Brigade,
"Second Division, Second Army Corps,"

This fight was called, by the men engaged, the "Bull Ring," from the fact that the line of battle was an irregular circle, with the Union forces on the inside. The Regiment was without protection, in an open field, and exposed to a destructive fire from nearly every direction. A battery on our left enfiladed our line, and was the cause of much injury to the men, including the death of First Sergeant Heald, of Company A.

While we were thus exposed to the enemy's fire, an incident occurred which is deemed worthy of record. Assistant Surgeon W. H. Randall, the only medical officer on duty with the Regiment, came up from the rear and reported. "What in the world are you doing up here, doctor? You will be killed," said Major Starbird. In the coolest manner possible, the doctor replied: 'I thought I would come up and see how you are getting along." 'Get into that hollow and lie down," was the order. He did so. Not long after, the enemy charged and took possession of a corduroy bridge across the creek, in our rear. Matters looked badly for us. The doctor, seeing the action of the enemy, jumped up and going to the commander, said, in a determined voice: "Major, if those fellows come up here, by G-d, I want a gun." He was directed to take that of Sergeant Heald, who had just been killed. It is not necessary to state that the doctor was promoted. Major Starbird stated that he recalled no situation during the war more trying or demanding more coolness or intelligent courage. The Regiment conducted itself only as intelligent, patriotic men can do under a galling fire. It received the commendation of the Division commander.

The loss of the Regiment is understated in the official report, as the following list will show:

CASUALTIES OF THE NINETEENTH MAINE IN BATTLE OF BOYDTON ROAD (ALSO CALLED HATCHER'S RUN).

October 27th, 1864.

Company A.

First Sergeant Thomas M. Heald, mortally wounded, died same day; Charles H. Bigelow, wounded; Charles E. Day, prisoner, died in Libby Prison, December 19th.

Company B.

Alvin L. Chapman, wounded.

Company E.

Peleg S. Staples, wounded.

Company G.

Lewis A. Moulton, wounded.

Company H.

Jonathan Groves, prisoner.

Company I.
Corporal George S. Cobb, killed; Edward Boyne, wounded.

Company K.

James H. Knights, wounded.

Generals Grant and Meade were in the line of the Second Corps during the battle of Boydton road. After we had got possession of the bridge over Hatcher's run at Burgess' mill, the enemy was using his artillery from the north side of the Run, much to our discomfiture. General Grant rode out into an open field, to get a better view of the position of the enemy. His own staff-officers, together with those of Meade, followed, and they made a good mark for the Confederate batteries. The group was shelled and one of the orderlies was killed. General Grant took one of his staff-officers with him and galloped up the road to within a few yards of the bridge, where he could see the Confederate line, the lay of the land and the nature of the banks of the Run. He then coolly rode back to the Union lines.

While the object of the expedition was not entirely accomplished, valuable information of the force and position of the enemy was obtained. So the expedition was not entirely fruitless in its results. It was not abandoned because the enemy had been successful in any of its assaults, but for the reason that General Grant, after personally inspecting the position and intrenchments of the enemy, did not deem it wise, under all the conditions, to force the crossing of Hatcher's run and assault the intrenched position of the Confederate force.

The Regiment remained in position near Fort Bross until the last day of the month. The muster rolls were made out at this place.

In October the Regiment lost a number of men in killed and wounded, while in the fortifications around Petersburg. Charles H. Groves, Company A., was wounded October 11th; Albert Thomas, of Company B, was wounded October 8th; Lieutenant John A. Lord, of Company D, was wounded October 15th, and was sent to the hospital at City Point; Albert E. Hutchins,

¹ Reported on Company Rolls as killed Oct. 17th.

(4th Me.), Company E, was killed Oct. 7th, while on picket and was buried east of Fort Hell. George E. Chase, of Company F, was killed October 22nd, while walking from the rear to the works in front; Benson Potter, of Company G, was killed while on picket October 5th; Joseph Nelson, (4th Me.), of the same Company, was killed October 16th; Albert S. Rowe, (from Fifth Company unassigned Infantry), also of Company G, was mortally wounded Oct. 22nd, and died Nov. 25th. Frank Brown and Byron G. Waters, of Company H, were wounded October 13th, and the latter died from the effects of his wound, April 28th, 1865. James M. Tyler, of Company H, was killed by the enemy October 24th. John Simpson, (4th Me.), Company K, was wounded October 23rd.

CHAPTER XV.

LAST WINTER IN CAMP AND BATTLE OF HATCHER'S RUN.

Immediately after returning from the Battle of Boydton Road, the Regiment was assigned to Fort Haskell, where it remained until the 29th day of November. This fort was named for Frank A. Haskell, the gallant colonel of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin, who was killed while leading our Brigade at the battle of Cold Harbor. Fort Haskell was between Forts Stedman and Morton, and was near the extreme right of the Petersburg intrenchments. It was only a mile, on an air line, from the Appomattox river. During the occupation of this fort, the Regiment was constantly exposed to the shot and shell of the enemy's artillery and the bullets of their sharp-shooters.

Soon after our return from the Boydton Road expedition, Sergeant Silas Adams, of Company F, was promoted Captain of Company B, Forty-first United States Colored Troops. From that time until the close of the war, Captain Adams served on staff duty, with the commanding officer of the Second Brigade, First Division, Twenty-fifth Corps.

Early in November, 1864, some of our men were doing picket duty in front of Fort Haskell. There was a pond in front of the fort and our picket line was between this pond and the Confederate pickets. On the night of November 5th, the enemy dammed up the outlet of this small pond, in order to raise the water over which our pickets had to pass and repass in going to and coming from their stations. They were always posted and relieved at night. There was a foot-bridge across the pond, utilized by our pickets in crossing the water. Just before midnight, three companies of the Forty-first Alabama, under command of General Gracie, who was killed the next month by a shot from Fort Morton, captured thirty-two men

on this advanced picket line, twelve of whom were from the Nineteenth. This feat was accomplished by the Alabamians without firing a gun. The next morning the water in the pond was found to be considerably above the footbridge. This affair would seem to indicate that the Confederates were fast learning "Yankee tricks." General Hancock stated on the 8th of November that the insecure picket line was due to "inattention on the part of the officers." The men of the Nineteenth who were caught in this trap and taken prisoners were John Cochran (4th Me.), Company A; Emery A. McAllister (4th Me.), Jonathan S. Nickerson and Edward Randall (4th Me.), Company D; William H. Shales (4th Me.), Company E; Corporal William C. Rowe (4th Me.), George A. Arris and Philip R. Armstrong (4th Me.), Company F; Charles H. Jackson. Company G; and Sumner Merrill, John H. Jewell (4th Me.) and William I. Heal (4th Me.), Company H.

Colonel Starbird wrote as follows:

"On the resignation of Colonel J. W. Welch, Captain Fogler, who already held the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, but not mustered, was commissioned Colonel; Major Starbird, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain J. W. Spaulding, Major. Captain Fogler returned to the Regiment, but, as he was still suffering from his wound, he deemed it best to leave the service and, without being mustered under the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel, was discharged from the service for disability, on his resignation, November 2nd, 1864, much to the regret of all. The resignation of Captain Fogler left vacant the position of Colonel, which was filled by the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Starbird. Major Spaulding was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain David E. Parsons, Company A. Major tenant-Colonel and Captain David E. Parsons, Company A, Major. Surgeon J. Q. A. Hawes, having resigned his commission, was discharged November 2nd, 1864. Assistant Surgeon W. H. Randall was promoted to Surgeon, to rank from November 11th. Benjamin Bussey Jr., M. D., reported to the Regiment from Maine, with a commission of Assistant-Surgeon, and was mustered into that rank, November 20th.

"Lieutenant E. H. Rich, who had been on detached service in the Provost-Marshal's Department in Maine, reported to the Regiment Provost-Marshal's Department in Maine, reported to the Regiment November 19th, 1864, and on December 3rd was detailed to command the provost-guard at headquarters, Second Army Corps. First Lieutenant and Quartermaster Albert Hunter was detailed for service in the Quartermaster's department, at Second Corps headquarters. Captain Oliver R. Small was detailed as acting Assistant Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant William H. Tripp as Aide-de-camp at headquarters, First Brigade, Second Division, Second Corps. Captain Ansel L. White was detailed as Ordnance Officer at headquarters of our Division. These officers remained on detached service until the close of the war."

While occupying Fort Haskell, some of the boys of Company K, conceived the idea of making some ginger snaps. They had contrived, by stealing or otherwise, to procure some flour. A bottle of Jamaica ginger, somewhat diluted, was used to impart the necessary flavor. A can of condensed milk was added and the mixture was rolled on the clean side of a board, employing an empty bottle for a rolling pin. The dough was cut into cakes of proper shape, with the cover of a blacking box, and baked in an improvised oven, dug in the ground. When they had taken on a good dark color, they were removed from the oven and served hot. The boys looked rather silly while eating and it was noticed that no one asked for a second helping. One fellow, who seemed to have more trouble than the others in separating the portion, in his mouth, which he proposed to swallow, from the part he intended to spit out, remarked that "The cook must have stepped in the dough while it was rising."

The presidential election in 1864 occurred on the 8th of November. Maine soldiers, absent from the state, were permitted to vote and have their votes counted as though they had voted at home. The voting of the Nineteenth Maine took place at Fort Haskell, in the presence of S. S. Marble, the Commissioner from Maine. The vote in the Regiment stood 129 for Lincoln and 31 for McClellan. The combined vote of the Maine soldiers was Lincoln 4174 and McClellan 741. It is curious to note the result of votes for president in some of the organizations. The Fourth Maryland Regiment cast 272 votes for Lincoln, but not a vote for McClellan! The fighting and voting of those Marylanders were serious matters with them.

While the Regiment was occupying Fort Haskell in November, 1864, Austin Cunningham (4th Me.), of Company C, was wounded November 26th, three days before leaving the fort. Thomas Barwise (4th Me.), of the same Company, was wounded November 14th. William J. Brown, of Company D, was wounded November 2nd and H. D. Morse, (4th Me.), of Company F, is reported as having been taken prisoner November 30th. John M. Currier, (Fifth Company, unassigned Infantry), Company G, was wounded Nov. 18th. Albert Long-

ly, (Company unassigned infantry), of Company G, was wounded November 6th. Peter Kendrick, of Company G, was killed while on picket in the month of November. In Company H, Louis E. Hopkins was wounded November 27th and John S. Wilson died of wounds received at Petersburg November 13th. Wesley Rich (4th Me.), of Company I, was taken prisoner at Gettysburg and died in prison at Belle Isle, November 18th, 1864, without ever having seen the company to which he had been assigned. The same may be said of Samuel D. Small of the same company, a prisoner, who died at the same place three days before his comrade.

The Battle of Boydton Road was the last engagement in which General Hancock led the Second Corps against the Confederates. Indeed, it was the last engagement in the War of the Rebellion in which he participated. About the middle of November, General Hancock's wounds were still giving him trouble and he asked for a leave of absence from the army, to enable him to visit his home and obtain medical care and rest for a short time. At General Grant's suggestion, General Hancock undertook to raise a new Army Corps, to be composed exclusively of veterans. Grant thought that Hancock's popularity would enable him to do this without much difficulty. Hancock was to relieve Sheridan in the Valley, which, in the early spring of 1865 he did, and to assume command of the troops already in the Valley District, adding to the command his own veteran Corps which he might organize. On November 26, 1864, General Hancock relinquished the command of the Second Corps and Major-General A. A. Humphreys was assigned to the Corps as his successor and commanded the Corps until the close of the War. In taking leave of the Corps, General Hancock, in General Orders No. 44, dated November 26, 1864, paid the following tribute to the old Corps:

[&]quot;I desire at parting with you to express the regret I feel at the necessity which calls for our separation. Intimately associated with you in the dangers, privations and glory which have fallen to your lot during the memorable campaigns of the past two years, I now leave you with the warmest feelings of affection and esteem. Since I have had the honor to serve with you, you have won the right to place upon your banners the historic names of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Po, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor,

Petersburg, Reams' Station, Boydton Road and many other contests. The gallant bearing of the intrepid officers and men of the Second Corps in the bloodiest fields of the war, the dauntless valor displayed by them in many brilliant assaults on the enemy's strongest positions, the great number of guns, colors and prisoners and other trophies of war captured by them in many desperate combats, their unswerving devotion to duty and heroic constancy under all the dangers and hardships which such campaigns entail, have won for them an imperishable renown and the grateful admiration of their countrymen. The story of the Second Corps will live in history, and to its officers and men will be ascribed the honor of having served their country with unsurpassed fidelity and courage. Conscious that whatever military honor has fallen to me during my association with the Second Corps has been won by the gallantry of the officers and soldiers I have commanded, I feel that in parting from them, I am severing the strongest ties of my military life."

General Grant, in his Memoirs, pays General Hancock the following tribute:

"Hancock stands the most conspicuous figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. He commanded a corps longer than any other one, and his name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible. He was a man of very conspicuous personal appearance. Tall, well-formed, and, at the time of which I now write, young and fresh-looking, he presented an appearance that would attract the attention of an army as he passed. His genial disposition made him friends, and his personal courage and his presence with his command in the thickest of the fight, won for him the confidence of troops serving under him. No matter how hard the fight, the Second Corps always felt that their commander was looking after them."

General Humphreys had been General Meade's Chief-of-staff for over a year. He commanded a Division of the Third Corps at the battle of Gettysburg. He bore little resemblance to General Hancock in personal appearance. He was a small man, physically, and his manners were simple and singularly pleasant. General Humphreys was a very scholarly man, and had belonged to the Corps of Engineers. He was cool and brave in battle and was an officer of the greatest merit. He will be remembered by the survivors of the Nineteenth as almost invariably wearing a small, bright red necktie.

The writer remembers General Humphreys in May, 1883, as President of the Society of the Army of the Potomac. He had served the Society for one year as its President and some of General Grant's friends desired to elect him as Humphreys' successor. Humphreys evidently sympathized with this movement. Generals Grant and Newton had been placed in nomina-

tion. On the floor of the assembly, objections were made to Grant upon the ground that he was never a member of the Army of the Potomac but was with the Army for a season, while commanding all of the Union Armies. General Humphreys, with some feeling, replied to these objections. "I may be mistaken, but I am pretty sure I saw Grant in battle with the Army of the Potomac several times during the last year of the War." Nevertheless, General Newton won in the election.

General Webb, the brave and beloved commander of the old Brigade, who had been seriously wounded while leading us at Spottsylvania, May 12th, 1864, returned to the army, at General Meade's request, and was assigned to duty as his Chiefof-staff, succeeding General Humphreys in that position. seemed good to the boys to see General Webb again in the saddle. He continued with General Meade until the close of the war. He was honorably mustered out of the volunteer service, January 15th, 1866, and resigned from the regular army, December 5th, 1870. He was appointed Brevet Major-General in the volunteer service August 1st, 1864, and to the same rank in the regular army, March 13th, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war. He was awarded a Congressional gold medal of honor, "for distinguished personal gallantry in the battle of Gettysburg." After leaving the army, General Webb was president of the College City of New York, for thirty-three years. He is still living in that city, honored by a grateful people.

On the day that Humphreys was assigned to the command of the Second Corps, General Gibbon wrote to General Meade that he regarded Humphreys' assignment to the command of the Corps as a reflection upon himself. Gibbon asked to be relieved of his present command. General Gibbon was a fine officer, but, perhaps, he was unduly sensitive. General Grant made such a complimentary indorsement upon Gibbon's letter that the request to be relieved was withdrawn. Gibbon was assigned to the command of the Twenty-fourth Army Corps the middle of December.

Brigadier-General William Hays succeeded Gibbon as commander of the Division. He was the same officer who

commanded the Second Corps from Gettysburg to the Rappahannock. Hays and Smythe and Barlow, each for a short time, commanded our Division until the close of the War.

In General Gibbon's valedictory to the Division, he used this appreciative language:

"For nearly two years you have served under my command, and during this period we have passed through many bloody battles together. I have always found you faithful, patriotic and brave. The bones of your dead and the mangled forms of your wounded comrades testify to your gallantry on many hard-fought fields."

Colonel Starbird furnished the following information for the history of the Regiment:

"We moved out of Fort Haskell November 29th, and to the left a short distance, and the next day moved farther to the left and went into camp near Patrick Station. The Regiment began preparations for building winter quarters the first day of December. From the formation of the Regiment, in August, 1862, to December, 1864, there had been three surgeons and seven assistant surgeons. These frequent changes had been detrimental to the best interests of the men, and Colonel Starbird determined that these changes should cease unless caused by sickness or death. His stand in the matter had the desired effect. There were no further resignations. Doctors Randall and Bussey remained with and faithfully served the Regiment until the close of the war.

"Captain J. W. Spaulding, who went to Maine, September 7th, 1864, on sick leave, and was later detailed as Inspector in the Provost-Marshal's office at Augusta, returned December 1st, and on December 2nd was mustered into the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The field

and staff were now complete, the first time for many months.

"The work of building winter quarters went on rapidly and all were happy in the prospect of a few months' rest after the long campaign, commencing with the battle of the Wilderness, May 5th. There had occurred many changes, resulting from the hard service. The vacancies among the officers had been filled. Sixty-four men had been added and with renewed courage, stimulated by the prospect of bringing the war to a close, all went to work with a will to prepare for the active work which the next campaign would surely have for them. Substantial houses were constructed and a comfortable guardhouse, with cots and gun-racks, and a fire-place, large enough to keep the men comfortable, when off duty. The camp guard duty, which formerly, in cold weather, had been disliked, was now performed with pleasure. When relieved, after twenty-four hours' continuous service, the men came off duty clean and comfortable. After the guard-house and quarters for the men had been constructed, the houses for the officers were built.

"When the Regiment was properly housed, an order was given that each and every man be inspected and all deficiencies in equipment and clothing be noted, and requisitions made therefor, by each company commander. Anticipating that the clothing in use would be worn out by spring, new clothing was furnished the men then, to be carefully kept for inspection, reviews and parades, and the old

worn for all other duty. This method gave the men a bright, clean appearance whenever the Regiment paraded. The result of this arrangement was very satisfactory. The men took great pride in the appearance of the Regiment when on reviews with the other regiments of the Brigade and Division. Their appearance on public occasions not only stimulated their esprit de corps, but caused them to be objects of favorable comment throughout the Division, and added to their reputation and standing. The winter was passed very pleasantly. The Regiment became efficient in drill and discipline and in many ways was a marked organization. Pride is a basic attribute of the good soldier. If a soldier is well clothed and well fed, he has respect for himself and a pride in his company and regiment. It was ordered by the Division commander that a certain number, who, on competitive inspection should present the most soldierly appearance, should be furloughed. By far the larger number of furloughs fell to the men of the Nineteenth.

"While the men were engaged in the duties of camp life, a strong and persistent effort was made to have those absent on detached service relieved and returned. Men belonging to the Regiment could be found at nearly every headquarters in the Corps, and in Washington and in some of the states. These absentees were called for and their return requested. This effort resulted in the return of nearly all and gave a largely increased command for the spring cam-

paign.'

Calvin B. Hinkley was promoted to be Captain of Company B. December 2nd, 1864. While the most of the commissioned officers of the Regiment, at the close of the war, had worked their way up from the ranks, Hinkley was the only captain, at the date of muster out, who had served in the Regiment as a private soldier. He enlisted July 21st, 1863, and came to the Regiment as a recruit. He was promoted to be Sergeant. December 10th, 1863, and passed through the successive grades until he became Captain. Captain John A. Lord, of Company A. Captain T. B. Beath, of Company C, and Captain E. A. Burpee, of Company I, began their service as corporals. Captain E. C. Pierce, of Company D, Captain Nehemiah Smart, of Company E, Captain A. L. White, of Company F, and Captain O. R. Small, of Company K, were appointed Sergeants at the organization of the Regiment. Captain Lincoln, of Company H. entered the service as First Lieutenant, and was promoted to be Captain, December 1st, 1862, soon after the resignation of Captain Eaton of that Company. Captain Lincoln left the Regiment in 1863 and is borne on the Company rolls as on ' recruiting service" in Maine, and never returned to the Regiment. Captain Addison W. Lewis, of Company G, entered the service on the 4th of October, 1864, as Captain of the

Fifth Company, unassigned infantry, and when his Company was broken up and assigned to the different Companies of the Regiment, he went to Company G as its last Captain and was

discharged June 19th, 1865.

Owing to the detail of Quartermaster Albert Hunter to Second Corps headquarters, Adjutant Henry Sewall was assigned as acting Quartermaster and Lieutenant Oliver R. Small filled the position of Adjutant until his promotion to Captain, and then Lieutenant William H. Gerrish succeeded him.

The following roster of the officers January 1, 1865, was furnished by Colonel Starbird.

Isaac W. Starbird Joseph W. Spaulding David E. Parsons William H. Randall Benjamin Bussey, Jr George W. Hathawa Henry Sewall Albert Hunter	· -	Field and Staff	Colonel - Lieutenant-Colonel Major - Surgeon Assistant Surgeon - Chaplain Adjutant - Quartermaster
John A. Lord George Studley	-	Company A	- Captain - Second Lieutenant
Calvin B. Hinkley Alfred E. Nickerson Clarendon W. Gray	-	Company B	- Captain First Lieutenant - Second Lieutenant
Thomas P. Beath James H. Pierce Henry W. Nye	-	Company C	- Captain First Lieutenant - Second Lieutenant
Elbridge C. Pierce Charles Bennett Franklin Adams		Company D	- Captain First Lieutenant - Second Lieutenant
Nehemiah Smart Edward B. Sargent George H. Paige	-	Company E	- Captain First Lieutenant - Second Lieutenant
Ansel L. White Edwin H. Rich Joseph B. Babson	- -	Company F	- Captain First Lieutenant - Second Lieutenant

Addison W. Lewis George P. Wood	-	Company G	 Captain First Lieutenant
Willard Lincoln Charles P. Garland William H. Tripp	-	Company H	 Captain First Lieutenant Second Lieutenant
Edgar A. Burpee William B. Sawyer	-	Company I	 Captain First Lieutenant
Oliver R. Small Beniah P. Doloff William L. Gerrish	٠.	Company K	 Captain First Lieutenant Second Lieutenant

Very few changes occurred in the above list of officers, prior to the close of the war.

Major-General B. F. Butler was relieved of his command of the Army of the James and the Department of Virginia and North Carolina on the 8th of January, 1865. The order relieving him was made by the President and upon the recommendation of General Grant, who stated that "the good of the service" required his removal, inasmuch as Butler was 'an unsafe Commander for a large army." He was succeeded by Major-General E. O. C. Ord, who was a Marylander by birth and who became Major-General of Volunteers in May, 1862. The three senior Major-Generals in the United States Volunteers, appointed May 16, 1861, were Dix, Banks and Butler. These were time serving and political appointments.

General Butler was a Democrat and voted for Jeff Davis in the Charleston convention in 1860. But from the very first manifestation of armed hostility to the Union, no one ever, for a moment, was in doubt as to the attitude and loyalty of Butler. But acknowledging his great administrative ability, and giving him credit for his splendid services at New Orleans and his honorable record as Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, yet he was relieved of his command none too soon. He had never been successful, as a commander of troops in the field. From Big Bethel to Fort Fisher, his failures were almost unvarying. Whenever work was committed to him requiring military skill, promptness in execution and bravery and

vigilance in battle, General Butler was a dismal failure. He was ordered to his home in Lowell, Massachusetts, and the war was finished without his further services, much to his disappointment.

Some time after Butler's removal, Kautz's Cavalry Division, Gibbon's Twenty-fourth Corps, Birney's Division of colored troops and other small detachments were brought over from the Army of the James and attached to the Army of the Potomac for the serious work of the last campaign.

The month of January, 1865, was a time of comparative quiet. The Regiment performed regular camp duties, with daily drills and occasional reviews. About the first of February, an expedition was planned by General Meade to break in upon the Confederate route for obtaining their supplies from the south over the Weldon railroad. At this time the Confederates were accustomed to run their trains on the Weldon railroad north, as far as Jarratt's depot and sometimes as far as Stony Creek Station, on the Nottoway River. From these points they would convey their supplies by teams across the country to the South Side railroad or by Dinwiddie Court House and thence into Petersburg by the most direct route open to them. When the troops for this project moved from the Union intrenchments, Gregg's Cavalry Division started for Dinwiddie, followed by the supporting column of the Fifth Corps. General Miles' Division of the Second Corps held the left of the Union intrenchments. General Humphreys, with the other two Divisions of the Second Corps, the Second and Third, under Generals Smyth and Mott, was to keep up connection with Miles on the right and with Warren's Fifth Corps on the left. The Fifth Corps crossed Hatcher's run near where Gravelly run empties into the former, and marched across the country in the direction of Dinwiddie Court House until they came to the Vaughn road. After remaining in that position for a time the Corps marched up the Vaughn road and then took a cross road which led to the Boydton road until they came to the vicinity of Dabney's mill. The right of the Fifth Corps then rested on Hatcher's run and the left of the Corps with General Gregg on its flank, stretched off toward the Boydton road.

Now with this explanation it may be easier to understand the movements of our own Division. The Regiment with the Brigades of the Division, early in the morning of February 5th, was massed at the McDougall house. Preceeded by a small force of cavalry the Division pushed on toward Armstrong's mill just north of where the Vaughn road crossed Hatcher's run. The Nineteenth crossed Hatcher's run, driving the Confederate skirmishers back. The Seventh West Virginia Regiment from the Third Brigade of our Division, also crossed Hatcher's run. The men of the Regiment soon had possession of the rifle pits of the enemy. The rest of the Division on the east or north side of Hatcher's run now pushed north towards Armstrongs. About four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy made an attack on the Second Division line and about an hour later made another attack on our Division and at the same time attacked vigorously the Fifth Corps on our left. The right of the Second Division was near the Thompson House. The attack between four and five o'clock in the afternoon upon the right of our Division line indicated that the enemy meant to break through if possible. General Humphreys sent to Miles to borrow a Brigade and also called for McAllister's Brigade of Mott's Division from the south side of the run and put them in to strengthen the right of our Division line. We succeeded in holding the enemy in check.

When the Union skirmishers advanced in the morning of February sixth, it was found that the Confederates had withdrawn into their intrenchments. Warren's Corps with Gregg was in position on the south or west side of Hatcher's run and Wheaton's Division of the Sixth Corps was with them as a support. These troops pushed on toward the Boydton Road but were met by the Confederates on the afternoon of February sixth, near Dabney's mill and were driven back. The Confederates were in heavy force here. At noon on the sixth, the Regiment recrossed Hatcher's run and joined the Brigade.

The following is the report of Colonel Spaulding, who was in command of the Regiment at Hatcher's run.

[&]quot;This regiment left its camp in front of Fort Emery at 6 a.m., the fifth instant. Marched shortly after with the Division out about

two miles and a half on the Vaughn road, and filed to the right into a by-road. Before reaching the Armstrong house, and while on the march, General Smyth ordered me to move the Regiment in line of battle off to the left; this was done, deploying two companies as skirmishers in front. When the skirmish line reached Hatcher's Run the enemy's videttes were posted on the opposite bank, but immediately fell back to their skirmish line, which lay in a rifle-pit running parallel to and about ten rods from the opposite bank. The skirmishers crossed the run and were held under cover until the Regiment crossed, which could only be done by one man crossing at a time on a fallen tree. The skirmishers then showed themselves and engaged the enemy's skirmishers. In less than fifteen minutes after the firing began the enemy ran from their rifle-pit, which was immediately occupied by our skirmish line. This line, increased by two more companies, now made connection on its right with the line on this side of the run; about one hour after, the skirmishers of the Third Division advancing, made connection with our left. At 4.30 p. m. the enemy advanced upon this line (which was immediately strengthened by two more companies), but was checked, and in about an hour driven back.

"At 12 m., the sixth instant, this Regiment, having been relieved by troops from the Fifth Corps, rejoined the Brigade, and threw up breast-works in the afternoon. Lay in this position until the evening of the 10th instant, when the Regiment was deployed and engaged until 12 at night, in digging pits for the picket-line, and remained as pickets until 5 p. m. of the eleventh instant, when it was relieved and

moved into its present camp.'

The casualties in the Second Corps amounted to about 140 in killed and wounded. Included in the list of killed in the Second Corps was Colonel Murphy of the Sixty-ninth New York, who had been for some time commanding the Second Brigade of our Division. Colonel Murphy was regarded very highly as a Brigade commander and had been complimented more than once for his bravery on the field of battle.

The result of the engagement on the fifth and sixth of February was to extend the Union intrenchments to the Vaughn road crossing of Hatcher's Run. The Second Corps now held the left of the army and the Fifth Corps was massed in our rear.

The Confederate line was stretched for so great a distance that it was mighty thin and weak in places.

For some weeks after the battle of Hatcher's Run, the Regiment remained in the vicinity of the Armstrong house.

CASUALTIES OF THE NINETEENTH MAINE AT HATCHER'S

RUN. February 5th to 7th, 1865.

Arthur E. Charles, died February 9th, 1865, of wounds received at Hatcher's Run.

Company B

Charles F. Jewell, prisoner, February 6th, 1865.

Company D

John S. Moore, mortally wounded, February 5th; died the same day.

Company :I

Frederick Rosignal, prisoner.1

Henry W. Nye, who was Second Lieutenant of Company C, was discharged February 27, '65. George A. Barton was promoted Second Lieutenant of Company G, January 30th, '65, and Second Lieutenant William L. Gerrish, of Company K, died February 11th. Lieutenant Gerrish was acting Adjutant of the Regiment and died of congestive chills, after a very short illness. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, a scholarly man, and well fitted for the position which he had won by his bravery and soldierly bearing.

The conduct of the Nineteenth during its winter encampment added much to its reputation for sobriety and trustworthiness. An amusing incident occurred on the first of January, which is worth recording. The officers of the Regiment were invited to Brigade headquarters to participate in the festivities of New Year's evening. All the officers were requested to assemble at the Colonel's tent at the proper hour and go together. After assembling, the officers formed in two ranks, Colonel Starbird and Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding forming the first file and so on down, according to rank. Upon arriving at Brigade headquarters, all were conducted into a tent, where there were tables loaded with the good things of life as far as they could be procured in that locality. As the officers stood in line, they were first offered, beginning with those highest in rank, some of that nourishment which is said to cool a man in summer and quicken his circulation in winter. To the surprise of officers from other regiments, it was declined from the right to the left of the line. All did justice, however, to the more solid viands. After passing a pleasant evening and forming to march out of the tent as they had entered, Captain Smart, a man of con-

¹Frederick Rosignal was mustered into the service February 29th, 1864. He was a prisoner at the close of the war and was captured near the time of this battle. The records do not disclose the precise date of capture.

siderable humor, said to Colonel Starbird: "The next time we go to Brigade headquarters, I think it would be best to march left in front!"

Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding was assigned to the command of the Fifty-ninth New York Regiment, on March 13th, and at his own request was relieved and returned to the Regiment on the 28th of the same month, so that he might be with his own boys in the spring campaign. Subsequently he was highly complimented by the officers of the Fifty-ninth and presented with a beautiful badge.

From the beginning of the war there had been a vexatious lack of harmony between some of the governors of the seceded states and the Davis government. This was particularly true of Governors Vance, of North Carolina, and Brown, of Georgia. The "encroachments" of the National government had stimulated their imagination before the war, but later they experienced the relentless tyranny of the Confederate authorities. In the spring and summer of 1862 a long and acrimonious correspondence between Governor Brown, probably the ablest of their governors, and Jeff Davis took place. Governor Brown contended that the Confederate conscription act was unconstitutional and protested against its execution as a "rapid stride toward military despotism." Against this bold and dangerous "usurpation" by the Confederate Congress, he threatened to use the military force of the state.

As early as April 1864, Mr. Stephens, the Vice-president of the Confederacy, had denounced Jeff. Davis as "weak, vascillating, timid, petulant, peevish and obstinate" and characterized his administration as one of "weakness and imbecility."

Governor Vance, also, had troubles of his own. As illustrating the amenities of this turbulent period and Vance's estimation of the impressment laws and the moral worth of the Confederate cavalry, doing duty in his state, the following letter is introduced:

"State of North Carolina, Executive Department, Raleigh, December 21, 1863.

Hon. James A. Seddon,
Secretary of War.
Dear Sir:—

I desire to call your attention to an evil which is inflicting great

distress upon the people of this state and contributing largely to the public discontent. I allude to illegal seizures of property and other depredations of an outrageous character by detached bands of troops, chiefly cavalry. The Department, I am sure, can have no idea of the extent and character of this evil. It is enough in many cases to breed a rebellion in a loyal county against the Confederacy, and has actually been the cause of much alienation of feeling in many parts of North Carolina. It is not my purpose now to give instances and call for punishment of the offenders—that I do to their commanding officers—but to ask if some order or regulation for the government of troops on detached service, the severe and unflinching execution of which might not check this stealing, pilfering, burning, and sometimes murderous conduct. I give you my word that in North Carolina it has become a grievance, intolerable, damnable, and not to be borne. If God Almighty had yet in store another plague worse than all others which he intended to have let loose on the Egyptians in case Pharaoh still hardened his heart, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half-armed, half-disciplined Confederate cavalry. Had they been turned loose among Pharaoh's subjects, with or without an impressment law, he would have become so sensible of the anger of God that he never would have followed the children of Israel to the Red Sea! No, sir, not an inch! Cannot officers be reduced to the ranks for permitting this? Cannot a few men be shot for perpetrating these outrages, as an example? Unless something can be done, I shall be compelled in some sections to call out my militia and levy actual war against them. I beg your early and earnest attention to this matter Very respectfully yours,

Z. B. Vance."

The following is the indorsement of the Secretary of War:

"December 25, 1863.

Adjutant-General:

Can you suggest or do you advise a general order to avert the threatened disasters which so affect Governor Vance's imagination I. A. S.,

Secretary."

As the winter wore away, evidences began to multiply showing that the great Rebellion was reaching the last ditch. As month succeeded month, the feeling of confidence grew that we were rapidly approaching the end of the contest. Early in January, 1865, General Grant had issued and had printed a Special Order, with respect to the treatment to be accorded to deserters from the Confederate Army. These deserters who came to us were to be employed in the Quartermaster's department when they desired employment. No military service was to be required of them, and when they brought arms, mules, horses or other property into our lines, they were to be paid the 'highest price' which such property was worth. Extraordinary efforts were made to give this special order wide circulation,

where it would do the most good. Every cavalry squadron on a raid into the enemy's country left copies of this order at houses and in old intrenchments. Copies were thrown out between the picket lines at night and bundles with stones attached thrown far toward their lines in the day time. These furnished good reading to the homesick and discontented Confederates, who, by means of deception, fraud or force, had been made unwilling soldiers. This literature, together with the logic of events, began to bear fruit.

In February, 1865, General Lee began calling the attention of the officials of the crumbling Confederacy to the 'alarming frequency of desertions' from the Confederate army. At one time in February, he reported four hundred desertions in twelve days from the Divisions of Wilcox and Heth alone. He reported again the same month that hundreds of men were deserting "nightly." In ten days, from February 5th to February 15th, Lee informed his government that 1094 men had deserted from the infantry troops alone, some of whom had come into our lines. On January 23rd, General Anderson reported that desertions were increasing in his Division.

Colonel Lang, commanding Finegan's Brigade in Mahone's Division, reported that on January 17th, four men, occupying a pit on the picket line, were suspected of an intention to desert and a sentinel was placed on guard over them, one on each side of the pit. During the night the six men walked into our lines! They were Florida soldiers.

Stringent measures were adopted to keep the Confederate soldiers from deserting, from leaving the ranks, and even from talking discouragingly of the gloomy outlook. By general orders, issued February 22nd, 1865, General Lee provided for one file-closer for every ten men. These file-closers were to be "carefully instructed in their duties by regimental commanders." Among the duties prescribed for them, were to promptly "cut down and fire upon" men who refused to advance, disobeyed orders, retreated or used words "calculated to produce alarm among the troops." ¹

In January, 1865, we find Governors Brown, of Georgia, and

¹ W. R. Vol. 46, part 2, page 1249.

Vance, of North Carolina, corresponding with reference to a convention of the governors of some of the secession states, squinting toward a second secession. Governor Vance expressed the fear that a severance of existing relations could not possibly be effected with such unanimity as to prevent a considerable minority—backed by the army inaugurating "a state of anarchy more horrible than anything yet endured." They balked at further "domestic strife and bloodshed." The medicine they swallowed with bravado in 1861, was beginning to operate in a different manner from what they had dreamed.

Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate congress from Tennessee, having become discouraged or disgusted, was endeavoring, with his wife to get out of the Confederacy. He hoped to get through the lines unmolested. He was arrested. however, at Occoquan, a small village twenty-five miles south of Alexandria, and taken back to Richmond. Our War Department sent to Occoquan and brought Mrs. Foote to Washington. Foote was United States Senator from Mississippi from '47 to '52 and beat Jeff Davis in the canvass for Governor of that state in 1852. He frequently spoke against secession in Tennessee in 1861. Mr. Foote was released at Richmond, upon the recommendation of the Confederate congress, after his application for a writ of habeas corpus had been granted. He went north to New York and thence to Europe. Mr. Foote begged the privilege of returning to the United States within three months. He stated that there was a "solemn compact entered into" between most of the Tennessee, a large minority of the North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and a small portion of the Mississippi and Virginia delegations in the Confederate congress, that "if peace was not speedily restored, they would, in defiance of Jeff Davis and the war faction, stump their respective states for immediate reunion with the Federal states." Foote, who never had much love for Davis, stated that all well-informed citizens of the South knew their cause was doomed to failure.

On the 3rd of February, President Lincoln and Secretary Seward had an interview, in Hampton Roads, on board of a steamer, with Alexander H. Stephens, J. A. Campbell and R. M. T. Hunter from Richmond. Lincoln went down to meet these men at the suggestion of General Grant. The interview was, in the language of the Confederate commissioners, "to ascertain upon what terms the existing war can be terminated honorably." When President Lincoln informed these three gentlemen that three things were indispensably necessary to the termination of the war, viz: "The restoration of the National authority throughout all the states, the freedom of the slaves and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government," these three gentlemen shouldered their baggage and their humiliation and returned to Richmond, sadder and wiser men. Stephens was vice-president of the so-called Confederacy and originally a Union man. Campbell was from Alabama and had been formerly a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but resigned in 1861 and went south. Hunter had been United States Senator from Virginia and was expelled from the Senate in July 1861, after his withdrawal, to try secession with his State.

The Confederates had begun their preparations for arming the negroes in February and March, 1865. It was a measure adopted in their extremity and as a last resort. It was with them a serious question how extensively or how willingly their slaves would engage in a war, the express object of which was to continue them and their children in everlasting bondage. The war closed so soon that this problem was never solved.

There has been a concerted effort in the South, during the last few decades, to demonstrate that slavery was not the cause of the war. The reflection that a wicked and causeless war was precipitated upon the country and the fair Southland was made desolate and her sons given a sacrifice for the perpetuation of human slavery, does not leave a good taste in the mouth. After President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation had been issued, Jefferson Davis, in a message to the Confederate Congress spoke of that proclamation as "the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man." There is chiselled into the granite monument that marks the grave of Mr. Davis in Richmond, the recital that he was the "Defender of the Constitution." This, in itself, would be amusing, were it not for the fact that there are a few people left who believe the inscription to be true.

CHAPTER XVI.

PRISONERS OF WAR.

"The difference between the martyr and the victim, the soldier who falls on the field of honor and a man who meets a miserable death from preventable causes for which his government is criminally respon ible, is as wide as the celestial diameters. The one meets death, compensated in the thought that his life is given in the protection of his country's flag and honor; the other is ignominiously forced to the grave through the neglect of the government that shamefully fails to protect the life he offered in its defence."

The author of the above lines is unknown to the writer of this history, but he desires to adopt them as his own. Of all the horrors that are remembered in connection with the War of the Rebellion, the most pitiful and, to a large extent, preventable, are the large number of prisoners who died of disease and starvation in Confederate prisons. The exact number will never be known. From thirteen to fifteen thousand were buried at Andersonville prison—the very name of which has become a synonym for unbelievable brutality and fiendishness. In the Andersonville list of martyrs, Maine furnished nearly three hundred. The imperfectly kept records disclose the names of 232 Maine soldiers. Of this number, thirty-two soldiers came from the Nineteenth Maine. As nearly as can be ascertained, our Regiment had more than fifty men who died in the prisons of the South. These numbers include the members of the Fourth Maine, who died after their transfer to our Regiments.

No one in the North believes today that Confederate soldiers were starved to death in Northern prisons. The mortality among these soldiers was very great. It is generally thought that climatic influences was a potent factor in producing such

appalling mortality. Confederate soldiers from the Gulf states must have suffered extremely from the cold winters at Elmira, New York, on Johnson's Island and at Chicago, especially where the prison consisted of an open stockadge, as at Elmira. In "Regimental Losses," by Colonel W. F. Fox, a statement is made, which the writer has never seen denied: that the field in which three thousand Confederate soldiers were buried at Elmira was plowed very soon after the war and sowed with wheat. "Now the grain of summer and the snow of winter show no sign of the hapless Confederates who are buried and rest beneath its surface." This statement causes a blush of shame to mantle the cheeks of every self-respecting Union soldier who met these brave but misguided Confederates on the field of battle.

There must have been some causes thought to be sufficient which set aside Union prisoners to languish and to die in prison, instead of paroling and exchanging them. That cause is not far to seek. The truth ought to be plain now, however much writers have attempted to cloud the issue and misrepresent the facts. A history of the Nineteenth Maine would be incomplete without some reference to its soldiers who were left to languish and die in these prison pens. If the Confederate government refused to exchange prisoners with our government, then there is not much to be said. If, however, the exchange of prisoners was, through deceit and jugglery, deliberately prevented by our own government, that fact, in all fairness, ought to be recorded.

On the 19th of April, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, in which he declared that all persons taken prisoners from Rebel privateers which had begun to destroy our shipping, should "be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the preventation and punishment of piracy." In plain language, this meant that they should be hung. Soon after this proclamation was issued, the Union tars captured the Rebel privateers "Jeff Davis," "Savannah," "Petrel" and others, and with them, quite a number of prisoners. One of these prisoners, a certain William Smith, taken from the "Jeff," Davis," was tried before a United States court in Philadelphia in October, 1861, for the crime of piracy, and was found guilty.

There were upwards of fifty privateer prisoners left for trial. President Davis sent a letter to President Lincoln, on July 6th, 1861, calling attention to the rumored attitude which our government proposed to take with respect to privateer prisoners, and offering to exchange, man for man, the naval prisoners held by both governments. Davis informed the President in this letter that he proposed to deal out to the prisoners held by him the same treatment and the same fate experienced by the Confederate privateersmen. There is no evidence that this letter was ever answered. On November 9th, General Winder, under the direction of the Confederate War Department, drew by lot the name of Michael Corcoran-Colonel of the Sixtyninth New York Regiment, as a hostage to answer for Smith. Thirteen other officers—all field officers but three—were then drawn by lot to answer for a like number of Confederate prisoners of war captured at sea by the Union navy. Among these officers were Colonels Lee, of the Twentieth Massachusetts, and Cogswell, of the Forty-second New York Regiment, both of which regiments were in our Brigade the last year of the war. After some months of weighing consequences, these Confederate seamen were paroled and exchanged. This fiasco ended the hanging of Confederate privateersmen, and for a short time interrupted the exchange of prisoners.

During the first two years and a half of the war the paroling and exchanging of prisoners, with some friction occasionally manifested, went on without serious interruption.. On July 23rd, 1862, a general cartel for the paroling and exchanging of prisoners was agreed upon and signed on behalf of their respective governments by Major-General Dix for the United States and Major-General D. H. Hill for the Confederate government. This agreement was ratified by the respective governments. It included "all prisoners of war held by either party." This cartel provided (Art. 4) that all prisoners of war should "be discharged on parole in ten days after their capture." Surplus prisoners upon either side not exchanged were not permitted to take up arms nor perform any military duty until regularly exchanged. Aiken's Landing, on the James river, and Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, were the places designated for the delivery

of paroled prisoners until regularly exchanged. In case any misunderstanding arose in regard to any clause or stipulation in the articles of agreement, it was mutually agreed that such misunderstanding should not interrupt the release of prisoners on parole, but should be made the subject of "friendly explanations." In the voluminous correspondence between the two governments this general cartel is often referred to by the Confederate authorities, who simply demanded that its terms should be complied with by our people in the spirit in which it was originally entered into and ratified.

Sometimes the excess of prisoners was with us and sometimes with the Confederates. From the date of the cartel until July 1st, 1863, the excess was generally in favor of the Confederates. Subsequent to that date, the excess was generally in our favor. There was some controversy over the prisoners paroled by General Grant at Vicksburg, many of whom deserted before General Pemberton could get them to some central station within the Confederate lines. The Union authorities charged that the Confederates had declared Pemberton's men as exchanged without authority, and that their action was a breach of the cartel on the part of the Confederates. There was also some disagreement between the governments in regard to the prisoners paroled by General Banks at Port Hudson.

General Butler was appointed Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners in November, 1863, having his headquarters with the Army of the James and convenient to Aiken's Landing. General Butler had been "outlawed" by the Confederate government, and his appointment was especially offensive to the Confederates. At first they declined to have any communication with him. Nauseating, however, as this dose of medicine was, they gulped it down in order to facilitate the exchange of prisoners, something which they favored and which might possibly have benefited them more than us.

On the 18th of November, 1863, General Butler, writing from Fortress Monroe to Secretary Stanton, used the following language:

"I am informed and believe that the Rebel authorities will exchange every officer and soldier they now hold in custody, whether colored or not, upon receiving an equivalent number in rank from us.

* * * I assume that we have, in actual custody, some twenty-six thousand prisoners, against thirteen thousand that the Rebels have. Now, then, why may not Ould's proposition be accepted, and we exchange man for man, officer for officer, until the Rebels stop? If then every prisoner they hold has been exchanged, then the question of color does not arise, and our men will have been relieved from starvation up to that number. But, if the colored prisoners and their officers shall not be produced by the Rebels for exchange, we shall have ten thousand of their men upon whom to work both retaliation and reprisal to the fullest extent,—to wring from the Rebels justice to the colored soldiers. It is not necessary to argue this point; its statement is the argument. This action—not offers and correspondence—will place the government right before the country, and if then the Negro prisoners, whether civilians or soldiers or their officers are kept in prison or maltreated, the world will justify us in reprisal and retaliation to any extent."

At first the South refused to parole any officers or soldiers of Negro regiments. This position, however, was soon abandoned. But the Confederate government then and always claimed the right, where runaway slaves were captured while wearing our uniform, to return them when identified, to their owners, on demand. It is not probable that a hundred slaves were returned to their owners in this way; yet its importance was purposely exaggerated by our government in order to make an excuse to give the public for refusing to parole and exchange the prisoners held by us.

Under date of April 9th, 1864, General Butler, as Commissioner of exchange, wrote a letter to Secretary Stanton, in which he informed that official of a recent interview he had had with Commissioner Ould on behalf of the Confederates and of their discussion of all differences existing between the two governments. Then General Butler adds:

"In regard to the paroles, the Confederate commissioner claims nothing, so far as I can see, which he is not willing to concede to us, acting under the cartel and our general orders, with the exception that I believe on both sides it should be yielded that before as well as subsequent to order No. 207, of July 3rd, 1863, paroles should not be accepted by either belligerent of officers or soldiers who were not so far in the power of the captor as to be taken to a place of safety, and I believe this proposition will be agreed to by the Confederate commissioner. * * * All other points of difference were substantially agreed upon so that the exchange might go on rapidly and smoothly, man for man and officer for officer of equal rank, and officers for their equivalents in privates, as settled by the cartel."

On April 1st, 1864, General Grant visited General Butler at Fortress Monroe and gave him most emphatic verbal orders not to take any steps by which another able-bodied man should be exchanged until further orders from him. General Grant stated that by the exchange of prisoners we received no men fit to go into our army, and every soldier we gave to the Confederates went immediately into theirs, so that the exchange was virtually so much aid to them and none to us. General Grant, on the 14th of April, 1864, sent the following communication to General Butler: "Your report respecting negotiations with Commissioner Ould for the exchange of prisoners of war has been referred to me for my orders. Until examined by me, and my orders thereon are received by you, decline all further negotiations."

One Colonel D. T. Chandler, an Assistant Inspector-General, August 5th, 1864, made a report to General R. H. Chilton, Assistant Adjutant and Inspector-General at Richmond describing the conditions existing at Andersonville and painting such a picture of the deplorable conditions there, that appear at this time almost unbelievable. General Chilton indorsed upon the report when referring it to the Confederate Secretary of War as follows: "The condition of the prison at Andersonville is a reproach to us as a nation." When the report reached the Confederate War Department, among the things indorsed and recommended are the following: "The discomforts and sufferings of the prisoners seem almost incredible; and the frightful percentum of mortality, steadily increasing until in the month of July it had attained the extent of 62.7 per one thousand, appears to be only a necessary consequence of the criminal indifference of the authorities charged with their care and custody. No effectual remedy for all these evils seems available so long as the numbers are in such large excess over that for which the prison was designed; but something must be done at once to ameliorate the condition "2

In Colonel Chandler's report he states:

"There is no medical attendance furnished within the stockade \cdot Small quantities of medicines are placed in the hands of certain prison-

¹Butler's Book, p. 592. 2W. R. Series II. Vol. VII. p. 550.

ers of each squad or division and the sick are directed to be brought out by the sergeants of squads daily to 'sick-call' to the medical officers who attend at the gate. The crowd at these times is so great that only the strongest can get access to the doctors, the weaker ones being unable to force their way through the press; and the hospital accommodations are so limited that though the beds (so-called) have all or nearly all two occupants each, large numbers who would otherwise be received are necessarily sent back to the stockade. Many—twenty yesterday—are carted out daily who have died from unknown causes and whom the medical officers have never seen. The dead are hauled out daily by the wagon load and buried without coffins, their hands in many instances being first mutilated with axes in the removal of any finger rings they may have. The sanitary condition of the prisoners is as wretched as can be, the principal cause of mortality being scurvy and chronic diarrhea, the percentage of the former being disproportionately large among those brought from Belle Isle. Nothing seems to have been done and but little if any effort made to arrest it by procuring proper food."

On August 14th, 1864, Major-General Stoneman, then confined in the military prison at Charleston, South Carolina, and other officers there confined with him, joined in a petition to the President of the United States urging the exchange of prisoners confined at Andersonville. At the same time there was a petition to the same effect presented by the Sergeants, commanding squads in Andersonville prison. It is distressing to read these appeals to our Government. Among these petitioning Sergeants we find the names of W. D. Gilmore, Company H, Fourth Maine, and F. Webers, Company G, Ninth Maine. General Stoneman and the other officers at Charleston after reciting the fact that nothing more demoralizes soldiers and develops the evil passions of men than does starvation, and that the prisoners at Andersonville were fast losing hope, and crazed by their sufferings were wandering about in a state of idiocy, add in their petition:

"Few of them have been captured except in the front of battle in the deadly encounter, and only when overpowered by numbers; they constitute as gallant a portion of our armies as carry our banner anywhere. If released they would soon return to again do vigorous battle for ourcause. We are told that the only obstacle in the way of exchange is the status of enlisted negroes captured from our armies; the United States claiming that the cartel covers all who serve under its flag and the Confederate States refusing to consider the negro soldiers, heretofore slaves, as prisoners of war. We beg leave to suggest some facts bearing upon the question of exchange which we would urge upon this consideration.

"Is it not consistent with the national honor, without waiving the claim that the negro soldiers shall be treated as prisoners of war, yet to effect an exchange of the white soldiers? The two classes are treated

differently by the enemy, the white is confined in such prisons as Libby and Andersonville, starved and treated with a barbarism unknown to civilized nations; the black, on the contrary, is seldom imprisoned; they are distributed among the citizens or employed upon Government Under these circumstances they receive enough to eat and are worked no harder than accustomed to; they are neither starved nor killed off by the pestilence in the dungeons of Richmond and Charleston. It is true they are again made slaves, but their slavery is freedom and happiness compared with the cruel existence imposed *pon our gallant men. They are not bereft of hope, as are the Union soldiers dying by inches. Their chances of escape are tenfold greater than those of the white soldiers, and their condition, viewed in all its lights, is tolerable in comparison with that of the prisoners of war now languishing in the dens and pens of 'Secession.'"

"Let 35,000 suffering, starving and dying enlisted men aid this appeal to the Chief Magistrate of the Republic for prompt and decisive

action in their behalf; 35,000 heroes will be made happy. For the 1,800 commissioned officers, now prisoners, we urge nothing. Although desirous of returning to our duty, we can bear imprisonment with more fortitude if the enlisted men, whose sufferings we know to be intolerable, were restored to liberty and life."

At a meeting of the Sergeants commanding detachments of prisoners at Andersonville in July, 1864, a preamble and address were unanimously adopted. This address was couched in the most moderate language so as not to offend the Confederates who knew of the action of the prisoners. This production of the Andersonville prisoners was carried through the lines by Prescott Tracy, a private in Company G, Eighty-second New York--a regiment belonging to our Brigade. Tracy was captured at the battle of Jerusalem plank road and paroled in August 1864. He saw General Stoneman in Charleston and secreted upon his clothing General Stoneman's petition and brought it through the lines. Both petitions were later presented to President Lincoln. This address of the Andersonville prisoners is as follows:

"Preamble.—Apparently one of the effects of the progress of this terrible war has been to deaden our sympathies and make us more selfish than we were when the tocsin of battle strife first sounded in the land. Perhaps this state of public feeling was to have been anticipated. The frequency with which you hear of captures in battles, and the accounts which you have seen of their treatment, has robbed the spectacle of its novelty and, by a law of nature, has taken off the edge of sensibilities and made them less the subject of interest. No one can know the horrors of imprisonment in crowded and filthy quarters but him who has endured it, and it requires a brave heart not to succumb. But hunger, filth, nakedness, squalor, and disease are as nothing compared with the heartsickness which wears prisoners down, most of them young men whose terms of enlistment have expired, and many of them with nothing to attach them to the cause in which they

suffer but principle and love of country and of friends. Does the misfortune of being taken prisoner make us less the object of interest and value to our government? If such you plead, plead it no longer. These are no common men, and it is no common merit that they call upon you to aid in their release from captivity.

We, undersigned sergeants in the U. S. Army, having in charge the various detachments of prisoners now confined in Andersonville,

Ga., would respectfully represent:

First: That a large portion of the prisoners have been held as such for periods ranging from nine to fifteen months, subject to all hardships and privations incident to a state of captivity in an enemy's

country.

Second. That there are now confined in this prison from 25,000 to 30,000 men, with daily accessions of hundreds, and that the mortality among them, generated by various causes, such as change of climate, dirt, and want of proper exercise, is becoming truly frightful to contemplate, and is rapidly increasing in virulence, decimating their ranks by hundreds weekly.

Third. In view of the foregoing facts, we, your petitioners, most earnestly yet respectfully pray that some action be immediately taken to effect our speedy release, either on parole or by exchange, the dictates both of humanity and justice alike demanding it on the

part of our Government.

Fourth. We shall look forward with a hopeful confidence that something will be speedily done in this matter, believing that a proper statement of the facts is all that is necessary to secure a redress of the grievances complained of.

Fifth. The above has been read to each detachment by its respective sergeant and been approved by the men, who have unanimously authorized each sergeant to sign it as will and deed of the whole."

These pitiful and heartrending appeals fell upon deaf ears. Full authority with respect to exchange of prisoners was vested in the Commander-in-chief and he had ordered that no further exchanges should be made. This order did not apply to naval prisoners. Special exchanges also of officers, who had strong political influence with their home government, was constantly carried on.

On August 19th, 1864, General Grant in a letter to Secretary Seward states that "We ought not to make a single exchange nor release a prisoner on any pretext whatever. We have got to fight until the military power of the South is exhausted, and if we release or exchange prisoners captured it simply becomes a war of extermination." (W. R. Vol. 7, Series 2, p. 615.)

On the 10th of August, 1864, the Confederate authorities professing to be moved by the suffering of the men in prisons upon each side, yielded every demand that they ever made for what they claimed to be fairness in the exchange of prisoners,

and addressed the following letter to our assistant commissioner of exchange, at Fortress Monroe:

"RICHMOND, VA., August 10th, '64.

MAJ. JOHN MULFORD,

Asst. Agent of Exchange.

Sir:—You have several times proposed to me to exchange the prisoners respectively held by the two belligerents officer for officer and man for man. The same offer has also been made by other officials having charge of the matters connected with the exchange of prisoners. This proposition has heretofore been declined by the Confederate authorities, they insisting upon the terms of the cartel which required the delivery of the excess upon either side upon parole. In view, however, of the very large number of prisoners now held by each party, and the suffering consequent upon their continued confinement, I now consent to the above proposal and agree to deliver to you the prisoners held in captivity by the Confederate authorities, provided you agree to deliver an equal number of Confederate officers and men. As equal numbers are delivered from time to time, they will be declared exchanged. This proposal is made with the understanding that the officers and men on both sides, who have been longest in captivity, will be first delivered, where it is practicable. I shall be happy to hear from you as speedily as possible whether this arrangement can be carried out.

Respectfully your obedient servant, R. Ould,

Agent of Exchange."

When this letter was delivered there was a statement of the great mortality which was hurrying so many Union prisoners to the grave at Andersonville. A copy of this letter was sent to General Hitchcock, the United States Commissioner of exchange, and also to Secretary Stanton at Washington. By continual pounding, after the lapse of more than twenty days the following letter was sent to the Confederate Commissioner of exchange, under date of August 31, 1864:

"Hon. R. Ould.

Agent of Exchange.

Sir:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of to-day, requesting answer, etc., to your communication of the 10th inst., on the question of exchange of prisoners. To which, in reply, I would say, I have no communication on the subject from our authorities, nor am I authorized to make answer.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

John E. Mulford, Asst. Agent of Exchange.''

So far as the records show, no further attention was ever paid to this eminently fair proposition on the part of the Confederate authorities.

Subsequent to that time, there was an agreement between the Union and Confederate governments that each side might send anything in the way of eatables, clothing and blankets to their prisoners which it was desired to send. Union officers who were prisoners in the South were selected to distribute what was sent to the Union prisoners there, and Confederate officers, confined in prisons in the North, were authorized to distribute what was sent from the South. This agreement was entered into between Generals Grant and Lee. It went on satisfactorily for a while and then there was such a hue and cry made that the supplies for our prisoners in the South were not being fairly distributed, and were being stolen by the Confederate authorities, that, after furnishing a statement from the Union officers distributing our supplies in the South showing the fairness with which the work had been done, Commissioner Ould sent a communication stopping all further courtesies of that kind.

Some time in the late summer or early autumn of 1864, after consultation with General Grant and with his approval, General Butler prepared a long argument pretending to set forth our side of the controversy with the Confederates, couched in the most offensive form possible, consistent with ordinary courtesy of language and forwarded the same to Mr. Ould, the Confederate Commissioner. This was done for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of General Grant that no prisoners of war should be exchanged. The claims set forth by General Butler in this letter were purposely made extravagant. General Butler has stated that with the consent of General Grant, as a last resort, in order to prevent the exchange of prisoners, he determined to demand that the outlawry against him should be formally reversed by the Confederate government and apologized for before he would enter into any further negotiations with Mr. Ould. This "last resort" move of Butler was approved by General Grant. General Butler's argument, however, was sufficient to settle the Confederntes for a while.

General Grant readily consented to the exchange of naval prisoners. Naval colored prisoners did not impede in any respect the exchange of prisoners. General Butler wrote to Secretary Stanton, October 3rd, 1864, complaining of this procedure. He stated that "our soldiers will not be too well le sed to hear that sailors can, and soldiers cannot, be exchanged.

To illustrate how important a factor former slaves had become in relation to the subject to the exchange of prisoners the following correspondence is introduced:

"Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia,

October 1, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States:
General: With a view of alleviating the sufferings of our soldiers, I have the honor to propose an exchange of the prisoners of war belonging to the armies operating in Virginia, man for man, or upon the basis established by the cartel.

With much respect, your obedient servant, R. E. Lee.

General."

"Headquarters Armies of the United States,

October 2, 1864.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Northern Virginia:

General: Your letter of yesterday proposing to exchange prisoners of war belonging to the armies operating in Virginia is received. I could not of a right accept your proposition further than to exchange those prisoners captured within the last three days and who have not yet been delivered to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. Among those lost by the armies operating against Richmond were a number of colored troops. Before further negotiations are had upon the subject I would ask if you propose delivering these men the same as white soldiers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. Grant,

Lieutenant-General."

"Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia,

October 3, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant,

Commanding Armies of the United States:

General: In my proposition of the 1st instant to exchange the prisoners of war belonging to the armies operating in Virginia I intended to include all captured soldiers of the United States of whatever nation and color under my control. Deserters from our service and negroes belonging to our citizens are not considered subjects of exchange and were not included in my proposition. If there are any such among those stated by you to have been captured around Richmond they cannot be returned.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. Lee, General." "Headquarters Armies of the United States,

October 3, 1864.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Northern Virginia:

GENERAL: Your letter of this date is received. In answer I have to state that the Government is bound to secure to all persons received into her armies the rights due to soldiers. This being denied by you in the persons of such men as have escaped from Southern masters induces me to decline making the exchanges you ask. The whole matter, however, will be referred to the proper authority for their decision, and whatever it may be will be adhered to.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Lieutenant-General,"1

Mr. Ould, the Commissioner of exchange, under date of November 1st, 1864, in his report to Mr. Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, uses the following language:

This report of Mr. Ould was not made for publication, but was furnished in accordance with the requirements of the Confederate government. It may be taken as settled that the Confederates offered to exchange prisoners, "officer for officer and man for man," until all the prisoners held by the Confederates were exchanged. And then we would have had nearly 15,000 Confederate prisoners on our hands.

Surgeon Joseph Jones of the Confederate army was ordered to inspect the Andersonville Prison, and on October 19th, 1864, made a full report to Surgeon-General Moore of the Confederate War Department. The following extract shows some of the

¹W. R. Series II, Volume VII, p. p. 906, 909, 914.

horrible and revolting conditions existing in that prison and endured by the unfortunate Union prisoners there confined:

"Since the establishment of this prison on the 24th of February, 1864, to the present time, over 10,000 Federal prisoners have died; that is, nearly one-third of the entire number have perished in less than seven months.

"I instituted careful investigations into the condition of the sink and well and performed numerous post-mortem examinations. The medical topography of Andersonville and the surrounding country was examined, and the waters of the springs, streams and wells around and within the stockade and hospital carefully analyzed.

"Diarrhoea, dysentry, scurvy, and hospital gangrene were the diseases which have been the main cause of this extraordinary mor-The origin and character of the hospital gangrene which prevailed to so remarkable a degree, and with such fatal effect amongst the Federal prisoners, engaged my most serious and earnest consideration. More than 30,000 men crowded upon twenty-seven acres of land, with little or no shelter from the intense heat of a Southern summer, or from the rain and the dew of night, with coarse corn bread from which the husk had not been removed, with but scant supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, with little or no attention to hygiene, with festering masses of filth at the very doors of their rude dens and tents, with the greater portion of the banks of the stream flowing through the stockade, a filthy quagmire of human excrements alive with working maggots, generated by their own filthy exhalations and excretions, an atmosphere that so deteriorated and contaminated their solids and fluids that the slightest scratch and even the bites of small insects were in some cases followed by such rapid and extensive gangrene as to destroy extremities and even life itself.

"A large number of operations have been performed in the hospital on account of gangrene following slight injuries and abrasions of the surface. In almost every case of amputation for gangrene the disease returned, and a large proportion of the cases have terminated

fatally."

The statistics which have been given and quoted so often since the close of the war with regard to deaths in Confederate prisons are not reliable. The original records of these prisons in the possession of the War Department are far from being complete. The War Department has never secured the "Death Registers" of the following well known places of confinement for large numbers of Union soldiers, viz: Americus, Atlanta, Augusta, Macon, Marietta and Savannah, Ga.; Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas; Charleston, S. C.; Lynchburg, Va.; Mobile and Montgomery, Ala.; and other small prisons of the South. Only partial records of the prisons at Columbia and Florence, S. C., Millen, Ga., and Salisbury, N. C., are in the possession of the War Department. While the number of known deaths in the

Confederate prisons is increasing yearly, the death number will never be definitely known.

From information contained in a Memorandum Circular issued by the Adjutant-General's office in Washington, under date of March 12th, 1908, the tables below given have been made. The number of Union soldiers who died in prison as given in one of these tables includes only the number actually known to have died in Confederate prisons.

UNION SOLDIERS.

Captured during the war. Paroled on the field. Died in captivity. Joined in the Confederate service. Escaped from prison.	211,411 16,668 30,218 3,161 2,744
	-,.
CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.	
Captured during the war	462,634
Paroled on the field	247,769
Died in captivity	25,976
Joined the U. S. service	5,419
Escaped from prison	1 038

All medicines were made contraband of war. The Confederate authorities tried to purchase from the North, and pay for in cash, certain medicines which they pledged should be used for the treatment of our sick and dying soldiers in their prisons, but our government would not consent. At he time small pox prevailed among the Union prisoners at Richmond, General Butler sent vaccine matter sufficient for six thousand vaccinations to the Confederate commissioner to be used for the benefit of our prisoners.

In the spring of 1865, the Confederate government offered to surrender to us all our sick and disabled prisoners, without any compensation at all. After a long delay, as though the government grudgingly assumed the expense of bringing these Union invalids north and caring for them, nearly 13,000 were delivered by the Confederates at Savannah, without asking or receiving any soldiers in exchange.

On the authority of General J. B. Imboden, and after Savannah had been captured by General Sherman, he offered to send all of the prisoners confined at Andersonville and some

other places, to Saint Augustine, Florida, without asking any thing in return therefor, and the Union officer in command at that place offered to receive them. After several thousand had been started and got into the State of Florida, this officer informed the Confederate authorities that he could not receive them without communication with General Grant, who was then at City Point. And, as short of transportation as the Southerners were, these men had to be hauled back to Andersonville. Whatever correspondence was carried on between these parties cannot be found in the War Records.

No attempt is made here to palliate or excuse the brutal treatment of prisoners at Andersonville. It was doubtless true that it was almost impossible to properly feed as many prisoners as were confined there. The resources, the supplies, the provisions and transportation facilities the South had, were getting mighty poor, in 1864 and 1865. If anything could have been more cruel than the treatment of our prisoners by the Confederates, it was the criminal neglect shown them by our own authorities.

It is claimed by some that General Grant in refusing to exchange prisoners was following the example of General Washington, who refused to exchange British prisoners in the War of the Revolution for the prison ship martyrs confined in the prison hulks in New York Harbor. This is an unfair statement. It is true that the British authorities offered to make this exchange. Washington wrote to Congress that such an exchange "would immediately give the enemy considerable reinforcements and will be a constant draft hereafter upon the prisoners of war in our hands, while the exchange of American prisoners, being captured while engaged in private enterprises would return to their homes." Washington's words here quoted furnish a justification for his refusal. The privateersman was neither a sailor nor soldier enlisted in the service of his country. He was engaged in a form of private war upon the enemy's commerce and one of his principal motives was usually financial profit. Privateering was then a legitimate form of warfare but has now become obsolete. Certainly, General Washington was under no obligation to give up British soldiers

captured in battle for the private citizens held by the British government, who, if exchanged, would return to their homes or start out on another privateering expedition.

The "rate of exchange," computed in prisoners, had been agreed upon. In the exchange of prisoners it was not always possible to exchange man for man in the rank which the men occupied. If there was an excess of officers on one side it was made up by throwing in a few privates on the other. Two private soldiers would purchase a Sergeant, four, a Lieutenant and six, a Captain. It took eight privates to equal a Major, ten, a Lieutenant-Colonel, fifteen, a Colonel and twenty, a Brigadier-General. The writer has seen cases where the Government would be cheated by swapping a private for a Colonel, or even a Brigadier-General, man for man.

From reports filed with the Confederate War Department it appears that there were the following number of prisoners at Andersonville at the dates given.

June 1st, 1864.	In hospital. Total. Died during month of May.	17415 1039 18454 1203
July 1st,	In hospital	25005 1362 26367 1742
August 1st,	In hospital. Total. Died in July.	29985 1693 31678 2993
Sept. 1st,	In hospital	29473 2220 31693
Oct. 1st,	In hospital. Total. Died during Sept.	6147 2071 8218 1560
Nov. 1st	In hospital	1729 2479 4208

It would appear that on the 1st of November practically all of the well prisoners had been removed from Andersonville,

Captain Wirz, then commanding the prison, reported that during the month of October twenty-eight had escaped from prison. The approach of General Sherman's army caused the large reduction in the number of prisoners confined at that place. There were more prisoners at Andersonville in the spring of 1865, than in November 1864.

The following is a list of the members of the Nineteenth Maine who died in Confederate prison. The name of two persons are included in this list who died immediately after their parole. The writer does not claim that this list is full or entirely accurate, but it is more nearly accurate than any list he has ever seen. It is unquestionably true that the names of some few persons belonging to the Nineteenth who died while in captivity will not be found here.

NAMES OF SOLDIERS BELONGING TO THE NINETEENTH MAINE REGIMENT WHO DIED IN CONFEDERATE PR. SONS, TOGETHER WITH THE NAME OF THE PRISON, WHEN KNOWN, AND DATE OF DEATH.

Company A.

William Crosby (4th Me.), Andersonville, Sept. 12, '64; Charles E. Day, Libby Prison, Dec. 19, '64; Henry H. Fairbrother, reptd., died at Andersonville Sept. 28, '64; Henry Leavitt, Andersonville Nov. 1st, '64.

Compony B.

Henry A. Dore (paroled prisoner), Annapolis, Nov. 25, '63; Thomas E. Snowdeal, (4th Me.), name appears as F. Snowdale, Andersonville June 10th, '64.

Company C. James H. Flanders, Prison unknown, Nov. 27th, '64.

Company D.

James O. Bean, Salisbury Prison, January 15, '65; Joseph E. Clark (4th Me., Prison records show L. Clark), Andersonville, Oct. 2nd, '64; John Cook (4th Me., Prison records show James Cook), Andersonville, July 25th, '64; Oliver Cromwell (Prison records show W. H. Cromwell), Andersonville, Oct. 18, '64; Hiram B. Hoffses (Prison records show H. Hopes), Andersonville, December 27th, '64; John A. White (Reported on the muster roll as having died at Andersonville. Name not found on Andersonville records.), Oct. 1st, '64.

Company E.

John Carr, Andersonville, Sept. 15th, '64; John Foley, Andersonville, June 15th, '64; William Jones, Andersonville, August 16th, '64; Samuel O. Pease, Andersonville Aug. 21, '64; Benjamin Roberts, Andersonville November 23rd, '64; Isaac L. Sanborn, Prison and date of death unknown; Nathan S. Winslow (4th Me.), Andersonville, Aug. 13th, '64; Simon H. Willey, Andersonville, July 10th, '64.

Company F. Justus C. Briggs, Andersonville, Aug. 8th, '64; Nathaniel O. Gowell, (Name appears as N. Gowell, Company F, Nineteenth *Michigan*) Andersonville, Jan. 11th, '65; Isaac Jordan, (4th Me.), Andersonville, Feb. 6th, '65; Hezekiah D. Morse, died at Camp Lawton prison, near Miller, Ga.; Leonard B. Ricker, Prison unknown, Nov. 5, 64; Patrick Sweeney, Andersonville, Aug. 27th, '64; James O. Stevens, Libby Prison, February 27th, '64.

Company G. James Ballard (Prison records show J. Ballast), Andersonville Oct. 11th, ,64; James Hammond, Andersonville, Sept. 10th, '64; Alfred J. Marston, Andersonville, Sept. 00, '64; Albert Quimby (4th Me.). Prison and date of death unknown.

Company H. Charles L. Bigelow, Andersonville, Sept. 3rd, '64; Mark G. Babb, Augusta Prison, Ga., July 12, '64; Charles Prescott, Andersonville, Jan. 7th, '65; Cyrus L. Ring (4th Me.), Salisbury Prison, Dec. 1st, '64; George L. Smith (paroled prisoner), Annapolis, Oct. 28th, '64.

Company I.

John Anderson, Andersonville, June 28th, '64; Leverett S. Boynton (4th Me.), reptd, died Andersonville, but name does not appear on Andersonville list, died Nov. 27, '64; Augustus Burgin, Ander-sonville, Sept. 11th, '64; Jeremiah Kelley, (Name appears as I. Kellar) Oct. 28th, '64; Peter Larkin (Reptd. as having died at Andersonville, but name not found on Andersonville list) died Oct. 20th, '64; Westley Rich (4th Me.) Belle Isle, Nov. 18th, '64; Samuel D. Small (4th Me.) Belle Isle, Nov. 15th, '64; Corporal Warren B. Thorndyke, Andersonville, March 30th, '65; Philo F. Washburn, died in prison at Richmond, Va., Jan. 1st, '64.

Company K. Reuben Gibbs, Andersonville, Jan. 23rd, '65; Corporal Nathaniel C. McFarland, Andersonville, Mar. 13th, '65; Henry Roberts, Andersonville, July 24th, '64.

NAMES WHICH CANNOT BE INDETIFIED BUT FOUND ON ANDERSONVILLE LIST OF DEATHS.

- Henninger, 19th Me., July 28th, '64; S. Snower, Co. A, 19th Me., Sept. 28th, '64; F. St. Peter, Co. F. 19th Me., Oct. 27th, '64.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE APPOMATTOX CAMPAIGN.

At dawn, March the 25th, heavy firing was heard on our right, which proved to be an attack of the enemy on the Union lines at Fort Stedman. General Gordon, of the Confederate army, with nearly one-half of Lee's troops in and around Petersburg, surprised and fell with overpowering force upon the Ninth Corps, capturing Fort Stedman and one or two of the neighboring redoubts. Gordon and his men were at length driven back, losing nearly 4000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. This was the last attempt of Lee to penetrate our works. General Humphreys, with our Corps, without waiting for orders, moved with great promptness toward the enemy's works. Our attack was made with such vigor that the intrenched line of the Confederate pickets was captured and our forces pushed up to the main line of the Confederate works. At midnight the Regiment returned to the main line of works, but retained the captured works of the Confederate pickets. The enemy made repeated efforts to retake his old picket line, but was unsuccessful. The losses in the Brigade were very small. The Regiment returned to camp on the forenoon of the 26th. and remained there until the 29th of March. Herman L. Bray, Company E, is reported wounded on March 28th.

The two opposing lines now confronting each other stretched across the country for a distance of between thirty-five and forty miles. These lines began on the north, between the Chickahominy and James rivers, extended south across the peninsula between the James and Appomattox, thence southerly across the Appomattox to the south of Petersburg, and thence westerly to Hatcher's run.

Early in the morning of March 20th, our Regiment started with the Corps for Hatcher's run, having been relieved the

night before by a portion of Gibbon's Twenty-fourth Corps. This was the beginning of the last campaign of the Army of the Potomac. We crossed Hatcher's run at the Vaughn road and our Corps stretched from Hatcher's run in a westerly direction, the right of our Division resting on the run and connecting with the Third Division of our Corps on the left. The First Division of the Corps occupied the left. The left of our Corps connected with Warren's Fifth Corps at the Vaughn road crossing of Gravelly run. About one-third of each Division of the Second Corps was in reserve.

On the morning of March 29th, General Grant ordered Sheridan with his large Cavalry Corps to Dinwiddie Court House. Sheridan was reinforced by the Cavalry Division of Kautz, now commanded by that rising young Brigadier-General, R. S. MacKenzie. When the old Nineteenth was organized, General MacKenzie was a Second Lieutenant. He was made Brigadier-General, October 9th, 1864, and his rapid promotion was in every way deserved. Sheridan immediately began to move from Dinwiddie toward Five Forks with his powerful Cavalry force. Two entire Corps, the Second and Fifth, were sent across Hatcher's run to cooperate with Sheridan. Warren's Corps was on the left and next to Sheridan, but hardly within supporting distance, and Humphrey's Second Corps on Warren's right and reaching to Hatcher's run.

It was not known whether Lee would strike Humphreys next to Hatcher's run, or go down the Boydton road and attack Warren, or take the White Oak road and move westerly from Burgess' mill to Five Forks and attack Sheridan. It will be remembered that the Regiment was nearest the White Oak road, when in the vicinity of Burgess' mill, at the time of the engagement on the Boydton road on October 27th. If General Lee intended to retain Petersburg or Richmond, be must necessarily attack this force now southwest of Hatcher's run, which was relentlessly pounding its way northwesterly toward the South Side railroad. General Lee determined to attack Warren and Sheridan.

A downpour of rain set in early on March 30th and continued for nearly forty-eight hours, flooding a great portion

of that low, swampy country and rendering the roads nearly impassable for heavy trains and artillery. This necessary delay to the Union forces gave Lee the opportunity which he needed to get his forces massed in front of Warren and Sheridan.

The Nineteenth reached Dabney's mill on the night of the 29th. We will let Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding describe the movement of the Regiment on this day after it had crossed Hatcher's run:

"Colonel Starbird was directed to deploy one-half of his Regiment as skirmishers, using the remainder, together with the Fifty-ninth New York Volunteers and the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York Volunteers, who were ordered to report to him, as a support, and advance through the woods to find out who, if anybody, were out there. I was with the skirmishers. Hunters of big game in the backwoods can understand the nervous excitement which thrills one in advancing upon an enemy, whether a wild beast or an armed soldier, through thick woods where only occasional glimpses would enable you to see but a few rods in advance. Within the first mile we came to a line of rifle pits that marked the line of the enemy's pickets. who stole away at our approach, leaving their small fires burning and in some instances their food cooking thereon. Still our lines advanced, not rapidly but cautiously—very cautiously, every man for himself in a sense—on the alert and watchful. I know not how long nor how far we thus advanced, but it was late in the afternoon, when the woods became more open, a longer view could be obtained, and at last through the openings we could see what looked like fresh earthworks of considerable magnitude. Then greater caution was observed-each skirmisher advanced from tree to tree—jumping, creeping, crawling -observing the general alignment, and at the same time keeping the keenest watch in front, till at last we reached the edge of an opening, near the centre of which there loomed up a huge pile of sawdust with one or two pieces of stove funnel mounted upon it and pointed in our direction. At this we all laughed. We had reached Dabney's mill. Soon the supporting lines appeared from out the woods, when the skirmish line was again

pushed out a proper distance into the opposite woods and a halt was made for the night."

In the official report of the movements of the Regiment on March 30th in the rain, Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding states that five companies advanced as skirmishers and the remainder of the Regiment was in the line of battle. The skirmishers advanced until they met the enemy at Fort Powell and we were engaged during the day until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the skirmishers from the Regiment were relieved by the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin and rejoined the Regiment and Brigade at the Crow House.

Colonel Olmsted, who was in command of our Brigade, states that on March 30th the Brigade with the rest of the Division advanced at seven o'clock in the morning and carried the enemy's works at Hatcher's run and at the Crow House. Our Brigade took its position on the left of the Second Brigade and relieved Pierce's Brigade of the Third Division. Colonel Olmsted states that he "threw out the Nineteenth Maine as skirmishers, supported by the One Hundred and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers and the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, to find out the position of the enemy's works in our front." At night the Regiment endeavored to strengthen its advanced position by throwing up earthworks.

On the last day of March important events were taking place upon our left. The Confederate General Pickett, with a force of cavalry and infantry, met General Sheridan advancing from Dinwiddie Court House toward Five Forks. A desperate encounter took place between these forces, and General Sheridan's Cavalry was driven back in great confusion to the vicinity of Dinwiddie Court House. In the meantime General Warren was hurrying forward with the purpose of seizing the White Oak road and thus cutting off, with his Corps, the Confederates under Pickett from the rest of Lee's army. General Lee came down from Petersburg and in person directed the attack on Ayer's Division of Warren's Corps with four Brigades of Confederate infantry. General Lee's attack was so vigorous and persistent that not only Ayer's Division, but also Crawford's Division of the same Corps, was driven back a considerable distance.

General Humphreys, hearing the heavy firing that came from Warren's encounter, drew General Miles' Division of our Corps out of the line and hurried it to the relief of the Fifth Corps. This left our own Division and Mott's, confronting the Crow House redoubt and the Confederate intrenchment at Burgess' mill. In order to relieve the pressure on Warren and Sheridan, General Humphreys ordered our two remaining Divisions to attempt to take these works in our front. Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding, in his report, states that the Regiment was deployed and advanced as skirmishers a little after noon and went up to "within short range of the enemy's works and engaged them during the day, taking a few prisoners." The attacks of our own and the Third Division on this day were not wholly successful, owing to the strong fortifications and the abattis formed in front of the Confederate intrenchments. The Confederates were prevented, however, from drawing troops away from our front to reinforce the columns fighting Warren and Sheridan.

Privates Ithiel Pease, Company D, and John M. Knowlton, (4th Me.), Company I, were wounded March 31st. Several other members of the Regiment, of which the rolls furnish no information, were also slightly wounded on this day, but did not leave the Regiment.

The reports of the Regiment covering the last campaign were written by Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding, although Colonel Starbird was in command of the Regiment until April 7th. Colonel Starbird was absent, wounded, at the time the reports were prepared. During the month of April the Regiment had present for duty from three hundred and fifty to three hundred and seventy-five men.

In the early afternoon of April 1st, the Regiment, with the rest of the Brigade, advanced a short distance and threw up a strong line of works, connecting with the Second Brigade of our Division on the right, and that Brigade connected with the Twenty-fourth Corps. Late at night a strong skirmish line was pushed out to the front with supports, and an unsuccessful attack made on the enemy's works.

On the morning of April 1st, General Warren was directed by General Meade to extend his left so as to form a junction with Sheridan, at which time he was to report to Sheridan and be under his orders. It appears that General Sheridan preferred and requested some other Corps to cooperate with him not having, as he stated, the fullest confidence in General Warren. The latter officer reported to Sheridan about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, completely ignorant of his preference for another Corps. At one o'clock in the afternoon, Warren was ordered to bring up his infantry, and he himself rode up the Five Forks road in advance of the infantry to see Sheridan and to inform himself of the use to be made of his troops, so that no time would be lost on their arrival.

It is not the purpose of the writer to enter into a discussion of the controversy waged between the friends of Sheridan and Warren over the battle of Five Forks. It is sufficient to state that at the very moment of victory at Five Forks, and after the Fifth Corps had captured over 2000 prisoners with their arms, eleven regimental colors and one four-gun battery, General Warren, once the illustrious commander of the Second Corps suffered the humiliation of being relieved from his command by General Sheridan. After fifteen years of earnest entreaty General Warren secured a Court of Inquiry, which convened in New York City in 1880. General Sheridan in his personal memoirs makes the following observation:

"Briefly stated, in my report of the battle of Five Forks, there were four imputations concerning General Warren. The first implied that Warren failed to reach me on the 1st of April, when I had reason to expect him; the second, that the tactical handling of his Corps was unskillful; the third, that he did not exert himself to get his Corps up to Gravelly Run Church; and the fourth, that when portions of his line gave way he did not exert himself to restore confidence to his troops. The Court found against him on the first and second counts, and for him on the third and fourth.

Conceding everything that General Sheridan claims in this most unfortunate affair, it would not have subtracted from his well-earned fame if, after the passion of the hour had cooled and he was Lieutenant-General of the Army, he had taken the initiative in repairing, so far as he could, the injury done to General Warren. It seems, however, that he was not broad-minded enough to do this. General Sherman in reviewing the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry approves the finding of the Court,

not so much on the ground that Warren was culpable, as from the fact that the power to remove should be lodged in the Commander, who "must act on the impulse, the conviction of the instant." General Sherman adds: "No one has questioned the patriotism, integrity and great intelligence of General Warren. These are attested by a long record of most excellent service." As the lapse of time gives us a better perspective, General Warren, like General Thomas, has grown wonderfully in the grateful appreciation of the American people, since the close of that conflict in which he bore such an honorable part.

An attack was made on the enemy's works all along the line on the 2nd of April. On this bright and clear Sunday morning the Regiment was astir and advancing. The Sixth and Ninth Corps had penetrated the enemy's, lines in front of Petersburg and captured his outer works, together with many prisoners and guns. It was here that the Confederate General A. P. Hill was killed. The cheering that came along the line from the direction of Petersburg and the heavy firing in that direction indicated that something of importance was going on. The news was soon conveyed to the old Second Corps. General Humphreys now directed General Hays, commanding our Division, to assault the Crow House redoubt in the early morning. This work was successfully performed by the Division, and the occupants of the redoubt were captured, together with three pieces of artillery. The Regiment then moved by the left flank to the Boydton plank road and thence in a northerly direction across Hatcher's run at Burgess' mill. The Confederate works here were unoccupied and the "Johnnies" were all on the run. Our march was practically unopposed during the day, and the Second and Third Divisions, under Hays and Mott, marched nearly fifteen miles in a northerly direction, leaving Petersburg on the right. Then we bore further to the west, crossing the railroad at Sutherland station. Here, skirmishers were thrown out in front, and we pushed on until we came across the skirmishers of the First Division that had been having severe fighting on the Claiborne road. General Miles however, had captured the most of them after a severe engagement. The Regiment encamped here for the night. On

April 3rd we resumed the march down the Cox road and across to the Namozine road, and encamped for the night on the farm of Mrs. Burke, near Nintercomac creek. We knew on this day that Richmond and Petersburg had been evacuated and that the Army of Northern Virginia was endeavoring to get around General Meade's left flank, in precipitate retreat toward North Carolina.

The men of the Regiment were buoyant and happy.

We were off again early in the morning of April the 4th, with the Sixth Corps on our right and the Fifth on our left. There were heavy rains during the day, which greatly embarrassed the trains and artillery. Corduroy roads were made in places for the benefit of the wagon trains and artillery. The Army of the James and the Ninth Corps were moving on parallel lines further to the south. Our course was nearly due west. The Confederate army was on the northern side of the Appomattox and we on the southern, and it was a race to see which should reach Amelia Court House first. On the afternoon of April 5th, the Second and Fifth Corps struck the Danville railroad at Jetersville, about half way between Amelia Court House and Burke's station, which is the junction of the Danville and the South Side railroads. We were now further west than the Confederate army, which was concentrated about Amelia Court House. Hoping to catch the Confederates, the Second, Fifth and Sixth Corps started early on the morning of April 6th, for Amelia Court House, the Second Corps holding the left of the line. We were then moving back in the direction of Richmond. In the meantime the Confederates started about as early as we did and passed around our left flank and pushed on for Rice's station on the South Side railroad and some distance south of the Appomattox river. soon as this movement of the enemy was discovered, the three Corps named changed the direction of their march and took a westward course again. It now became a foot race between the Divisions of our Corps to see which could first strike the retreating enemy. On this day General Hays, who had been commanding our Division, was relieved by General Smyth, and later in the day General Barlow returned to the Second Corps

and was assigned to the command of our Division. General Barlow was always liked by the troops he commanded. He was cool and appeared to be absolutely without fear in battle. He continued in the command of our Division until the surrender of Lee's army.

Our Brigade advanced in line of battle the greater part of the 6th. The rear of the Confederate force was constantly firing upon us, and our skirmishers were pressing them in every direction. General Sheridan was harrassing them from the south. The road was strewn with abandoned wagons, guns, blankets and equipments of all kinds. Sometimes we were marching on roads parallel to, and in sight of, the Confederates, and it seemed to be a neck-and-neck race until nearly night. The Second Corps captured on this day 1700 prisoners, four guns, and some three or four hundred loaded wagons and ambulances. Sometimes the artillery of the Corps was on the skirmish line. It was an exciting day. General Mott, the brave commander of the Third Division, was severely wounded. General De Trobriand succeeded Mott in command of the Division. This day we had been fighting General Gordon's Corps.

The Sixth Corps and the Cavalry Divisions of Crook and Merritt broke in upon and nearly annihilated the Corps of Ewell and Anderson, taking many prisoners and six general officers, among whom was General Ewell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding makes the following contribution to this day's history:

"I remember, as we were advancing in line through a beautiful stretch of woods, a solitary horseman was seen approaching at great speed along a wood road from the enemy's direction. He came directly toward me, and I saw that he was dressed in the natty gray uniform of a Southern Lieutenant. His flushed countenance evinced great excitement, and the foam on his horse showed the speed at which he had ridden. A raised pistol and command to halt brought him to a momentary stop when he exclaimed: 'For God's sake, do not delay me. What direction will take me quickest to the General?' I pointed down the road, and away he flew amid the shouts and cheers of our men. He was one of the Union daredevil scouts and spies, bringing in important information.''

April 7th was historic for the Nineteenth Maine. The Regiment on this day was to perform great service for the

Union cause. In General Barlow's official report he makes the following allusion to our service:

"On the morning of April 7th, we continued the pursuit of the enemy, moving on the right of the First Division and the main road. During the morning, learning that it was the intention of the Corps' commander to pass over High Bridge, I sent the Nineteenth Regiment Maine Volunteers (of the First Brigade) to secure the bridge. After considerable skirmishing this Regiment drove away the enemy and secured the crossing, and extinguished the fire on the small dirt-road bridge. They were unable to extinguish the fire on the railroad bridge, three spans of which were destroyed before the Division pioneers could cut away the burning part. During the skirmishing, Colonel Starbird, commanding the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, a gallant officer, was dangerously wounded."

Colonel Olmsted, the commander of our Brigade, in his official report, states that on the morning in question he advanced with his brigade marching in column until he arrived near High Bridge. Upon discovering the situation "reported to General Barlow that a rebel wagon train was in sight, and was ordered to advance a regiment as skirmishers to take a supposed work of the enemy near the southwest of High Bridge." Colonel Olmsted's report continues: "I deployed the Nineteenth Maine. They advanced, and afterward moved to the right and saved the High Bridge and also a smaller bridge for crossing below."

The following account of this important engagement and what the old Regiment accomplished was written by Brevet Brigadier-General Olmsted in 1892:

"On the morning of the 7th of April the Second and Third Brigades were ordered on the march, and the First Brigade of the Second Division was, for some reason never known to me, held in position near the headquarters of General William Hays, commanding the Second Division. Shortly after the departure of the Second and Third Brigades of the Second Division, Major-General F. C. Barlow rode to my headquarters and wanted to know why I had not moved out. I told him I had not been ordered to do so. He inquired where General Hays' headquarters were, and I pointed them out to him, and on his invitation rode with him to General Hays, where he (General Barlow) announced his succession to the command of the Second Division, Second Corps. He then rode down with me, placing me in position to move down a road 1000 yards, and then to change direction and move through a woods primeval due west, and to take my course by compass. Arriving at the position indicated, I changed direction westward and moved through this piece of woods, and I verily believe no one ever before marched or went through them. Finally we came out in an open country, and in our front, about one mile distant, saw

a fort, line of works, and a rebel train moving. Knowing we were close upon the heels of Lee's army, and receiving information from deserting Confederates that the troops were Lee's rear-guard, and that the line of works was the last stand made by Lee to cover the crossing of his army, and that there was a foot-bridge, over which Lee's army had crossed, and that it was the intention of the Confederates to fire this bridge and an elegant railroad bridge a short distance apart, I ordered Colonel Isaac W. Starbird, with his regiment, the Nineteenth Maine, to capture the first line of earthworks and secure the bridge at all hazards.

"The wagon-road bridge referred to was reported by prisoners to be the only crossing available for a long distance. Appreciating this, I detailed Colonel Starbird for this important task. There were no other Union troops in sight at this time. Colonel Starbird advanced rapidly with the Nineteenth Maine, securing the works and prisoners, from whom he learned where the foot or common road bridge was; the fort and line of works were on the brow of a hill on the south

side of the Appomattox river.

"Colonel Starbird, having captured the line of works, was directed to find the bridge and prevent the enemy from burning it. Pressing a prisoner into service, with a pistol at the head of the Confederate, he moved rapidly toward the river, discovering the railroad bridge on fire—that is, the span of the bridge nearest the Confederate side of the river—and also the common wagon-road bridge a few hundred yards to the right of the railroad bridge, in flames. The railroad bridge was some sixty feet high, a beautiful structure, extending from bluff to bluff over the river. The common wagon-road bridge extended over the narrow but unfordable river. The importance of saving the common wagon-road bridge was at once appreciated by Colonel Starbird. He directed his regiment to center all efforts to save this bridge for the passage of troops, as the railroad bridge was of no consequence at this time, as it could not be utilized for the immediate passage of troops, artillery, etc. The river could not be forded, and as the rebels could be plainly seen on the opposite bluff, it was of incalculable importance that a means of crossing the river should be secured for our pursuing Corps. The small common wagon-road bridge must be saved. This Colonel Starbird proceeded to do with his noble Nineteenth Maine, and with a whoop and a run, every man recognizing how much depended on his personal exertion, rushed down the bank to the bridge and put out the fire with water that was in their canteens, together with boxes, dippers and tents, left by the rebels in their retreat, carried water from the river and extinguished the fire, saving the bridge in a condition to admit of the passage of troops."

"The First Brigade of the Second Division, Second Corps, was in the advance of Barlow's Division of the Second Corps, and the Nineteenth Maine was in the advance of the Brigade to which it belonged, and saved this bridge, and is entitled to all the credit for doing it. No other troops were there to aid them; and they are further to be credited for their pluck and good staying qualities. If the Regiment had not been so prompt or had not done its work so effectually, General Lee might not have surrendered as soon as he did, and might have reached Lynchburg and given us much more hard fighting to do."

This was the last battle of the Regiment. Inasmuch as Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding's official report, written in the hurry of the closing days of the war, was very brief, a more extended and interesting account, written by that officer subsequent to the war, is here inserted:

"The next morning, Friday, April 7th, at 5:30 a.m., our Corps advanced in three columns, General Miles' First Division having the road; Barlow's Second Division, to which we belonged, one thousand yards to the right of the road, and De Trobriand's Third Division, one thousand yards to the left of the road. The march in the early hours was through woods—it was a bright beautiful day—the birds were singing in the trees—the newly-born leaves and blades were fresh and fair to look upon. The troops were in exuberant spirits. It came the turn of our Brigade to have the lead in our Division that day, and the Nineteenth Maine had the lead in our Brigade and thereby we headed the right column. About ten o'clock in the forenoon we were halted for a moment, as we approached the edge of the woods with green fields and pastures in front of us, and we saw in our immediate front a long, high hill with sloping sides and earthworks on the top.

"General Humphreys, the Corps commander, and General Barlow, the Division commander, together at our head, scanned the situation for a short time and then gave the order for the Nineteenth to deploy as skirmishers and advance up the hill. The movement quickly commenced, and the Corps and Division commanders, brave and gallant men they were, went up the hill with the skirmishers. True, the advance was unopposed, but no one knew what was on the hill, and it required the coolest sort of courage to find out. On reaching the top, a broad view opened up before us. We were at High Bridge. A steep bank extended down on the other side of the hill to the Appomattox river, not over a hundred feet in width, running full to its On the opposite side of the river was a broad intervale, then only two or three feet above the surface of the water in the river, and beyond a hill of the same elevation as that upon which we stood. The railroad, which we struck here, crossed the river by a high bridge running from hill to hill at the narrowest part of the valley. It had twenty-one spans of a hundred feet each, we were told, and three of the spans at the further end were on fire and one or more had already

"A few rods below the railroad bridge was a low travelled bridge for the dirt-road, and that, too, was all on fire with a few of the enemy still encouraging the fire.

"On the opposite hill, in full view, was General Mahone's Division of the rebel army, and they were just forming to continue their retreat.

"The river was not fordable, and yet the Second Corps must cross at just that point. The bridge must be saved—so said General Humphreys. Our boys scampered down the steep bank to the burning bridge, driving away the rebels; three companies were rushed across to form a line of skirmishers on the other side, the line forming a semi-circle with the two ends resting on the river. The remainder of the Regiment spread over the bridge and with their dippers, caps and hats—anything that would hold water which they could dip from the river, so low was the bridge and so high the water, to put out the fire, and the bridge was saved. Then the Regiment formed in single rank along the river's edge, extending from the bridge on either hand as far as possible, with one or two companies at our end of the bridge.

"The enemy, discovering our movement and seeing what an insignificant force we had, sent back a brigade to complete the destruction of their bridge. Their movement commenced as soon as ours, but they were obliged to make something of a detour to our right, so that our men were all in position and the fire extinguished before their lines were within comfortable range. At that time I had a nervous mare which had been twice wounded and had learned to detect the sound of zipping bullets, so she acted in an engagement just as I felt; but she had the advantage of me in not having the fear of a court martial before her eyes—and she just had to go to the rear—there I sent her that morning as soon as the enemy started for us. We could see them advancing every step of the way. We could see they were ten to our one. But Humphreys said the bridge must be saved, and there was nobody else there but ourselves to save it.

"I had been with the three Companies as skirmishers under instructions to place them in the best position and report at the bridge that I had done so, for low bushes in places on the level ground obstructed the view. I had just reported to Colonel Starbird, who sat upon his horse on the bridge, where bullets were constantly singing, when he directed that I give the skirmishers instructions to retire stubbornly before the enemy, but at the same time quickly enough at the last to recross the bridge to the Regiment in line on the other side of the river. I quickly responded that I had given those instructions to each Company commander, when Starbird fell from his horse into my arms with such a painful wound from a bullet which he still carries in his person, that we all thought it meant his death. He was quickly taken to the rear. His bravery and gallantry in action was ever conspicuous, drawing the attention of his own men and of his superiors, and never more so than at that High Bridge fight.

"At his fall every officer and man felt an added responsibility resting upon him personally. We all knew the position must be held at all hazards, and we could all see the force pouncing upon us. The skirmishers held out so stubbornly that two of the companies were unable to recross the bridge. They were ordered by motion of the hand to flatten themselves upon the ground so that all the Regiment could engage in the contest without endangering our own men.

"Then such a fight, for a little one, as followed had rarely been witnessed. The usual and ordinary commands of 'Lively now,' 'Keep cool,' 'Don't get excited,' 'Fire low,' 'Take aim,' 'Lively,' and so on, were not heard and were not needed. Every man was exerting himself to the utmost without the least indication of any undue excitement, and taking deliberate aim when he fired. Shortly many of the officers were supplied with arms by the muskets of the wounded. enemy would falter for a minute, then move on again, then stop for a time, and all the time they were loading and firing. Though their bullets greatly outnumbered ours, they apparently were not doing as much execution. Still they felt that the bridge must be reached and destroyed, and were clearly amazed that such a small handfull of men were holding them back. They pressed on and on, the distance between them and the bridge growing continually less and less. when it seemed that, in spite of all we could do, they would reach the bridge and it would come to the bayonet, where numbers would count to still greater advantage in their favor, a shout was heard by us coming from the rear, and turning our heads for a moment we beheld the Second Brigade of our Division, descending the bank behind us on the double quick, and the gallant General Smyth at their head—his sword in one hand and broad-brimmed hat in the other, shouting 'Come on! Come on!'

"Oh God! how our hearts throbbed with joy at the sight of those noble men, led by one who we all knew well and loved for his great

gallantry and bravery in action.

"It took but a few moments for the head of their column to reach the bridge. In the meantime our own boys in line to the right and left of the bridge without order were also rushing for the bridge—the Company at the end of the bridge, by command of its Captain (Lewis), rushing across in advance of General Smyth, the two Companies already over there joining in the melee; all others as fast as they reached the bridge joining the columns of our rescuers in rushing the bridge, spreading out like a fan upon the level ground at the other end, all in the midst of the most spirited musketry, and when the greater part of the Brigade was over, our lines just blew over that intervale like a whirlwind, and I think not one of those 'Johnnies' escaped capture.

"Very soon, and before we had our men all assembled, General Humphreys rode along and, noticing us, he stopped his horse, and said, 'I have just left Colonel Starbird in the little house on the hill. He was dying when I left. You have done enough for one day, you boys of the Nineteenth Maine—rest here as long as you please, then

follow on.'

"The gallant Smyth, who came to our rescue, later that day again charged the enemy, and in the midst fell from his horse with a bullet

through the very centre of his forehead.

'I never recall this hero of that great war without bringing to mind an incident which occurred at our Division headquarters a month or two earlier, when General Smyth was in command of the Division. On a Sunday afternoon our Brigade commander had been holding a Brigade dress parade, and after it was over he invited the field officers to go with him to Division headquarters to call upon General Smyth. While there, some of Smyth's staff returned from a visit up towards the right of our lines before Petersburg and brought the news that peace commissioners had come into our lines that day. Immediately conversation turned upon the prospect of peace. Many thought we should see no more fighting, when General Smyth said: 'I don't know, boys; I think some of us here will yet have a chance to claim six feet of Virginia soil.' Then turning to Colonel Stover, of the One Hundred and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, he said, referring to the custom of naming forts after some officer who had fallen in that immediate vicinity 'Stover, how would you like to have a fort over here named after you. "Fort Stover," that would sound pretty well." The Colonel, stroking his beard, replied: 'Well General, if I had my choice about the matter, I think I would prefer to have a nice, healthy male child named after me.' General Smyth was the only officer in that meeting who afterwards lost his life in battle."

In his report, General Meade made the following statement:

"The Second Corps resumed the direct pursuit of the enemy, coming up with him at High Bridge over the Appomattox. Here the enemy made a feeble stand with his rear guard, attempting to burn the railroad and common bridge. Being driven off by Humphreys, he succeeded in burning three spans of the railroad bridge, but the common bridge was saved, which Humphreys immediately crossed in pursuit, the enemy abandoning eighteen guns at this point."

General Humphreys, commanding the Corps, said:

"Learning subsequently from the people of the country that the main body of troops had gone to High Bridge, I immediately crossed over to it. This brought General Barlow to the bridge a short time in advance of the First Division. Here he overtook the rear of the enemy just as they had fired the wagon-road bridge and as the second span of the railroad bridge was burning. The wagon-road bridge was secured, a matter of importance, as the Appomattox was not fordable. A considerable force of the enemy was drawn up in a strong position on the heights of the opposite bank to oppose our passage, a position the strength of which the redoubts on the opposite side increased. Their skirmishers attempted to hold the bridge, but were quickly driven from it, and the troops crossed over, General Barlow's Division leading. Artillery was rapidly put in position to cover our attack, but the enemy moved off without waiting for it. The redoubt forming the bridge head on the south bank was blown up as we approached, and eight pieces of artillery in it abandoned to us, as were ten pieces in the works on the north side of the Appomattox."

General Humphreys, in his history of the Virginia Campaign of 1864 and 1865, places great importance on the fact that the Second Corps was able to cross the Appomattox on the 7th of April. If Lee had not been detained there, and at Farmville, he could have reached Appomattox station easily on April the 8th and Lynchburg on the 9th of April. The delay was fatal to the Confederate cause. It gave to Sheridan and Ord the opportunity to place themselves across Lee's path at Appomattox Court House. It was the railroad bridge that was called High Bridge because it was built upon piers some sixty feet high, across the narrow river.

This was the last engagement in which the Nineteenth Maine ever participated.

LIST OF WOUNDED AT HIGH BRIDGE, April 7, 1865.

Colonel Isaac W. Starbird (seriously); First Leiutenant Charles P. Garland, Company H; Barak A. Hatch, Company D; Samuel Bassett, Company E, and Edward P. White, Company F.

There were some others slightly wounded but in the excitement and confusion of the closing days of the campaign, their names were not reported.

The Second Corps pursued the enemy along the north bank of the river during the 8th. The Sixth Corps kept along with the Second on the 8th, and both Grant and Meade accompanied

these Corps. It was a very hard march for the Regiment, and many fell out exhausted during the day. They came up, however, during the night, but some of them did not reach the Regiment until nearly daylight. Let us ask Colonel Spaulding to describe the memorable events of that last day's campaigning of the old Regiment:

"The next day—Sunday, April 9th—will ever mark a great epoch in the history of our country. Our march began at about eight o'clock in the morning and was not more than five or six miles over a rough road and much of the way through woods. On the march events occurred which we never had witnessed in all our experience. As we trudged along, we heard the sound of a bugle in the rear continually growing nearer, and we found, as it approached, it was the signal for the marching column to clear the road; and then came a large cavalcade of horsemen with that great General Ulysses S. Grant, at their head, proceeding with his staff and guard at a very rapid pace to the front. We all cheered—everybody yelled. We believed it a happy and significant omen when it appeared of more importance for the Commanding General to have the right-of-way to the front over the man behind the gun.

"Shortly after a second bugle sounded, and again we cleared the road, when General Meade, sick and obliged to ride in an ambulance as he was, with his large mounted staff and guard, passed rapidly to

the front. Again, we cheered.

"Later our road cleared the woods, and at a little house on a hill we discovered the flag of army headquarters, and we were massed in brigade lines in the field on the opposite side of the road. Our lines were at right angles with the road, and not more than two rods apart.

"Other troops, with artillery and cavalry, were massed in like manner on the other side of the road, just ahead of us, and concealed

from our view by a belt of pine woods.

"As far back as we could see from the high ground on which we stood, troops were continually arriving and being massed in like manner. Arms were stacked and no officer or man was allowed to leave his company or regiment.

"It was a bright, beautiful Sabbath day; the men were in the very best of spirits. We believed we were facing either a great and important general battle, or that the end had come. You must remember that we had not heard and knew nothing of the correspondence that had already taken place between General Grant and General Lee.

"Every man and every Company was discussing the probabilities. Every possible theory had its advocates; but everybody hoped it meant the end of the war. How we did long for peace! The hours of suspense and anxiety marched with slow and measured steps. At last, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, we heard tremendous cheering from the troops on the other side of the pines. Each regiment fell into line behind its guns as the best way for everybody to discover the cause, and shortly through the woods, came General Meade at the head of his staff, riding at a very rapid speed, and as he reached us, he turned into the field and rode along the whole length of our brigade line, then back in front of the next brigade line, and so he went back and forth, giving the news to each regiment with his own mouth, as with bared head, his horse travelling for all his worth, that



Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General Isaac W. Starbird.

sedate, dignified, ministerial looking officer, paler that day than usual because of sickness, was crying out like a boy:

'Peace, boys, peace! Lee has surrendered! Peace, boys, peace!'

"And so he rode proclaiming the great news.

"Then such a scene as followed! Such rejoicing! Such cheering! The sun itself was almost obscured with hats, coats, blankets, haver-sacks, tossed high in air. Everything went up; even some of the small men on the left were tossed above our heads, cheering meanwhile. Tongue nor pen cannot begin to describe nor imagination depict that scene. No commissary was there, but men were drunk, drunk, from the effervescence of their own exuberance. It was the most contagious sort of inebriation-without respect to rank or condition-all were its victims—all were overwhelmed.

"Before taps we were talking of home and how rejoiced would be the loved ones there when the news reached them."

None of the troops of the Second or Sixth Corps got any nearer to Appomattox Court House than New Hope or Wolf Creek church. The Second and Sixth had united at New Store on the preceeding day, and had marched on the same road during the 9th, the Second Corps ahead and following closely the Confederate infantry. The Fifth Corps had passed to the south of the Appomattox, near Farmville, and was following the cavalry in their successful effort to get in ahead of Lee at Appomattox station. After the correspondence between Grant and Lee had begun, relative to the surrender, General Humphreys was notified by General Grant that this correspondence was in no way to interfere with his movements. Humphreys, therefore, pushed ahead with vigor, crowding Longstreet's Corps, the rear of which was not more than a hundred yards from the leading troops of the Second Corps. One of General Lee's staff officers, with a flag of truce, came into our lines and urged Humphreys not to press Longstreet, as negotiations were going on for a surrender. General Humphreys sent word that the request could not be complied with, and that Longstreet must get out of the way or take the consequences. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and after advancing about half a mile further, our Corps again reached the vicinity of Longstreet's command, and here the Confederates had thrown up some intrenchments. General Humphreys formed his own Corps at once for an attack, the Sixth Corps being on our right, and just at the moment when the Union lines were about to charge the Confederates, General Meade ordered a cessation of hostilities.

According to the records of the War Department, the number of officers and enlisted men of the Army of Northern Virginia paroled on April 9th was 28,356. Not more than one-third of this number had arms at the time of the surrender. Those who had no arms must have thrown them away or secreted them when they found that they must surrender. The country was open to the Confederates on the west and northwest and thickly wooded.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JOYFUL RETURN HOME.

When the news of the surrender of Lee's army reached the Union lines, some of our troops on the left began firing a salute in honor of the victory. General Grant, however, had it stopped at once. Rations were issued by General Meade to the hungry Confederate troops. The men were kept within close limits after the surrender. The boys of the Regiment were not permitted to look into the faces of the brave men who had been overcome and compelled to surrender.

Of the three hundred fighting regiments, so-called, from having lost in battle upwards of 130 men, in killed and mortally wounded, Maine furnished thirteen regiments. Of course the Nineteenth Maine is found in this list. Excluding the First Maine Heavy Artillery, a very large regiment, having a total enrollment of upwards of 2,200, the Nineteenth stands second in extent of losses in that list of thirteen regiments. killed and mortally wounded actually numbered 200. unaccountable fact in connection with the history of the Regiment is that only three commissioned officers were killed or mortally wounded. The men who carried rifles in this Regiment would contend that after the beginning of 1864 no regiment from Maine had better commissioned officers than the old Nineteenth. Some of the officers who left the service in '62 and '63 did not remain long enough with the Regiment to show whether they would make good officers or not. Others were driven from the service by disease. Still others left the service and, by leaving, did the service more good than they would have done by remaining.

The loss of the Sixteenth Maine in commissioned officers, either killed or mortally wounded, was nine. The Sixth Maine lost twelve and the Twentieth Maine, nine. The Thirty-first

Maine Regiment, which was organized in March and April '64, lost eighteen commissioned officers during its term of service. The greater portion of its loss occurred in the first three months of its service. The First Maine Cavalry and the Seventh Maine Infantry each suffered a loss of fifteen commissioned officers, and the First Maine Heavy Artillery, twelve companies, in ten months lost twenty-three commissioned officers in killed and mortally wounded.

The men remained resting all day on the 10th, and left their camp in the late forenoon of April 11th, for the return march. We reached New Store and encamped the night of the 11th, nearly on the ground we had marched over in our advance. We left camp in the early morning of the 12th and marched to Curdsville, crossed the Little Willis river, passing through Farmville, and encamped for the night near Bush river. The Corps arrived at Burkeville Junction on April 13th, where we encamped and rested during the remainder of the month. The Corps went into camp in the angle formed by the Lynchburg railroad and the railroad leading to Danville. The Third Division camp was near the Lynchburg road; the First, near the Danville road, while our own Division occupied the space between. The men here were quartered in shelter-tents, generally raised from the earth on uprights. The ground on which we were encamped was somewhat moist. Good water was very scarce and many wells were dug to obtain a better su r y. A number of men from our Division were taken sick while here, resulting probably from the fatigues of the recent hard service and the bad water they were compelled to drink. There was entire lack of vegetables in the rations issued, and the men did not feel so much like stealing now that Lee's Army had surrendered.

We remained near Burkeville Junction without picket or guard duty, except one sentinel at Regimental headquarters, as orderly. After every one had turned in for the night on Saturday, the 15th of April, a solitary horseman was heard rapidly approaching, who turned out to be a mounted orderly with orders. When a candle was lighted and a glance at the first paper was had, Lieutenant-Colonel Spaulding exclaimed, "My

God! President Lincoln has been assassinated." Instantly the camp was alive, the men were upon their feet, and the cry for revenge was heard on every side. No one could understand just what it meant. Every man was ready for any duty. Orders immediately came for a detail for picket and for a strong camp guard to be established. There was little sleep that night for any one.

The funeral of President Lincoln occurred on Wednesday. the 10th, and on that day the Brigade was assembled and listened to an eloquent tribute to the memory of the great President, delivered by Colonel Stover, of the One Hundred and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania. The Regiment remained here quietly in camp until the forenoon of Tuesday, May 2nd, when the homeward march was again resumed. The night of May 2nd found us near Jetersville, the march having been along the Danville railroad. Here was the forty-fifth mile post from Richmond. On May 3rd, the Corps marched through Amelia Court House and crossed the Appomattox at Goode's Bridge. On May 4, the Regiment tramped about twenty miles to Twomile Creek, five miles from Richmond. Early the next morning, the march was continued to Manchester and we went into camp, within one-half mile of Richmond, and had our first view of that noted place. Our camp was on the high bank of the river opposite the city. Here our Corps was joined by the Fifth, which had come through Petersburg. On May 6th, just one year after the bloody Wilderness, the Second and Fifth Corps marched through Richmond. Nearly all day long the line was passing through the streets in sight of Libby, where so many of our boys had died, along by the public buildings, through the aristocratic portion of the city, and out into the country. Our Corps marched on the Brook road to Brook creek, where we camped for the night, about five miles from Richmond. Early Sunday morning, May 7th, we were off again and marched to Yellow Tavern, where General Jeb Stuart, the splendid Confederate cavalry leader, was mortally wounded May 11th, 1864. We crossed the Chickahominy at Winston's bridge and marched through Hanover Court House to Littlepage's bridge over the Pamunkey river. This was a comfortable march of fifteen miles, through a beautiful country, with plenty of good water and everybody in excellent spirits. It was noted by every one how much easier and more agreeable the march was north, in May, 1865, than south, in May, 1864. The next day, May 8th, was hot and dusty, and there was much straggling in our march of eighteen miles. This day's tramp took us past Concord church, Chesterfield station and Mt. Carmel church, to the vicinity of Golansville. On Tuesday, May the 9th, we marched north on the Telegraph road, over which Lee's Army marched south, after the battle of Spottsylvania, to the vicinity of Massaponax church. The Regiment was encamped near this place on May 20th, 1864. This day's march of seventeen miles was in the rain. We marched, May 10th, through Fredericksburg in the afternoon, crossed the Rappahannock, and stopped for the night on the old camp ground near Falmouth. It was not the camp ground on the hill where the first winter was passed, but the later one, where we pitched horse shoes as quoits, during the mild and balmy spring of 1863. This day's march was about twelve miles. Two years' time had wrought great changes in the country. Nature had already commenced the work of restoring and covering up the devastations of an invading army. A young growth of vigorous trees had begun to obliterate the evidences of our former visit.

On Thursday, May 11th, our march was by Old Tavern to the vicinity of Middle run. It rained all the afternoon and nearly all night. It was a pleasant day on the march the 12th, and we made about fourteen miles, going into camp near Wolf Run shoals on Occoquan creek, where we drew rations and enjoyed a good night's rest. On Saturday, May 13th, the Regiment started early and marched thirteen miles, halting for the night at Burke's station, some twelve miles from Washington. Here the Regiment remained over Sunday, and on the 15th of May marched to Bailey's crossroads. This was our last camping ground as a part of the Army of the Potomac.

Orders were received on May 18th to prepare muster out rolls of the Regiment. The Regiment participated in the grand review of the Army of the Potomac in Washington, by the President, on Tuesday, May 26th. For the last time, the Nineteenth appeared in Brigade dress parade, on Sunday, May 28th, and on May 30th, in a review of the Second Corps.

The Regiment was mustered out of the United States service on May 31st, by Captain H. Y. Russell. The veterans and recruits were transferred to the First Maine Heavy Artillery, which last named regiment, together with the men transferred from ours, was mustered out of service on the 11th of the following September.

On the morning of June 1st, 1865, at sunrise, the Regiment started for home. The whole Brigade turned out in line to give us a parting cheer and a last salutation.

A special train took us from Washington to Baltimore, where we transferred to another train, and reached Philadelphia at midnight. Here we found a warm supper awaiting us at the blessed old Cooper Shop restaurant. Soon after partaking of the hospitality of Philadelphia, we continued on our journey to South Amboy, where we took a steamer for New York City, arriving there at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of June 2nd. When we reached Portland, Saturday night, June 3rd, we found a bountiful supper awaiting us, prepared by the ladies of that city. These tables were placed in the railroad station and we were waited upon by the ladies themselves. The Regiment reached Augusta, Sunday morning, June 4th, and found the populace in the streets to greet us on our march to camp.

From Portland to Augusta at nearly every station men left the train, to visit home or relatives, with instructions to report at Augusta in two days. On the afternoon of June 4th, the Regiment had its last dress parade, in the presence of the Governor, other officials and a large gathering of people. At the request of Governor Cony, the members of the Regiment visited the State House, on June 5th, where the men were addressed by the Governor, who took each one by the hand, as they passed him in single file. Public officials and private citizens, indeed everybody, sought to make the home-coming of the Regiment a joyful event.

The Regimental colors delivered to the Adjutant-General of Maine were the original colors of the Regiment. The National flag was carried in every engagement in which the Regi-

ment participated.

In pursuance with General Orders No. 10, dated March 7th, 1865, issued by General Meade, the Regiment was authorized, as already stated, to inscribe upon its colors the following names of battles in which it bore a conspicuous part, viz: Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Bristoe Station, Mine Run, Wilderness, Po River, North Anna, Totopotomoy, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Deep Bottom, Strawberry Plains, Reams' Station and Boydton Road. The battle of Petersburg included the Jerusalem Plank Road. There was no reason why Morton's Ford should not have been included in this list. Subsequent to March 7th, 1865, the date of Meade's order, the Regiment was engaged at Hatcher's Run, Crow House and High Bridge and was present at Appomattox.

The Nineteenth Maine Regiment was paid off by Major Robie on Wednesday June the 7th, 1865, and broke ranks for-

ever.

May Heaven's choicest blessing rest upon the survivors of the dear old Regiment and the families of those who have passed over the river into the encampment upon the other side!

Roster.



Roster of the Nineteenth Regiment of Maine Volunteers.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Absent					abs.	Missing missg.
Appointed					apptd.	Musician mus.
Artillery					arty.	Mustered out of service m. o.
Battery					batt.	Promoted pr.
Captain					capt.	Principal prin.
Company					.co.	Prisoner pris.
Conscript					cons.	Private priv.
Corporal					corp.	Reduced to ranks red.
Deserter					des.	Reported reptd.
Deserted	5					Regimental regtl.
Detached	-	1			det.	Sergeant sergt.
Detailed		5				Service serv.
Discharged	for	disabil	ity		disc.	Substitute sub.
Discharged	for	cause o	other	than		Transferred tr.
disability	٠.				disch.	United States Colored
Expiration					exp.	Troops U. S. C. T.
First Me. H	[eav	y				Veteran vet.
Artillery				1s	t H. A.	Veteran Reserve Corps . V. R. C.
Hospital					hosp.	Wounded wd.
Lieutenant					lieut.	Wounds wds.

LIST OF BATTLES IN WHICH THE REGIMENT WAS ENGAGED.

Fredericksburg	Dec. 12-15. '62
Chancellorsville	May 1-4 '63
Thoroughfare Gap or Haymarket, Va	Tuna 25 '62
Thoroughtate Gap of Haymarket, Va	june 23, 03
Gettysburg	July 1-3, 63
Bristoe Station	Oct. 14, '63
Mine Run	Nov. 27-30, '63
Morton's Ford	
Wilderness	May 5-7 '64
Spottsylvania, (including Po River)	May 8-18, '64
North Anna	May 22-26, '64
Totopotomov	May 28-Tune 1, '64
Totopotomoy	Tune 3-12 '64
Petersburg	Tune 16-18 '64
Tomasolom Dionis Dood	Tuno 22 '64
Jerusalem Plank Road	Julie 22, 64
Deep Bottom	July 25–28, '64
Strawberry Plains	Aug. 14–18, '64
Reams' Station	Aug. 25, '64
Boydton Road	Oct. 27. '64
Hatcher's Run	Feb. 5-6. '65
Crow House	
High Bridge	
o	

COLONELS
DATE OF COM. NAME Aug. 25,'62 Frederic D. Sewell Bath
Aug. 16,'64 James W. Welch Augusta Wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, resigned Oct. 21, '64.
3
LIEUTENANT-COLONELS July 17,'62 Francis E. Heath Waterville Promoted Colonel. Mch. 2,'63 Henry W. Cunningham Belfast Resigned June 11, '64. Nov. 3,'64 Isaac W. Starbird Litchfield Promoted colonel Nov. 11, Joseph W. Spaulding Richmond Mustered out May 31, '65.
MAJORS
Aug. 25,'62 Henry W. Cunningham Belfast Promoted lieutenant-colonel. Mch. 2,'63 James W. Welch Augusta Promoted colonel.
MAJORS Aug. 25,'62 Henry W. Cunningham Belfast
ADJUTANTS July 21.'62Frank W. HaskellWatervilleDischarged Feb. 6.'64.
July 21,'62Frank W. HaskellWatervilleDischarged Feb. 6, '64, Aug. 16,'64Henry SewallMustered out May 31, '65,
QUARTERMASTERS Luly 15 '62 James W Wakefield Bath Paginged Nov 13 '63
July 15, 62 James W. Wakefield Bath Resigned Nov. 13, '63.Mch. 9, 64 Albert Hunter
SURGEONS
Aug. 6,'62Adoniram J. BillingsFreedomResigned Jan. 11,'64, Feb. 3,'64Hawes, John Q. AHallowellResigned Nov. 2, '64. Nov. 11,William H. RandallDixfieldMustered out May 31, '65.
ASSISTANT SURGEONS July 26,'62. Henry C. Levansaler Thomaston Discharged Aug. 17, '63. Sept. 2, John Q. A. Hawes Hallowell. Resigned June 22, '63. July 17,'63. Wallace Bolan New Sharon Resigned Mar. 22, '64. Aug. 20, Fred G. Parker Stetson Discharged Mar. 5, '64. Apr. 7,'64. William H. Randall Dixfield. Promoted surgeon. Apr. 9,' Benjamin F. Sturgis N. Gloucester Resigned Oct. 22, '64. Nov. 8, Benjamin Bussey, Jr. Houlton Mustered out May 31, '65.
CHAPLAINS
Aug. 16,'62 Eliphalet Whittlesey Brunswick Promoted captain and A. A. G. Oct. 1, Edwin B. Palmer Belfast Resigned Feb. 16, '63. June 13,'63 George W. Hathaway Skowhegan Mustered out May 31, '65.
NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF SERGEANT-MAJORS
DATE OF RANK NAME RESIDENCE REMARKS
DATE OF RANK NAME RESIDENCE REMARKS Aug. 16,'62. William P. Joy Waterville Tr. Co. A. as priv. disc. Feb. 6, '64. Feb. 16,'63. George A. Wadsworth Bath Wd. Gettysburg, pr. 2nd lt. Co. E, Aug. 15, '63. Dec. 6,'63. Andrew D. Black Stockton App't q. m. sergt. Mch. 22,'64. William A. Wood Bowdoinham Pris. North Anna.
QUARTER-MASTER SERGEANTS July 25,'62 Benjamin B. Hanson . Pittston Pr. 2d lieut. Co. K. Dec. 13, '62. Dec. 19,'62 George H. Page
COMMISSARY SERGEANTS July 22,'62 Thomas D. Wakefield .Bath
Aug. 11,'62Delon H. AbbottOronoDisch. for promotion July 16, '63. Aug. 24,'63Charles H. DodgeFreedomDisch. with regiment.

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PRINCIPAL MUSICIANS
   Date of Rank Name Residence Remarks
Dec. 1,'63...J. Loyalist Brown...Bowdoinham...Pr. from Co. A.
Feb. 12,'64...Lauriston Chamberlain Bowdoinham...Pr. from Co. F.
June 15,'64...Fred J. Low...Winterport...Tr. from 4th Me. disch. July 1, '64.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    DRUM MAJOR
    Nov. 2,'62.... Daniel R. Maddox .... Belfast...... Disch. Nov. 28, '62 by order 126.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    FIFE MAJOR
   July 25,'62... Carter W. Payson .... Camden ..... Disch. Nov. 28, '62 by order 126.
DATE OF COM.

NAME

RESIDENCE

CO.

REMARKS

A. Mustered out May 31, '65.

AUG. 23, '62.

Nov. 12, '64.

Nov. 12, '64.

Nov. 12, '64.

Nov. 12, '64.

Nov. 23, '64.

RESIDENCE

CO.

REMARKS

A. Mustered out May 31, '65.

RESIDENCE

CO.

REMARKS

A. Mustered out May 31, '65.

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CO.

                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    CAPTAINS
Aug. 25, '62. Joseph W. Spaulding Richmond. A. Promoted captain Co. A. Nov. 21. David E. Parsons Norridgewock A. Promoted captain Co. B. July 12, '64. Henry Sewall. ... Augusta. A. Wd. Gettysburg, promoted adjutant. Aug. 11. Josiah W. Tucker Mercer. A. Resigned Dec. 28, '64. Ag. 25, '62. William Clements Monroe. B. Resigned Oct. 17, '62. Aug. 25, '62. William Clements Monroe. B. Resigned Feb. 17, '63. Mch. 2, '63. Elisha W. Ellis Monroe. B. Wd. Gettysburg, resigned Dec. 12, '63. Mch. 2, '63. Elisha W. Ellis Monroe. B. Wd. Gettysburg, resigned Dec. 12, '63. Jan. 22, '64. Ansel L. White Belfast. B. Promoted captain Co. F. Oct. 22, Calvin B. Hinckley Norridgewock. B. Promoted captain Co. B. Nov. 28, Alfred E. Nickerson Swanville. B. Mustered out May 31, '65. Aug. 25, '62. Joseph H. Hunt Unity. C. Resigned Oct. 21, '62. Nov. 1, Francis M. Ames Fairfield. C. Resigned Nov. 18, '62. Aug. 25, Joseph Nichols. Phipsburg. C. Cashiered Feb. 16, '63. Mch. 2, '63. Albion Whitten. Troy. C. Resigned Nov. 17, '63. Jan. 4, '64. William H. Emery Pairfield. C. Wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness. discharged, Oct. 13, '64.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      FIRST LIEUTENANTS
 Jan. 4, 64. William H. Emery Pairfield C Wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness. discharged Oct. 13, '64.

Nov. 28. James H. Pierce Prospect C Wd. Gettysburg, mustered out May 31, '65. Aug. 25, '62. Horace C. Noyes Belfast D Promoted captain Co. B.

Nov. 21. Edw'd R. Cunningham Belfast D Promoted captain Co. D.

Oct. 22. John A. Lord Belfast D Promoted captain Co. D.

Oct. 22. John A. Lord Belfast D Promoted captain Co. A.

Jan. 4, '65. Charles Bennett Bridgton D Mustered out May 31, '65.

Aug. 25, '62. James Johnson Searsport E Resigned Oct. 2, '62.

Oct. 15. John L. Tapley Prankfort E Resigned Feb. 14, '63.

Mch. 2, '63. Nehemiah Smart Swanville E Promoted captain Co. E.

Oct. 19. George A. Wadsworth Bath E Discharged Apr. 27, '64.

July 12, '64. Oliver R. Small Gardiner E Promoted captain Co. K.

Oct. 4, Edward B. Sargent Boothbay E Discharged June 9, '65.

Aug. 25, '62. George L. Whitmore Bowdoinham F. Promoted captain Co. C.

Jan. 22, '64. Edwin H. Rich Thorndike F. Wd. Gettysburg, mustered out May 31, '65.

Aug. 25, '62. Everett M. Whitehouse China G. Promoted captain Co. G.
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DAT	E OF COM	. NAME	F	RESIDENCE	Co.	REMARKS . Wd. North Anna, disc. Sept. 15, '64 Mustered out May 31, '65 Promoted captain Co. H Wd. Gettysburg, promoted Quartermaster Wd. Gettysburg and High Bridge, mustered out May 31, '65 Resigned Feb. 10, '63 Promoted captain Co. I Promoted captain Co. I Wd. Spottsylvania, discharged Aug. 9, '64 Mustered out May 31, '65 Transferred to Co. C Promoted captain Co. K Discharged Apr. 26, '64 Promoted captain Co. C Mustered out May 31, '65 Mantee
Apr	10.'63	Loring Farr	N	Ianchester	.G	.Wd. North Anna disc Sent 15 '64
Oct.	22.'64	George P. Wo	odF	enobscott	.G.	Mustered out May 31 '65
Aug	. 25.'62	Willard Linco	ln	hina	.H.	Promoted cantain Co. H
Dec.	1	Albert Hunter	r	linton	.н.	. Wd. Gettysburg, promoted Quartermaster
Tuly	18.'64	Charles P. Gar	rland V	Vinslow	.H.	. Wd. Gettyshurg and High Bridge mustared
,,						out May 34. 65
Aug	. 25.'62	Gershom F. B	urgess C	Camden	I .	Resigned Feb. 10, '63
Mch	2.'63	George D. Sm:	ith I	Rockland	. I .	Promoted captain Co. I
Mch	. 10.	Edgar A. Bur	pee I	Rockland	ī .	Promoted captain Co. I
Oct.	19	George R. Pal	lmerC	Camden	I .	. Wd. Spottsylvania discharged Aug 9 '64
Oct.	22,'64	William B. Sa	wyer S	earsport	I .	. Mustered out May 31, '65.
Aug	. 25,'62	Joseph Nichol	s I	Phipsburg	. K.	. Transferred to Co. C.
Dec.	. 13,	Dumont Bunk	cerF	airfield	K.	. Promoted captain Co. K.
Mch	. 2,'63	Richard Crocl	cett I	Brunswick	K .	. Discharged Apr. 26, '64.
June	e 22,'64	Thomas P. Be	eathB	loothbay	.K.	. Promoted captain Co. C.
Jan.	4,'65	Beniah P. Dol	lloffE	Boothbay	K.	. Mustered out May 31, '65,
			0.1	000110 770	TTMT:	37.1.37MA
			S	ECOND LIE	UTE.	NANTS
Δ 110	25 '62	David E. Pars	one N	Jorridgewook	Δ	Promoted 1st light Co A
Dag.	1	Alvirus Oshor	ne S	mithfield	Δ.	Discharged March 4 '64
Moh.	16'64	Iosiah W Tuc	ver 1	Tercer	Δ.	Dromoted 1st light Co A
Oct	22	George Studle	v C	amden	A	Promoted 1st lieut Co. A.
Feb.	1 '65	Columbus S. A	nderson R	ichmond	Α .	Discharged Mar 17 '65
A 110	25'62	Levi Rackliffe	Í	incolnville	R	Resigned Oct 20 '62
Dec	13	Leroy S Scott	B	lelfagt	Ř	Mortally wd Gettychurg died July 13 '63
Ian.	22'64	Calvin B. Hin	cklev N	Intridgewock	B	Promoted 1st lieut Co B
Oct	22	Alfred E. Nick	erson S	wanville	B	Promoted 1st lieut Co B
Nov	28.	Clarendon W.	GravS	tockton	·B	Discharged June 9, '65
A 110	25.'62	Francis M. An	nes F	airfield	.C.	Promoted 1st lieut, Co. C.
Nov.	1	. Almon Goodw	in B	aldwin	.C	Resigned Dec. 17, '62.
Dec.	31	. Albion Whitte	n T	rov	.C	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. C.
Mch.	2.'63	. Francis H. Fo:	ss F	airfield	.C	. Wd. Gettysburg, resigned Oct. 27, '63.
Dec.	18,	. William H. Er	neryF	airfield	.C.,	. Promoted 1st lieut, Co. C.
Jan.	4,'64	. Henry W. Nye	e F	airfield	.C.,	. Wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, discharg-
		-				NANTS Promoted 1st lieut. Co. A. Discharged March 4, '64. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. A. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. A. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. A. Discharged Mar. 17, '65. Resigned Oct. 29, '62. Mortally wd. Gettysburg, died July 13, '63. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. B. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. B. Discharged June 9, '65. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. C. Resigned Dec. 17, '62. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. C. Wd. Gettysburg, resigned Oct. 27, '63. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. C. Wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, discharged Feb. 23, '65.
Aug.	25,'62	.Edw'd R. Cun	ningham B	Belfast	.D.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D.
Nov.	. 21,	. Ansel L. White	e B	elfast	.D.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. B.
Jan.	22,'64	. Elbridge C. Pi	erceB	elfast	.D.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D.
July	12,	. John A. Lord	B	elfast	.D.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D.
Oct.	4,	.Charles Benne	ttB	ridgton	.D.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D.
Jan.	4, 65	. Franklin Adan	ns \dots $ extbf{B}$	owdoinham	D.,	. Mustered out May 31, '65.
Aug.	25, 62	. John L. Taple:	y F	ranktort	.E.	. Promoted 1st lieut Co. E.
Dec.	13,	. Nehemiah Sma	artS	wanville	.Е.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. E.
Aug.	15, 63	. George A. Wad	lsworth .B	ath	.Ε.	. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. E.
Oct.	19, 63	.George H. Pag	œ	arren	· E · ·	. Mustered out May 31, 63.
Aug.	25, 62	Charles E. Nas	h	allowell	· <u>F</u>	Promoted 1st heut. Co. F.
July	23,	, Edwin H. Rich	1 T	nornaike	. E	Promoted 1st neut. Co. F.
Jan.	22, 04	. Uliver R. Smal		ardiner	. F	Promoted 1st neut. Co. E.
July	11,	. William B. Sav	vyerse	earsport	T	Mustaged set May 21 '65
Oct.	25, 62	. Joseph Babson	laina M	TOOKIYII	· F · · ·	Designed Ion 27 '62
Aug.	23,02	. George C. nop	KIIIS M	t. vernon	. G	Promoted 1st light Co G
Tuno	12	Honey Sowall	Δ.	anchester	. G	Promoted 1st lieut Co. A.
Tular	26 '61	George A Bart	ton A	ugusta	. G	Wd Wilderness m o May 31 '65
Aug	25 '62	Albert Hunter	CI	inton	н	Promoted 1st lieut Co. H
Dec.	13	Stephen R Go	rdon Cl	inton	H	Resigned Nov. 5 '63
Dec	18 '63	Charles P Garl	land W	inslow	H	Promoted 1st lieut, Co. H.
Inly	11.'64	George P. Woo	d Pe	enobscot	. Ĥ	Promoted 1st lieut, Co. G.
Oct	22	William H. Tri	nnSe	dgwick	H	Mustered out May 31, '65.
Aug	25,'62	George D. Smit	th R	ockland	Ι	Promoted 1st lieut, Co. I.
Mch.	2.'63	Edgar A. Burp	ee Ro	ockland	Ī	Promoted 1st lieut, Co. I.
Mch	10.	George R. Paln	nerCa	mden	Ι	Promoted 1st lieut. Co. I.
Oct.	19	Joseph L. Clark	c R	ockland	. I	Resigned Nov. 30, '63.
Feb.	2,'64	Lafayette Carv	er Vi	nalhaven	. I	Mortally wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, died
						June 22, '64.
July	11,	Thomas B. Car.	npbell . Th	nomaston	Ι	Discharged Nov. 22, '64.
July	18,'62	.Charles S. Larr	abeeB	ath	.K.,	Promoted captain Co. K.
July	28,	Dumont Bunke	erFa	airfield	.K	Promoted 1st lieut. Co. K.
Dec.	13,	Benjamin B. H	ansonPi	ttston	K	Resigned Jan. 23, 63.
Mch.	2,'63	Richard Crocke	ttB1	runswick	K	Promoted 1st lieut. Co. K.
Mch.	2,	Samuel E. Buc	knam Ea	stport	K	Wd. Gettysburg, discharged Apr. 1, 64.
Feb.	2,'64	James N. Hink	leyGe	orgetown	K	Died of wds. Feb. 18, 64.
June	22,	George E. Grov	vsBr	unswick	K	Died of wds. July 7, 04.
Aug.	8,	Beniah P. Dolle	оп Во	othbay	K !	Promoted 1st neut. Co. K.
Jan.	4, 65	william L. Ger	rishPo	rtiand	W	Promoted 1st lieut. Co. C. Wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, discharged Feb. 23, '65. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. B. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. D. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. E. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. F. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. E. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. E. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. I. Mustered out May 31, '65. Resigned Jan. 27, '63 Promoted 1st lieut. Co. G. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. G. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. H. Resigned Nov. 5, '63. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. H. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. H. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. J. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. I. Promoted 1st lieut. Co. K.

COMPANY A.

SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION. SERGEANTS

			SEF	GE.	ANT	'S		
NAME	AGB	Residence	TI	STER S. S	TO 10 11	7079	Remarks	
Alvirus Osborne	.33Sn	nithfield	Aug.	25,	62	. Pr. 2d. lieut	. Co. A. st lieut. Co. A. killed, Boydton Road, ourg, tr. V. R. C. June 15, '64. 1, '62.	
Chomas M Heald	23 No	ercer	Aug.	25,	62	Pr 1st serot	killed Boydton Road	
Charles H. Colburn	.33Ri	chmond	.Aug.	25,	'62	. Wd. Gettysl	ourg, tr. V. R. C. June 15, '64.	
William R. Cary	.30No	orridgewock	.Aug.	25,	62 .	Disc. Oct. 3	1, '62.	
ohn F. Chadbourn	.24M	adison	. Aug.	25,	62	Disc. March	19, 03.	
Asa Andrews, Ir.	. 41 Mc	OSCOW	. Aug.	25.	62	. Pr. sergt. w	d. Wilderness, abs. at m. o.	
Payson T. Heald	.20. No	rridgewock	.Aug.	25,	'62 .	.Wd. Gettysl	ourg, died of wds. Aug. 5, '63.	
William Frederic, Jr	. 34 Me	ercer	.Aug.	25,	'62 .	Red. tr. V.	R. C. June 3, '63.	
Humphrey P Ridley	.20Sn	chmond	Aug.	25,	'62	Pr. sergt. di	sc. July 14. '65.	
Ezekiel K. Morse	.22St	arks	.Aug.	25,	'62	. Died, Oct. 4	19, '63, . killed, Spottsylvania, d. Wilderness, abs. at m. o. ourg, died of wds. Aug. 5, '63, R. C. June 3, '63, burg, tr. V. R. C. March 16 '64, sc. July 14, '65, , '62, Washinton, D. C.	
Loyalist Brown eremiah Hartford	.28Bo	wdoinham	. Aug.	25,	'62 ·	. Pro. prin. in	us., Dec. 1, '63, m. o.	
ereman narmord	.44INC	orriagewock	.Aug.	43,	UZ.	. Disc. reb. o	, 03.	
Samuel D. Jordan	32 Ri	chmond	. A 110	25.	'62	. Det. in brig	ade train, m. o.	
-			PR	TVA	TES	3		
Inderson, Columbus	.21Ri	chmond	Aug.	25, '	62	Pr. 2d lieut.,	Co. A. urg, tr. V. R. C. Gettysburg, died of wds.	
Anderson, Joseph W	.25Ri	chmond	Aug.	25, '	62	.Wd. Petersbu	irg, tr. V. R. C.	
baker, Abner	.33WI	ercer	Aug.	25,	02	Aug. 6,	'63.	
Beedle, Wilbur F	. 19 Ri	chmond	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	.Disc. Jan. 28	3, '63.	
Bigelow, Charles H	.18Sr	nithfield	.Aug	. 25,	'62	Wd. Spotts	ylvania and Boydton Road, m. c	١.
Buker, John C	19 Ri	chmond	. Aug.	25,	62	Pr. corp. dis .Wd Gettysh	ourg. or. corp and sergt ma	
Sumpus, Alson B	.31Th	e Forks	.Aug.	25,	'62 .	.M. o.	and, pri, corp. and sorgi., in. o.	
Butler, Edward K	18No	rridgewock	.Aug.	25,	62 .	.M. o.	06.162	
Charles Arthur E	19Sta	irks	Aug.	25,	62.	Died Feb 9	'63. 3, '63. ylvania and Boydton Road, m. c. May 31, '65. burg, pr., corp. and sergt., m. o. 26, '63. '65 of wds. rec'd. at Hatcher's	
	. 10 10	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		20,		Run.	or or man root at at matcher s	
Charles, Benjamin F	.19Ro	me	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	Wd. Gettys Road, p	burg, pris., Jerusalem Plank aroled, disch June 12, '65.	
hase, Roger	. 18 Ma	idison	.Aug.	25,	'62 ·	.M. o.	ours to to norm A 22 lst	
ollins. Charles W	. 19 Sta	arks	. Aug.	25.	62	. Killed. Gett	vsburg. July 2. '63	
ollins, Elliott F	18Sta	rks	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	.In hosp. at i	n. o.	
opeland, Edward W.	32Sm	ithfield	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	.Died, Dec. 2	1, '62.	
Downs. John L	19. Me	rcer	. Aug.	25.	,62 ·	. Pr. corp. wd	Wilderness m o	7
resser, Emerson	32Ma	dison	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	.Det. serv. di	sch. June 12, '65.	
lastman, Franklin	. 43 Ga	rdiner	.Aug.	25,	'62 .	Wd. Spottsy	Ivania, m. o.	,
oss. Kingman	19 . Ma	G1SOn	. Aug.	25,	62 .	Pr corp kill	ed Wilderness	
oss, William H	19Rc	me	. Aug.	25,	'62 .	.Died of mea	sles Jan. 21, '63.	
age, Hiram W	18No	rridgewock	. Aug.	25,	62 .	.Pr. sergt. wo	aroled, disch June 12, '65. Durg, tr. to navy Apr. 23, '64. psburg, July 2, '63. n. o. 1, '62. Wilderness, m. o. sch. June 12, '65. Tyania, m. o. March 10, '64. ed, Wilderness. sles Jan. 21, '63. 1. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. V.	
age S. Nelson	19 Ma	dison	Aug.	25,	62 .	. Disc. Sept. 1	, '63. Ilance corps, m. o. em Plank Road, disch. June 12,	
earge John R	18. Ki	chmond	Aug.	25,	62 .	Det in ambu	llance corps, m. o.	
corge, John It	1740	w bhalon	nug.	23,	02 .	'65	an I lank Road, disch. June 12,	
roves, Robert W	33Sm	ithfield	Aug.	25,	62 .	. Wd. Spottsy	Ivania, disc. July 21, '64. Ivania and Oct. 11, '64, m. o. s. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch '65. Station, disch June 12, '65, hington, D. C. Jan. 31, '63, em Plank Road, disch '65.	
roves, Charles H	18 No	rridgewock	Aug.	25,	62 .	Pr corp pris	Ivania and Oct. 11, '64, m. o.	
outa, a crimaris	1040	inagewock	1146.	23,	02.	June 12,	'65.	
uff, Tilly	18Me	rcer	Aug.	25,	62 .	. Pris. Reams'	Station, disch. June 12, '65.	
ngalls Joseph F	18 Me	nmond	Aug.	25,	62 .	. Died at Was	em Plank Road disch	
ones, Amos R	18 Ma	dison	Aug.	25,	62 .	. Pr. corp. wd.	Spottsylvania, m. o. V. R. C. Dec. 15, '63. urg, leg amputated, disc.	
ennison. Andrew	38. No	rridgewock	Aug.	25,	62.	. Pr. corp.tr. V	urg leg amoutated disc	,
						()ct 1.5	h 3	
imball, John B	33Me	rcer	Aug.	25,	62 .	Died Nov. 16	, '62.	
imball, John Bimball, Alvinancaster, Henry Hancaster, John P	22Ste	tson	Aug.	25.	62	Disc. Feb. 5,	. '63.	
ancaster, John P	24Rie	hmond	Aug.	25,	62	Wd. Wildern	ess, m. o.	

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NAME
                                        AGE
                                                   RESIDENCE
                                                                               MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                               REMARKS
 U. S. Service
Leavitt, Henry......26.. Richmond.....Aug. 25, '62.. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Anderson-
ville Nov. 1, '64
 RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
Anderson, Martin V. 19. Pleasant Ridge Jan. 4, '64. Tr. 1st H. A.
Armstrong, John L. 27. Winthrop. Aug. 3, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.
Bagley, Alexander. 30. Harmony. Aug. 14, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, abs. at m. o.
Bean, Danville. 26. Pleasant Ridge Dec. 5, '63. Wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.
Bean, Jeremiah. 44. Pleasant Ridge Dec. 24, '63. Disc. Apr. 28, '64.
Blake, William. 22. Portland. Aug. 10, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A.
Burns, Benjamin. 28. Embden. Aug. 14, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A.
Carroll, James. 28. Portland. Sept. 24, '63. Cons. killed Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.
Cotter, William. 21. Portland. July 27, '63. Cons. wd. Totopotomoy, tr. 1st H. A.
Curtis, John G. 44. Lewiston. Aug. 7, '63. Cons. wd. Bristoe Station, died Oct., '64.
Annapolis, Md.
Annapolis, Md.
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Name Age Residence Mustered into Remarks

Overlock, Joseph A. 32. Hermon... Aug. 13, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st H. A. Palmer, Benjamin, Jr. 20. New Portland. Aug. 4, '63. Cons. died Jan. 12, '64. Phillips, William... 34. Solon... Aug. 14, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A. Pickering, Thomas. 21. Portland... Sept. 24, '63. Cons. die. Feb. 28, '64.

Quimby, Alonzo H... 25. Portland... Sept. 10, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disch. May 12, '65. Shaw, Benjamin F... 28. Eastport... Aug. 9, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A. Stevens, George E... 20. Portland... Sept. 4, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A. Sumner, Robert... 21. Portland... Aug. 11, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A. Smith, William H... 28. Portland... Oct. 3, '64. Tr. 1st H. A.

Tallman, Charles G... 22. Richmond... Feb. 19, '64. Tr. 1st D. A. Dawner, Edwin... 42. Gorham... Sept. 8, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A. absent sick at m. o. Willey, Loring W... 32. Cherryfield... Sept. 17, '63. Cons. killed, Spottsylvania.

Williams, Albert S... 18. Bowdoinham... Dec. 23, '63. Tr. 1st H. A.
SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER 1864
   Baldwin, Robert ... 38. Vienna ... Oct. Dearborn, George H. 23. Waterville ... Oct. Gerrish, William L. 23. Portland ... Oct. Sawyer, James A. 18. Waterville ... Oct. Stone, Emery ... 18. Bristol ... Oct.
                                                                                                                                                                     5,64. Tr. 1st H. A.
5,'64. Tr. 1st H. A.
5,'64. Sergt. pr. 2nd lieut. Co. K.
5,'64. Tr. 1st H. A.
5,'64. Tr. 1st H. A.
                                                                                                                                                           COMPANY B.
           SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED THE COMPANY AT ITS OEGANIZATION,
                                                                                                                                          SERGEANTS
   Jason Gordon. 29 Thorndike. Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 2d. lieut. and 1st. lieut.
Elisha W. Ellis. 21 Monroe. Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 1st. lieut. wd. Gettysburg.
Isaac Hills. 18 Northport. Aug. 25, '62. Red. wd. Gettysburg, disc. Dec. 3, '63.
George W. Young. 27 Lincolnville. Aug. 25, '62. Red. own request, tr. V. R. C. July 19, '63.
Daniel Bachelor 29 Palermo Aug. 25, '62. Det. in ambulance corps, m. o.
                                                                                                                                             CORPORALS
   Manter A. Roberts
Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Feb. 17, '63.
Aug. 25, 62. Tr. to 4, U. S. arty.
Dailus S. Richards
23. Brooks. Aug. 25, 62. Tr. to 4, U. S. arty.
Dailus S. Richards
26. Lincolnville. Aug. 25, 62. Pr. 1st. sergt. wd. Wilderness and Reams'
Station, disch. May 18, 65. askl s
Wilbur M. Clifford
19. Palermo. Aug. 25, 62. Red., died, Jan. 9, 64.

John C. Ford ... 26. Monroe. Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Dec. 27, '62.
Oscar F. Dunton
20. Liberty. Aug. 25, 62. Died Dec. 7, '62.
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AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
                                           REMARKS
 Willard R. Hardy ...21. Searsmont. ...Aug. 25,'62. Red. wd. Gettysburg, m. o. Edwin A. Howes ...23. Liberty. ................Aug. 25,'62. Pr. sergt. killed,Gettysburg.
 WAGONER
*Also written Hanan and Hannon.
Rand, Marshall H. . . . 43 . Monroe . . . . Aug. 25, '62 . . Wd. Gettysburg, tr V. R. C.
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REMARKS
                                                                                     AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
   RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION.
 Batchelder, Edgar S. .23..Garland.....Aug. 15,'63..Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st. H. A. Brown, Jeremiah Jr....19..Cornville....Aug. 15,'63..Cons. disc. Dec. 11, '63. Chandler, Charles A....25..Winthrop.....July, 18,'63..Cons. died July 2,'64 of wds. rec'd, at Jerusalem
Chandler, Charles A. 25. Winthrop. July, 18, 63. Cons. died July 2, 64 of wds. rec'd, at Jerusalem Plank Road.

Clark, George M. Bangor. May 16, 64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Collins, William. 28. Portland Aug. 17, 63. Cons. disc. Jan. 11, '64.

Dillman, Joseph 30. Portland Sept 21, '63. Cons. disc. Jan. 11, '64.

Dore, Henry A. 28. Harmony. Aug. 11, '63. Cons. tix to navy, Apr. 16, '64.

Dore, Henry A. 28. Harmony. Aug. 11, '63. Cons. tix to navy, Apr. 16, '64.

Dwinell, George W. 19. Portland. Aug. 14, '63. Cons. wd. Totopotomoy, tr. 1st. H. A.

Frizzell, Henry G. 18. Augusta. July 22, '63. Cons. tr. V. R. C. May 1, '64.

French, Charles F. 18. Augusta. July 18, '63. Cons. tr. V. R. C. May 1, '64.

Getchell, Elisha B. 29. Augusta. July 16, '63. Cons. tr. U. S. navy Feb. 15, '64.

Gross, Charles. 18. Augusta. July 16, '63. Cons. tr. U. S. navy Feb. 15, '64.

Hall, Adoniram. 24. Damariscotta. July 18, '63. Cons. pris. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A.

Hall, Haenjamin C. 30. Lewiston. July 16, '63. Cons. disc. Jan. 30, '64.

Hannon, William A. 19. Liberty. Jan. 18, '64. Wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.

Henderson, Irad M. 23. Lincolnville. Sept. 1, '63. Cons. pris. sergt. 2d. lieut. 1st. lieut. capt.

Howe, William P. 30. Dixmont. Aug. 13, '63. Cons. pris. Reams' Gisch. Dec. 23, '64.

Jordan, Joseph. 25. Webster. Sept. 19, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Nov. 2, '64.

Jewell, Charles F. 26. Dixmont. Aug. 13, '63. Cons. dw. Wilderness, pris. Hatcher's Run, disch. June 16, '65.

Zing David. 22. Bangor. Sept. 21, '63. Cons. dw. Wilderness, pris. Hatcher's Run, disch. June 16, '65.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                         Plank Road.

      Small, Jeremiah
      .40. Swanville
      Feb. 13,'65. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Smith, William T
      .33. Hampden
      Aug. 12,'63. Cons. tr. to navy Apr. 16, '64.

      Smith, Edwin
      .23. Newburg
      Aug. 13,'63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 6, '65.

      Small, William H
      .23. Lewiston
      July 15,'63. Cons. corp. We Bristoe Station, tr. 1st. H. A.

      Staples, Albert
      .27. Newburg
      Aug. 13,'63. Cons. died Stevensburg, Va. Dec. 22, '63.
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AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                REMARKS
    SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864.

Call, Benjamin F. 22. Bangor ... Aug. 18, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Carver, Edwin W. 27. Rockland ... Aug. 8, '63. Cons. tr. V. R. C. Sept. 30, '64.
Chase, William P. 19. Lincoln ... Aug. 8, '63. Cons. tr. V. R. C. Sept. 30, '64.
Chase, Edward L. 33. Portland ... Dec. 30, '63. Died of wds. July 16, '64.
Clay, Abijah N. 36. Bangor ... Aug. 24, '63. Cons. killed Reams' Station Aug. 25, '64.
Dana, Daniel ... 21. Lewiston ... Aug. 26, '63. Cons. killed Reams' Station Aug. 25, '64.
Dana, Daniel ... 21. Lewiston ... Aug. 25, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Dexter, Judson W. 19. Corinth ... Aug. 25, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Elden, John ... 18. Bradford ... Aug. 29, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Elden, John ... 18. Bradford ... Aug. 29, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
Estes, David ... 28. Orono ... Aug. 22, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disc. Feb. 28, '65.
Forbes, Freeman A. 19. Belfast ... Nov. 18, '63. Wd. disch. May 20, '65.
Forbes, Freeman A. 19. Belfast ... Nov. 18, '63. Wd. disch. May 20, '65.
Foroyer, Navard ... 44. Brooks ... Jan. 2, '64. Pris. Reams' Station, no further record.
Heal, Thomas J. 18. Belfast ... Dec. 4, '63. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Hopkins, Charles W. 24. Jefferson ... Jan. 1, '64. Vet. sergt. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road.
Jackson, John A. 21. Belfast ... Dec. 4, '63. Wd. tr. 1st. H. A.
Philbrook, Levi A. 22. Augusta ... Sept. 3, '61. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Snowdeal, Thomas E. 21. Thomaston ... Sept. 19, '64. Pris. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Snowdeal, Thomas E. 21. Thomaston ... Sept. 19, '64. New Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Snowdeal, Thomas E. 21. Thomaston ... Sept. 19, '64. New Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Snowdeal, Thomas E. 21. Thomaston ... Sept. 19, '64. New Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, '65.
Snowdeal, Thomas E. 21. Thomaston ... Sept. 19, '64. New Wilderness, never joined company.
Thomas Winslow W. 21. Rockland ... Aug. 25, '63. Cons. wild
     SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864.
   SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER 1864.
 Barnise, Thomas. 37. Skowhegan Oct. 5,'64. Wd. Nov. 14, '64, tr. 1st. H. A. Casey, Thomas 22. Whitefield. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Chapman, Alvin L. 43. Starks. Oct. 5,'64. Wd. Boydton Road, disc, July 4, '65. Dunn, James 25. Whitefield. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Hewitt, Isaac S. 18. Madison Oct. 5,'64. Abs. sick at m. o. Maxmilian, Jacob. 24. Limerick. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Morey, Vetal. 23. Anson Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Potter, Thomas A. 20. Clinton. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Thomas, Albert. 18. Limerick. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Wescott, Joseph D. 27. Athens. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Whittier, Nathaniel B. 19. Madison Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Wescott, Willis. 18. Embden. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
                                                                                                                               COMPANY C.
                    SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION
 SERGEANTS
Albion Whitten ... 35. Troy ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 2d and 1st lieut.
George Dunbar ... 24. Fairfield ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 1st sergt. wd. Gettysburg, red. disc. Feb., 6
'65.
 CORPORALS
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Mustered into Remarks U. S. Service
Edward F. Tukey 21 Fairfield Aug. 25, 62 Disc. Nov. 24, '62.
George M. Cotton 20 Fairfield Aug. 25, 62 Pr. sergt. m. o.
George A. Osborn 20 Fairfield Aug. 25, 62 Wd. Wilderness. m. o.
                                                           MUSICIANS
Hollis S. Spearing ... 26. Benton. ... Aug. 25,'62. Disc. May 17, '63. Cross, Francis W. ... 32. Bowdoinham .. Aug. 25,'62. Reptd. as des. Nov. 15, '62.
                                                            PRIVATES
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RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
 Welch, Sullivan M....18. Clinton......Aug. 10,'63. Missing Bristoe Station, never heard from,
White, William W. 22. Bangor. Aug. 6, '63. Cons. abs. sick, disch. June 15, '65. Williams, Francis L. 28. Madison. Aug. 18, '63. Cons. abs. sick, disch. June 15, '65. Williams, Francis L. 28. Madison. Aug. 18, '63. Cons. disc. June 15, '65. Williams, Charles S. 31. Norridgewock. Aug. 18, '63. Cons. disc. July 14, '64. Woodbury, Edward C. 24. Belfast. Mch. 1, '65. Tr. 1st H. A. York, Ephraim A. 25. Fairfield. Aug. 18, '63. Cons. died Dec. 4, '63.
 SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1364.
 Ames, William H.....27. Plymouth....Dec. 23,'63. Vet. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A. Brown, James H.....24. Belfast.....Aug. 21,'63. Sub. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A. Bruce, Samuel T......27. Montville....Aug. 20,'63. Sub. wd. Cold Harbor, June 5. tr. 1st H.A.
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AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  REMARKS
                                                                                                                                     U. S. SERVICE
Carter, Preston J. 18. Belfast. Feb. 19, '62. Pr. and det. as color sergt., killed Jerusalem Plank Road.

Campbell, Thomas B 28. Thomaston Mch. 14, '64. Pr. 2d. lieut. Co. I.

Cunningham, Austin. 19. Warren. Mch. 14, '64. Vet. pris. Gettysburg, wd. Ft. Haskell, Nov.26, '64, tr. 1st H. A.

Davis, Henry A. 20. Unity. Sept. 10, '61. Disch. Sept. 19, '64, term exp.

Douglass, Asa. 33. Unity. Aug. 21, '63. Sub. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st H. A.

Folsom, Albert F. 21. Greenbush. Aug. 21, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.

Grover, Albert. 18. Brooks. Dec. 31, '63. Wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st H. A.

Harlow, Nathan B. 28. Auburn. Sept. 1, '63. Cons. wd. Cold Harbor June 5.

Hall, Stephen. 44. Portland. Dec. 3, '63. Died June. 10, '65.

Ham, John H. 21. Bangor. Aug. 10, '63. Cons. wd. Totopotomoy, tr. 1st H. A.

Howe, David. 27. Skowhegan. Aug. 17, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.

Howe, David. 27. Skowhegan. Aug. 17, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st H. A.

Hubbard, Moses H. 30. Bangor. Aug. 20, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Hurd, George F. 19. Bangor. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Hurd, George F. 19. Bangor. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Larvin, Frank. 18. Lewiston. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Sub. tr. 1st H. A.

Lambert, Jonas B. 20. Augusta. Sept. 10, '63. Sub. tr. 1st H. A.

Burphy, Alvin. 18. Portland. Sept. 2, '63. Cons. tr. 1st H. A.

Burphy, Alvin. 18. Portland. Sept. 2, '63. Sub. tr. 1st H. A.

Sevenens, Edmund, Jr. 23. Belfast. Aug. 24, '63. Sub. 
  Carter, Preston J. ....18. Belfast. ..... Feb. 19, 62. Pr. and det. as color sergt., killed Jerusalem Plank Road.
SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER, 1864
                                                                                                                                                     5,'64..Tr. 1st H. A.
5,'64..Tr. 1st .H A.
5,'64..Tr. 1st H. A.
  Cole, John, Jr........19 .. Anson......Oct.
  Moore, John G......19. Anson.....Oct.
Penney, Everett A....18. Waterville....Oct.
                                                                                                                                            COMPANY D.
         SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED THE COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  4 - A & Falgra
                                                                                                                                          SERGEANTS
CORPORALS
 MUSICIANS
  PRIVATES
  Bean, James O......24. Belmont ..... Aug. 25, 62. Det. arty. brig. pris. Reams' Station, died Salisbury prison, Jan. 15, '65.

        Beckwith, Silas
        21. Belfast
        Aug. 25,'62. M. o.
        bury prison, Jan. 15, '65.

        Blodgett, Joshua W. 18. Morrill
        Aug. 25,'62. Died Dec. 15, '63.

        Brown, Jonathan M. 21. Belfast
        Aug. 25,'62. Des. Sept. 23, '62.

        Brown, James C. 44. Searsmont
        Aug. 25,'62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Mch. 24, '63.

        Buckling, William D. 27. Waldo
        Aug. 25,'62. Disc. July 14, '64.

        Burd, Samuel F. 30. Belfast
        Aug. 25,'62. Disc. Jan. 19, '63.

        Byard, Henry D. 30. Rockland
        Aug. 25,'62. Wd. Gettysburg, in hosp. at m. o.

        Campbell, Annas S. 29. Belfast
        Aug. 25,'62. Det. in prov. guard, m. o.
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Name	AGE	Residence	Must. U.S.	ered in Servic	TO REMARKS E Det. as carpenter, m. o. Disc. Dec. 30, '62. Det. as guard at hdqrs m. o. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Jan. 1, '65. Killed, North Anna. Pr. sergt. wd. North Anna, m. o. Wd. Strawberry Plains, in hosp. at m. o. Killed, Gettysburg, Tr. V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64. Died Feb. 13, '63. Wd. Gettysburg, in hosp. at m. o. Died Frederick City, Oct. 23, '62. Disc. Jan. 7, '63. Died Jan. 19, '63. Died Jan. 19, '63. Died Jan. 19, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Dec. 1, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Dec. 1, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, died July 4, '63. Wd. High Bridge, disc. May 30, '65. Wd. Gettysburg, died July 4, '63. Wd. Orth Anna, disc. Feb. 20, '65. Pr. corp. killed, North Anna. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Andersonville Dec. 27, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Aug. 27, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Aug. 27, '64. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Aug. 27, '64.
Carter, John W.	.26	Belfast	Aug.	25,'62.	. Det, as carpenter, m. o.
Chandler, Josiah A	.28	Morrill	Aug.	25,'62.	. Disc. Dec. 30, '62.
Chase, Elijah S	.32	Pittston	Aug.	25,'62.	. Det. as guard at hdqrs m. o.
Clements, Charles H.	.21	Knox	Aug.	25,'62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Jan. 1, 65.
Cooper Charles P.	.21	Thorndike	Aug.	25, 62.	. Killed, North Anna.
Cromwell Joseph M.	.18	Beliast	Aug.	25, 02.	. Pr. sergt, wd. North Anna, m. o.
Cunningham Alden	24	Waldo	Aug.	25, 62	Killed Cettychurg
Cunningham, Cornelius	s 38.	Belfast	. Aug.	25, 62.	Tr. V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64.
Curtis, Alden H	.20	Northport	Aug.	25,'62.	. Died Feb. 13, '63.
Dean, Horace	.18	Belfast	Aug.	25,'62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, in hosp. at m. o.
Eldridge Birland C	.21	Belfast	Aug.	25,'62.	Died Frederick City, Oct. 23, '62.
Flanders Dishard B.	.44	Bellast	Aug.	25, 02.	Disc. Jan. 7, 03.
Gray, John	44	Belmont	A 110	25 '62	Disc. Mch. 9, '64
Hamilton, Charles R	.21	Swanville	. Aug.	25,'62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Dec. 1, '64.
Hartshorn, Henry H.	.21	Belfast	.Aug.	25, 62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C.
Hartshorn, William H.	30	Belfast	Aug.	25,'62.	. M. o.
Hatch, Gardner L	.28	Montville	Aug.	25, 62.	Tr. V. R. C. July 3, 63.
Haire Roswell	30	Belfact	Aug.	25,02.	Wd. Gettysburg died July 4 '63
Hawkins, Ford S	. 18	Waldo	. A 119.	25, 62	Wd. North Anna. disc. Feb. 20. '65.
Hinds, Prescott D	. 18	Belfast	. Aug.	25,'62.	Pr. corp. killed, North Anna.
Hoffses, Hiram B	.21	Waldoboro	.Aug.	25,'62.	. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Anderson-
H-G I		***			ville Dec. 27, '64.
Hollis Enoch In	.27	Waldoboro	Aug.	25, 62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Aug. 27, '64. . Wd. Spottsylvania, pris. Reams' Station prison-
Hunt, Kingsbury	.35	Pittston	A 110	25.'62	er at m. o. Disc. Jan. 2d. '64.
Hunt, Lewis	.27	Pittston	.Aug.	25,'62.	. Died Dec. 1, '64.
Kelley, Louira A	.18	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62.	. Killed, Gettysburg.
Kendall, Waterman B.	44	Morrill	Aug.	25,'62.	Died on March Nov. 4, '62.
Knowlton, John C	.34	Montville	Aug.	25, 62.	. Pr. corp. sergt. and com-sergt. disc. Mch.30, 63
Lear Renjamin O	25	Swanville Northport	Aug.	25'62	Wd Cettyshurg disch June 23 '65
Lenfest, James	. 28	Swanville	. Aug.	25.'62.	Pr. corp. tr. to navv.
Maker, Andrew R	.20	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62.	. M. o.
Mayo, Nelson N	. 21	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62	er at m. o. Disc. Jan. 2d. '64. Disc. Jan. 2d. '64. Died Dec. 1, '64. Killed, Gettysburg. Died on March Nov. 4, '62. Pr. corp. sergt. and com-sergt. disc. Mch.30,'65 M. o. Wd. Gettysburg, disch. June 23, '65. Pr. corp. tr. to navy. M. o. Pr. sergt. mortally wd. Wilderness, died Fredericksburg, May 24. '64.
Michaela Coorne	27	D-164	Α	25 162	icksburg, May 24, '64.
Mixer Jackson	27	Belfast	Aug.	25,02.	Killed Cold Harbor
Murch, Charles A	21	Belfast	. Aug.	25.'62.	. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C.
Nickerson, Jonathan S	. 26	Belfast	Aug.	25,'62.	. Pris. Nov. 5, '64 on picket, disch. May 15,'65.
Palmer, George W	. 18	Pittston	.Aug.	25,'62	. М. о.
Page, George H	28	Warren	.Aug.	25, 62.	Pr. q. m. sergt. and 2d. lieut. Co. E.
Perham Myrick	23	Bellast Pitteton	Aug.	25,02.	Pris Jerusalem Plank Road disch June 12 '65
Poor, Levi M	19	Belmont	.Aug.	25.'62.	Pr. corp. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch.
_				,,	June 12, '65.
Powers, William T	.23	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62	. Disc. Apr. 22, '63.
Prescott, Franklin K	. 21	Northport	.Aug.	25, 62.	Det. as wagoner at brig. hdqrs. m. o.
Robbins James	33	Rockiand	Aug.	25, 62.	. M. O. Killed Gettyshurg
Robbins, Emery	. 23	Belfast	. Aug.	25.'62.	Det. as forage master, m. o.
Shaw, Alpheus	.38	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62.	.Tr. V. R. C. Sept. 1, '63.
Sherman, Bridges C	. 28	Liberty	.Aug.	25, 62.	.Tr. V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64.
Smally, Castanous M.	. 18	Belfast	.Aug.	25, 62.	. M. O.
Thomas Hushai	19	Morrill	Aug.	25,02.	. Wd. Bristoe Station, in. o.
Thomas, Hushai C	21	Morrill	. A 11g	25 '62	Wd. Gettysburg, died July 21, '63,
Tripp, Rufus	21	Swanville	.Aug.	25,'62	M. o.
Tufts, George F	21	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62	Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, killed Wilderness.
Warran Alabana B	44	Beltast	.Aug.	25, 62	M. O. Missa New 4 '62 on march from Hannyilla to
warren, Alphonzo R	21	rittston	.Aug.	25, 62	Pr. sergt. mortally wd. Wilderness, died Fredericksburg, May 24, '64. Died Dec. 9, '62. Killed, Cold Harbor. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Pris. Nov. 5, '64 on picket, disch. May 15,'65. M. o. Pr. q. m. sergt. and 2d. lieut. Co. E. Wd. Mch. 31, '65 in hosp. at m. o. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch. June 12, '65. Pr. corp. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch, June 12, '65. Disc. Apr. 22, '63. Det. as wagoner at brig. hdqrs. m. o. M. o. Killed, Gettysburg. Det. as forage master, m. o. Tr. V. R. C. Sept. 1, '63. Tr. V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64. M. o. Wd. Bristoe Station, m. o. M. o. Wd. Gettysburg, died July 21, '63. M. o. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, killed Wilderness. M. o. Missg. Nov. 4, '62 on march from Upperville to Asbby's Gap, reptd. des.
Wentworth, Orlando F	.19	waldo	.Aug.	25, 62	. Killed, Wilderness.
Wentworth Franklin A	.24	Beliast	Aug.	25, 02	. M. O.
Wentworth Hollis M	23	waldo	Aug.	25 '62	Disc. Aug. 22 '63
White John A	20	waido Relfast	Aug.	25 '62	M. o. Det. in ambulance corps., m. o. Disc. Aug. 22, '63. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Anderson-
Jonn II	20	Dollast	.rrug.	20,02	ville, Oct. 1, '64.
White, James W	.18	Belfast	.Aug.	25,'62	

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RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                       AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    REMARKS
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      U. S. SERVICE
       Williams, George....30. Waldo...Aug. 25, '62. M. o. Wilson, Jesse A...19. Belfast...Aug. 25, '62. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, died July 3, '63. Woodbury, Richard W.20. Waldo...Aug. 25, '62. Disc. Jan. 19, '63. Wood, Francis C....27. Northport...Aug. 25, '62. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, disc. Apr. 18, '64.
        Wyman, Frederick H. 22. Belfast. ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. corp. killed, Cold Harbor.
Young, John W. ... 24. Belfast. ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. corp. pris. Reams' Station, m. o.
Anderson, Christian 21. Portland ... May 3, '64. Pris. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A.
Bohnn, Adolph ... 25. Portland ... Aug. 13, '63. Cons. wd. Spottsylvania, disc. Feb. 6, '65.
Brown, Silas ... 18. Belfast. ... Jan. 25, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Brown, William J. ... 18. Searsmont. ... Dec. 4, '63. Wd. Ft. Haskell, Nov. 2, '64, tr. 1st. H. A.
Bonzey, Roland ... 20. Ellsworth ... Feb. 8, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Brainard, Lucius H. ... 18. Northport ... Mch. 2, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Carney, Michael ... 24. Augusta ... Sept. 29, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Carter, Joseph ... 44. Belfast ... Jan. 9, '64. Disch. June 26, '65.
Copeland, Samuel ... 26. St. George. ... Aug. 14, '63. Cons. des. Sept. 26, '63...
Cromwell, Oliver ... 30. Bowdoinham ... July 17, '63. Cons. wd. and pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, reptd. died. Oct. 18. '64. B. 
     Crockett, Francis 19. Belfast... Feb. 4,'65. Died, Apr. 26, '65.
Day, George H. 32. Jefferson July 18,'63. Cons. des. from hosp. Sept. 5, '64.
Dickey, Harry 22. Winthrop Aug. 14,'63. Cons. disc. Dec. 11, '63.
Dooley, Thomas 28. St. George. Aug. 14,'63. Cons. missing on march a decenter.
Dickey, Harry. 22. Winthrop Aug. 14, 63. Cons. disc. Dec. 11, 63. Dooley, Thomas 28. St. George. Aug. 14, 63. Cons. disc. Dec. 11, 63. Dooley, Thomas 28. St. George. Aug. 14, 63. Cons. disc. Dec. 11, 63. Dooley, Thomas 28. St. George. Aug. 14, 63. Cons. disc. Mch. 14, 64. Eastman, Josiah N. 31. Webster. July 17, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A., abs. sick at m. o. Gilbreth, Francis G. 19. Belfast. Feb. 21, 65. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A., abs. sick at m. o. Gilbreth, Francis G. 19. Belfast. Feb. 21, 65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Harvey, John 22. Belfast. Jan. 16, 65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Huzzey, John 18. Carmel. Sept. 21, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Higgins, Prince D. 19. Belfast. Jan. 31, 65. Died, May 15, 65. Died, May 15, 65. Died, May 15, 65. Died, May 15, 65. St. May 18, 65. Saco. Sept. 21, 63. Cons. disc. May 18, 65. King, John. 26. Portland Aug. 12, 63. Cons. disc. May 18, 65. King, John. 32. Augusta. Aug. 15, 63. Cons. disc. May 18, 65. King, John. 32. Augusta. Aug. 15, 63. Cons. disc. Dec. 30, 63. Kimball, Daniel 20. Somerville. Jan. 5, 64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Maker, Edward H. 18. Belfast. Feb. 1, 65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Maker, Edward H. 18. Belfast. Feb. 1, 65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Maker, Edward H. 18. Belfast. Jan. 25, 65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. pris. Serusalem Plank Road, tr., 1st. H. A. Moore, John 24. Montville Aug. 12, 63. Cons. one, w. Wilderness, disc. Apr. 3, 65. Reterson, Peter 26. Portland Sept. 21, 63. Cons. one, w. Wilderness, disc. Apr. 3, 65. Robinson, Arthur W. 19. Belfast. M. A. Nortland Sept. 26, Cons. doo. Cons. May 264. Sawyer, Arth
   SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT, JUNE 15, 1864
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AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                               MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                               REMARKS
 Martin, Henry. 24. Canada ... Aug. 31, 63. Sub. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Meservey, Samuel L. 29. Rockland ... Jan. 1, 64. Vet. sergt. tr. V. R. C. Morrill, Charles W. 20. Lisbon ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. McAllister, Emery A. 37. Milford ... Aug. 29, 63. Sub. pris. Nov. 5, 64, tr. 1st. H. A. Norton, Simon L. 30. Presque Isle ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A. Norton, Simon L. 30. Presque Isle ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. wd. tr. 1st. H. A. Parent, Solomon ... 36. Presque Isle ... Aug. 29, 63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A. Perkins, George ... 42. Newcastle ... Dec. 28, 63. Tr. 1st. H. A. Pierce, James ... 44. Portland ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. wd. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A. Pierce, James ... 44. Portland ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. wd. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A. Randall, Edward ... 19 Brooks ... Jan. 1, 64. Pris. Nov. 5, '64, disch. June 25, '65. Rediker, James ... 24. Bangor ... Sept. 1, 63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A. Russ, John F. ... 21. New York ... Sept. 2, 63. Sub. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Schwartz, James 0. 18. Camden ... Mch. 13, 62. Abs. sick at exp. of term. Taylor, Simeon ... 22. Gardiner ... Jan. 1, 64. Vet. pris. Gettysburg tr. 1st. H. A. Thompson, Joseph ... 24. Rockland ... Sept. 12, '62. In hosp. at m. o.
                                                                               U. S. SERVICE
 SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER, 1864.
 Bennett, Charles ....25. Bridgton ...Oct. 5,'64. Pr. 2d. and 1st. lieut. Cummings, John ....18. Solon ....Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
                                                                                  SERGEANTS
  Nehemiah Smart ....25. Swanville ..... Aug. 25, 62. Pr. 2d. lieut. 1st. lieut. and capt. wd. Spottsyl-
                                                                                                            vania.
  James H. Pierce ......30. Prospect ...... Aug. 25, 62. Pr. 1st. sergt. wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness
 CORPORALS
MUSICIANS
Alonzo Glidden ......39..Prospect .....Aug. 25,'62..Disc. Feb. 8, '63.
                                                                                     WAGONER
  Wilmoth Porter .....44.. Searsport ..... Aug. 25, '62.. Disc. May 23, '63.
PRIVATES
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| Name | Age | Residence | Mustered into | U. S. Service | U. 
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       REMARKS
                                                                                                                                                                     AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          MUSTERED INTO
        Sheldon, Edward B. 23. Camden. Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysplurg, arm amputated, disc. Oct. 23, 63.

Staples, Robert F. 23. Stockton .Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp., killed, Spottsylvania.

Staples, Peleg S. 18. Stockton .Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp., killed, Spottsylvania.

Staples, Andrew Jr. 20. Stockton .Aug. 25, 62. Det. 1st. R. I. arty. wd. Boydton Road, disch. June 15, 65.

Staples, Andrew Jr. 20. Stockton .Aug. 25, 62. Tr. batt. C. 4, U. S. arty.

Stinson, Alfred . 20. Prospect .Aug. 25, 62. Tr. V. R. C. July 27, 63.

Strout, Parish L. 24. Swanville .Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Spottsylvania, tr. V. R. C. Smith, Stephen .33. Swanville .Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Jan. 5, 63.

Spalding, Isaac L. 18. Frankfort .Aug. 25, 62. Apptd. musician m.o.

Sweetser, James M. 22. Stockton .Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Feb. 7, 63.

Trundy, Octavius H. 18. Searsport .Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Jan. 5, 63.

Trundy, Pranklin .21. Frankfort .Aug. 25, 62. Reptd. des. Apr. 2, 63.

Waning, Freeman . 20. Frankfort .Aug. 25, 62. Apptd. musician m.o.

Waterhouse, Fred L. 23. Searsport .Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Dec. 14, 64.

Woodbury, Stephen E. 25. Searsport .Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Dec. 14, 64.

Woodbury, Stephen E. 25. Searsport .Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. disch. June 9, 65.
RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
Bassett, Samuel 21. Winterport Jan 26, '65. Wd. High Bridge, disch. June 17, '65.
Baker, John... 21. Winterport Jan 28, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A. abs. sick at m. o.
Blake, Sewall B. 20. Dexter. Aug. 12, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Bray, Herman L. 18. Winterport Jan 28, '65. Wd. Mch. 28, '65 disch. June 8, '65.
Carr, John... 21. Portland Aug. 12, '63. Sub. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, Andersonville, Sept. 15, '64.
Campbell, Augustus 18. Livermore. Aug. 18, '63. Sub. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A.
Christy, George A. 30. Sedgwick. Mch. 4, '65. Disch. May 13, '65.
Clark, John... 26. Portland Aug. 12, '62. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Colson, Stephen 22. Winterport Jan. 25, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Colson, Stephen 22. Winterport Jan. 25, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Cook, Henry 33. Portland Aug. 12, '63. Sub. tr. to navy Apr. 15, '64.
Crocker, Orrin B. 22. Stockton Aug. 5, '63. Cons. tr. to navy Apr. 15, '64.
Currier, John M. 18. Anson Jan.
Dean, Austin H. 18. Frankfort Feb. 18, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Doyle, Henry A. 34. Augusta Aug. 8, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
Eaton, James 20. Winterport Jan. 26, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Farr, William 20. Lewiston Aug. 8, '63. Sub. killed, Wilderness, Frazier, Milton W. 25. Ellsworth Jan. 26, '65. Tr. 1st. Ha.
Freeman, Marcellus 25. Augusta Aug. 17, '63. Sub. pris. Reams' Station, disch. June 5, '65.
Foley, John 21. Paris Aug. 8, '63. Sub. pris. Reams' Station, disch. June 5, '65.
Foley, John 21. New Sharon Jan. 5, '64. Disch. July 16, '65.
George, Henry A. 21. New Sharon Jan. 5, '64. Disch. July 16, '65.
George, Henry A. 21. New Sharon Jan. 5, '64. Disch. July 16, '65.
        RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION

      George, Henry A.
      .21. New Sharon
      .Jan.
      5,'64. Disch. July 16, '65.

      Gould, Rufus H.
      .21. Jefferson
      .July 20,'63. Sub. killed, Wilderness.

      Hartshorn, John A.
      .21. Swanville
      .Aug. 29,'63. Sub. wd. North Anna, tr. 1st. H. A.

      Hartshorn, Cyrus
      .18. Swanville
      .Dec. 24,'63. Tr. 1st. H. A.

     Herris, (or Harris),
   Harvey T. . . . . 19 . Swanville . . . . Dec. 19, '63 . . Wd. Spottsylvania, abs. tr. 1st. H. A. Hopkins, Charles W. . . 23 . Ellsworth . . . . Jan. 26, '65 . . Disch. May 13, '65.
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| Name | Age | Residence | Mustered into | U. S. Service | U. S. Service | Huff, James H. | 18. Swanville | Dec. 19, '63. Pr. corp. tr. 1st. H. A. | Huff, John B. | 44. Swanville | Jan. | 1, '64. Wd. Wilderness, abs. at m. o. tr. 1st. H. A. | Jones, William | 29. Portland | Aug. 12, '63. Sub. pris. Cold Harbor, died Andersonville, Aug. 16, '64. | Jones, Marshall | 21. Somerville | July | 18, '63. Tr. 1st. H. A. abs. at m. o. | Knowles, Reuben Jr. | 20. Bradford | Aug. 14, '63. Cons. disc. Och. 29, '65. | Lowe, Arthur D. | 19. Frankfort | Sept. 16, '63. Sub. disch. May 23, '65. | March, Joseph | 20. Bradford | Sept. 16, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A. | A. | Merten, Ernest | 20. Bradford | Sept. 16, '63. Sub. pr. corp. tr. 1st. H. A. | Patterson, Otis B. | 20. Swanville | Aug. 25, '63. Sub. pr. corp. tr. 1st. H. A. | Pendleton, Lewis E. | 22. Frankfort | Apr. 12, '65. Disch. May 13, '65, never joined company. | Philbrick Augustus L. | 28. Belfast | Aug. 14, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A. | Pinkham, John C. | 42. Washington | Aug. 18, '63. Sub. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. | Pooler, Joseph | 19. Waterville | Sept. 9, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, disch. June 6, '65. | Perkins, Daniel W. | 27. Limerick | Oct. | 5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A. | abs. sick at m. o. | Savage, Jacob | 28. Gardiner | Aug. 8, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A. | Ass. sick at m. o. | Savage, Jacob | 28. Gardiner | Aug. 8, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, date of disch. not shown. | Tibbetts, Kingsbury | 27. Springfield | Aug. 15, '63. Sub. disc. Dec. 16, '64. | Trefethen, Benjamin F. 42. C. Elizabeth | Aug. 18, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A. | Tyzaac, Henry N. | 18. Portland | July 13, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road tr. 1st. H. A. | Turner, George T. | 21. Prospect | Feb. | 4, '64. Tr. to navy Apr. 15, '64. | Turner, George T. | 21. Prospect | Feb. | 4, '64. Tr. to navy Apr. 15, '64. | Sub. Wilderness, disch. June 13, '65. | Waldron, Sidney | 18. Frankfort | Apr. 14, '65. Disc. May 13, '65. | Waldron, Sidney | 18. Frankfort | Apr. 14,
                                                         NAME
                                                                                                                                                   AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            REMARKS
 SOLDIERS TRANSFERED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864.

Bullen, Joseph S. 18. Swanville ... Aug. 25, 63. Cons. pr. corp. tr. 1st. H. A.
Colson, Otis ... 18. Winterport ... Dec. 30, 62. Pr. corp. wd. Petersburg, tr. 1st. H. A.
Fanaughty, David ... 39. Belfast ... Aug. 25, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Fanaughty, David ... 39. Belfast ... Aug. 25, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Farnham, Joseph E. 25. Knox ... Nov ... 9, 61. Wd. Ream's Station disc. Nov. 27, 64.
Fickett, Moses D. ... 39. Swanville ... Aug. 25, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A., abs. sick at m. o.
Gray, Nathan ... 21. Sedgwick ... Nov ... 9, 61. Wd. Wilderness, never joined company.
Gipson, John N. ... 36. Boston ... Aug. 29, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Grindle, Andrew ... 40. Bluehill ... Nov ... 9, 61. Wd. Wilderness, never joined company.
Holmes, Hiram C. ... 18. Bucksport ... July 20, 61. Disch. July 28, 64, exp. of serv.
Hubbard, Moses H. ... 30. Bangor ... Aug. 20, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Hutchins, Albert E. ... 20. Swanville ... Aug. 21, 63. Cons. killed on picket, Oct. 7, 64.
Howe, James ... 20. Arrowsic ... Aug. 21, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Kilgore, Frank ... 20. Waterford ... Aug. 24, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Knowles, Benjamin ... 30. Jackson ... Mch. 30, 64. Vet. wd. Ream's Station, tr. 1st. H. A.
Murphy, Alvin ... 18. Belfast ... Feb. 28, 62. Wd. Cold Harbor, pris. Ream's Station, disc.

July 31, 65. Scaling died Bobal prises. Not.
                  SOLDIERS TRANSFERED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864.
    Shales, William H. 19. Belfast. Feb. 5, '62. Pr. sergt. died Jan. 28, '64.
Sylvary, George H. 26. Newport, R. I. Aug. 21, '63. Sub., killed, Petersburg, June 18, '64.
Taylor, George W. 19. Richmond. Aug. 5, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Thomas, John 28. Belfast. Aug. 22, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Tyler, John A. 21. Richmond. Aug. 26, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Tyler, John A. 21. Richmond. Aug. 26, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
White, Daniel C. 18. Clinton. Aug. 27, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Whitten, Elisha. 18. Clinton. Aug. 19, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Wilton, Charles F. 20. Clinton. Aug. 19, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Winslow, Nathan S. 19. Albion. May 5, '63. Sub. tr. 1st. H. A.
Winslow, Vernon E. 20. Casco. Jan. 4, '64. Wd.Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
      SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         NOVEMBER 1864.

      Cross, Hannibal H.
      18. Solon
      Oct.
      5, 64. Disc. July 21, '64.

      Gordon, Daniel E.
      18. Readfield
      Oct.
      5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Gove, Alonzo E.
      21. Windsor
      Oct.
      5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Jones, Charles F.
      18. Norridgewock
      Oct.
      5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Peavey, Charles
      20. Anson
      Oct.
      5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Peterson, Louis
      27. Whitefield
      Oct.
      5, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

      Sargent, Edward B.
      25. Boothbay
      Oct.
      5, '64. Disch. June 9, '65.
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REMARKS

COMPANY F.

SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION. MUSTERED INTO

AGE RESIDENCE

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U. S. SERVICE
SERGEANTS
 Almon Goodwin ... 22. Baldwin ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. 2d. lieut.

Amaziah E. Googins ... 33. Litchfield ... Aug. 25,62. Disc. Apr. 9, 63.

Thomas T. Rideout ... 21. Bowdoinham ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. 1st. sergt. wd. Gettysburg, died, July 18, 63.

Oliver R. Small ... 23. W. Gardiner ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. 2d. and 1st. lieut. co. E. capt. co. K.

Orville G. Tuck ... 22. Hallowell ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. capt. 8th. U. S. C. T. Oct. 15, 63.
                                                                                                                             CORPORALS
 William A. Wood ... 19 .. Bowdoinham .. Aug. 25, '62 .. Pr. sergt.-maj., Mch. 22, '64, pris. North Anna. Charles E. Dillingham 36 .. W. Gardiner .. Aug. 25, '62 .. Pr. sergt. red, at own request, abs. sick at m. o. Daniel W. Starbird .. 39 .. Bowdoin .. Aug. 25, '62 .. Disc. Mch. 3, '63.
Andrew J. Goodwin .. 35 .. Litchfield .. Aug. 25, '62 .. Pr. sergt, wd. Wilderness, m. o.
William Gray ... 42 .. Monmouth .. Aug. 25, '62 .. Red. at own request, disc. Peb. 22, '63.
Poster, Philip H. .. 28 .. Topsham ... Aug. 25, '62 .. Pr. 1st. sergt., pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch.

June, 11 .. 65.

Henry A. Henry ... 26 .. Welce ... Aug. 25, '64.

Poster A. Bod obs. sick at m. o.
  MUSICIANS
  Henry H. Williams ..23..Bowdoin .....Aug. 25, 62..M. o.
Lauriston Chamberlain 23..Bowdoinham ..Aug. 25, '62..Pr. prin. mus. Feb. 12, '64, wd. Gettysburg, m. o.
PRIVATES
   Harrington, Charles D. 43. Topsham... Aug. 25, 62. M. o.
Hodgman, George W. 31. Wales ... ... Aug. 25, 62. Det. provost guard, m. o.
House, George M. ... 18. Topsham... Aug. 25, 62. Det. provost guard, m. o.
Howe, Joseph B. ... 44. Hallowell... Aug. 25, 62. Tr. V. R. C. May 29, '63.
Jacques, Nathaniel P. 25. Bowdoinham. Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. and sergt. red. at own request, m. o.
Jaquith, James ... 30. Monmouth... Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. died Dec. 1, '62.
Keen, Calvin B. ... 27. Leeds... Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, abs. at m. o.
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RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
   Babcock, Augustine ...23..Belfast.......Aug. 9,'63..Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A. Baker, Thomas A.....18..Belfast.......Sept. 18,'63..Cons. wd. Wilderness, also wd. and pris. at Straw-
 Baker, Thomas A. 18. Belfast. Sept. 18, 63. Cons. wd. Wilde ness, also wd. and pris. at Strawberry Plains, tr. 1st. H. A.

Briggs, Justus C. 19. Turner. Mch. 10, 64. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Anderson-
ville, Aug. 8, 64.

Byron, Owen . 25. Ellsworth Feb. 3, 65. Disch, July 11, 65.

Clifford, Charles T. 21. Augusta July 15, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Clark, Charles F. 22. Bangor Sept. 22, 63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Cole, William . 21. Deer Isle Dec. 31, 64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Collins, Lora H. 19. Lewiston Aug. 10, 63. Cons. disc., Dec. 8, '63.

Curtis, Phineas . 21. Swanville Feb. 2, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Durgin, Alonzo A. 43. Bowdoinham Jan. 13, '64. Disc., Apr. 26, '64.

Gage, Fred . 18. Augusta Aug. 16, '64. No record found.

Gloid, William M. 21. Belfast . Aug. 22, '63. Cons., died Nov. 17, '63.

Harvey, Albert . 24. Swanville Feb. 1, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Higgins, Dennis . 27. Portland Aug. 42, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Higgins, Dennis . 27. Portland Aug. 22, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Higgins, Dennis 27. Portland Aug. 22, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A. Howard, William 22. Bangor July 18, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Jackson, Thomas J. 20. Thomaston Aug. 12, '63. Abs. sick at m. o., tr. 1st. H. A. Jerald, Walter 23. Lewiston Aug. 8, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Jerald, Walter 23. Lewiston Aug. 8, '63. Cons. pr. corp. and sergt, wd. Bristoe Station and Spottsylvania, tr. 1st. H. A. Johnston William 26. Portland Aug. 19, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A. Johnston William 26. Portland Aug. 19, '63. Cons. des. to enemy while on picket Sept. 18, '63. King, Michael 19. Lewiston Mch. 10, '64. Wd. Spottsylvania, disc. July 16, '64. Layois, Maxim 27. Lewiston Mch. 23, '64. Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. Lemont, W. Henry 19. W. Bath Jan. 12, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A. McCabe, James 24. Portland Aug. 19, '63. Cons. des. Nov. 8, '63. Morris, George. 20. Lewiston Aug. 12, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A. Murphy, Timothy 29. Orono Aug. 12, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A. Perrington, Charles W. 18. W. Bath Jan. 12, '65. Tr. 1st. H. A. Pinkham, Levi 20. Belfast. Aug. 8, '63. Cons tr. 1st. H. A.
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NAME
                                                                          AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                                  MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             REMARKS
  '64.
   Sweeney Patrick ... 30 . Lewiston ... Aug. 10,'63 . Cons. pris. Spottsylvania, died, Andersonville, Aug. 27, '64.

Tenney, Dexter B. .. 33 . Belfast ... Sept. 2,'63 . Cons. killed, Wilderness.
Vinal, Robert A. .. 28 . Belfast ... Sept. 3,'63 . Cons. disc. Apr. 12, '64.
Wade, Charles H. .. 18 . Augusta ... July 21,'63 . Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
Wheeler, James T .. 20 . Augusta ... Sept. 10,'63 . Disch. June 14, '65.
   SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864.
Armstrong, Philip R. 18. Belmont ... Aug. 27, '63. Cons. pris. while on picket, Nov. 5, '64, tr. 1st H. A.

Barrett, Frank A. 20. Canaan ... July 30, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Bray, Patrick ... 20. Lewiston ... Aug. 26, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A.

Crowley, George A. 21. Topsham ... Aug. 28, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Culombe, Frederick ... 21. Lincolnville ... Jan. 1, '64. Vet. wd. and pris. Strawberry Plains, tr. 1st. H. A.

Curtis, Frank A. ... 20. Bangor ... Aug. 10, '63. Cons. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A.

Curtis, Frank A. ... 20. Bangor ... Aug. 10, '63. Cons. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A.

Curtis, Frank A. ... 20. Bangor ... Aug. 10, '63. Cons. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A.

Curtis, Frank A. ... 20. Bangor ... Aug. 10, '63. Cons. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A.

Gurtis, Frank A. ... 20. Bangor ... Aug. 10, '63. Cons. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A.

Jones, Freeman ... 30. Washington ... Jan. 1, '64. Vet. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A.

Jordan, Isaac ... 32. Monroe ... Aug. 29, '63. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Jordan, Isaac ... 32. Monroe ... Aug. 29, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.

McCarrick, Franklin ... 20. Calais ... Aug. 28, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.

McCarrick, Franklin ... 20. Calais ... Aug. 28, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, disc., June 8, '65.

Mixer, Joel ... 36. Knox ... Feb. 26, '64. Mortally wd. Totopotomoy, died, June 17, '64.

Morse, Hezekiah D ... 37. Poland ... Aug. 28, '63. Cons. pris. Ft. Haskell, Nov. 30, '64, died in pris.

Millen, Josiah ... 20. Canaan ... July 31, '63. Cons. wd. Willderness, disc., Jan. 26, '65.

Overlock, Warren ... 23. Washington ... Jan. 1, '64. Vet. wd. Gettysburg, tr. 1st. H. A.

Ricker, Ivory ... 18. Monroe ... Aug. 28, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Ricker, Ivory ... 18. Monroe ... Aug. 17, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Rollins, Edward ... 27. Brooks ... Aug. 17, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Nwt. 19, '64, disch., June 12, '65, th. Aug. 17, '64, disch., June 12, '65, th. Aug. 17, '64, disch., June 12, '65, th. Aug. 17, '64, disch., June 12, 
   Armstrong, Philip R. .18. Belmont ......Aug. 27,'63. Cons. pris. while on picket, Nov. 5, '64, tr. 1st H. A.
 SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER 1864
 Cunningham, James H.18..W. Gardiner ..Oct. 5,'64..Tr. 1st, H. A. Turner, James ......27..Readfield ....Oct. 5,'64..Disc. Jan. 26, '65.
                                                                                                                                                  COMPANY G.
                 SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                            SERGEANTS
 CORPORALS
CORPORALS

Benjamin H. Wescott 31. Augusta ... Aug. 25, '62. Disc. Oct. 30, '63.

Albert H. Packard ... 30. Augusta ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. sergt. disch. for pr. Mch. 21, '64.

Walter Jordan ... 32. Chesterville ... Aug. 25, '62. Pr. sergt., wd. Wilderness, m. o.

William P. Worthing ... 19. China ... Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Spottsylvania, disc. Dec. 31, '64.

Orrin P. Smart ... 28. Augusta ... Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, pr. corp., wd. Jerusalem Plank

Thomas H. Kimball ... 23. Augusta ... Aug. 25, '62. Disc. Feb. 8, '63.

Edward H. Hicks ... 31. Augusta ... Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. to navy, Apr. 23, '64.

George L. Perkins ... 32. New Sharon ... Aug. 25, '62. Killed, Gettysburg.
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MAME
                                                                        AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                          MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  REMARKS
                                                                                                                                              U. S. SERVICE
   Asel B. Dorsett ......43..Chesterville....Aug. 25,'62..M. o. Hampton W. Leighton 18..Augusta.......Aug. 25,'62..Served as priv., wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C.
                                                                                                                                                           WAGONER
  George A. Hussey ....18. Augusta ......Aug. 25,'62. Served as priv., wd. Gettysburg, disch. June 26, '65.
PRIVATES

        Marston, Alfred J.
        18. Augusta.
        Aug. 25, 62. PTIS. Jerusalem Flank Aug.

        Mayers, James H.
        20. Dresden.
        Aug. 25, 62. M. o.

        McKenney, Stephen P.
        32. Augusta.
        Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, disc. Feb. 5, '64.

        Merrill, Abram.
        38. Windsor.
        Aug. 25, 62. M. o.

        Merrill, Appleton.
        23. Windsor.
        Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. killed, Wilderness.

        Merrill, George W.
        20. Windsor.
        Aug. 25, 62. Died Dec. 14, '62.

        Moody, Benjamin H.
        25. Windsor.
        Aug. 25, 62. Died Dec. 14, '63.

        Moody, Isaac.
        36. Augusta.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness, disc. Jan. 14, '65.

        Moulton, Lewis A.
        18. Chesterville.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Boydton Road, abs. at m. o.

        Murray, Winthrop.
        38. China.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Sept. 22, '63,

        Nash, Joseph B.
        19. Nobleboro.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Sept. 22, '63,

        Nash, Joseph B.
        19. Nobleboro.
        Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 13, '63.

        Nelson, Erastus F.
        37. China.
        Aug. 25, 62. Pr. sergt. m. o.

        Powers, Charles R.
        29. Augusta.
        Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, died. David's Island, N. Y. Harbor, July 22, '64.
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RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
 Ballard, James......30..Belfast......Dec. 10,'63..Pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died Andersonville,
 SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT, JUNE 15, 1864
Allum, Richard ... 40 ... Bangor ... Aug. 24, '63 ... Cons. tr. from Co. A, pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. to 1st H. A.

Biker, George ... 18 ... Glenburn ... Sept. 1, '63 ... Cons. tr. from Co. A, wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.

Brown, William L ... 19 ... Searsmont ... Aug. 20, '63 ... Cons. tr. V. R. C.

Blinn, Bradford H ... 20 ... Wiscasset ... Mch. 10, 62 ... Pris. Gettysburg, tr. 1st H. A.

Carlton, John B ... 21 ... Woolwich ... Mch. 10, 62 ... Wd. Groveton Aug. 29, '62 and Spottsylvania.

Call, Timothy ... 24 ... Dresden ... Jan. 1, '64 ... Vet. tr. 1st H. A.

Colby, Eben E ... 19 ... Liberty ... Aug. 22, '63 ... Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st H. A.

Cunningham, Addison ... 19 ... Washington ... Jan. 1, '64 ... Vet. tr. 1st H. A.
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RESIDENCE
                                                                                           AGE
                                                                                                                                                                  MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             REMARKS
   SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN
                                                                                                                                                NOVEMBER 1864.
 Andrews, Gardiner B. 22. Anson. . . . Oct. 5, '64. Tr. 1st H. A. Cluer, Benjamin. . . 44. Norridgewock. Oct. 5, '64. Tr. 1st H. A. Currier, John M. . . 20. Anson. . Oct. 5, '64. Tr. 1st H. A. Hutchinson, James M. 18. Anson. . Oct. Lane, Daniel. . 29. Anson. . Oct. 5, '64. Tr. 1st H. A. Longley, Albert. . 18. Norridgewock. Oct. 5, '64. Tr. 1st H. A. Parlin, Franklin. . 18. Anson. . Oct. 5, '64. Wd. Nov. 6, '64, tr. 1st H. A. Parlin, Franklin. . 18. Anson. . Oct. 5, '64. Mortally wd. near Ft. Haskell, Oct. 22, died Nov. 25, '64. Russell, Joel S. . . 36. Anson. . Oct. 5, '64. Disch. June 8, '65.
                                                                                                                                                           COMPANY H.
                     SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                                      SERGEANTS
 George E. Webber 21. Gardner Aug. 25, 62. Mortally Wd. Gettysburg, died July 7, 63. CORPORALS

Stephen A. Abbott 21. Winslow. Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Jan. 16, '63. Prancis P. Furber 37. Clinton. Aug. 25, 62. Pr. sergt. wd. Gettysburg. pr. 1st sergt., wd. Wilderness, abs. at m. o.

Samuel S. Holbrook 27. Athens. Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Oct. 6, '63. Wilderness, abs. at m. o.

George F. Hopkins 23. Albion. Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Feb. 20, '65. Hollis F. Arnold 23. Palermo. Aug. 25, '62. Killed, Gettysburg. James T. Waldron 22. Canaan. Aug. 25, '62. Fr. sergt. wd. Gettysburg, died Apr. 9, '64. George H. Willey 20. Clinton. Aug. 25, '62. Killed, Gettysburg. Alfred T. Dunbar 18. Winslow. Aug. 25, '62. Pr. sergt. wd. Wilderness, absent at m. o.
                                                                                                                                                           MUSICIAN
  Henry B. Washburn .. 32. . China. . . . . . Aug. 25, '62. . M. o.
                                                                                                                                                               WAGONER

        William G. Stratton
        36. Albion.
        Aug. 25, 62. M. o.

        PRIVATES

        Abbott, Albert A.
        21. Winslow.
        Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Jan. 17, '63.

        Abbott, Daniel B.
        27. Winslow.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness, tr. V. R. C.

        Adams, Benjamin.
        27. Vassalboro.
        Aug. 25, 62. Tr. V. R. C. Dec. 5, '64.

        Brookings, Samuel C.
        21. Pittston.
        Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp. killed Gettysburg.

        Burrill, Charles E.
        21. Canaan.
        Aug. 25, 62. M. o.

        Carr, Rinaldo A.
        21. Palermo.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. for wds. Jan. 23, '64.

        Clark, John S.
        35. Gardiner.
        Aug. 25, 62. M. o.

        Collins, Alphonzo C.
        18. Chelsea.
        Aug. 25, 62. Mo.

        Coro, Joseph.
        21. China.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C.

        Dodge, Martin V. B.
        23. Palermo.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, killed, Spottsylvania.

        Edgerly, Richard.
        23. Bowdoin.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, supposed to have died.

        Estes, John H.
        19. Vassalboro.
        Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, in hosp. at m. o.

        Fairbrother, Isaac W.
        21. China.
        Aug. 25, 62. Tr. V. R. C. Oct. 1, '63.

  William G. Stratton .. 36. Albion ...... Aug. 25, 62. M. o.
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RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
 Allen, Tenney M. . . . . 18. Sedgwick. . . . Dec. 15, '64. Tr. 1st. H. A.

Basford, Andrew J. . . . 30. Waterville . . . Aug. 17, '63. . Cons. wd. Wilderness, pris. Reams' Station, disch., May 29, '65.
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NAME
                                       AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                            MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                            REMARKS
                                                                             U. S. SERVICE
                                                                    .... Aug. 10,'63.. Cons. pris. Wilderness, died Augusta, Ga. prison
  Babb, Mark G. .....30. Gardiner
July, '64.
  Baston, Henry .......22...C. Elizabeth ...Aug. 18,'63...Sub. wd. Wilderness, disc. Dec. 16, '64. Bigelow, Charles L.....19...St. Albans.....Aug. 6,'63...Sub. pris. Wilderness, died Andersonville, Sept.
 Annapolis, Md. paroled prisoner, Oct. 28, '64, Smith, Frederick.....25. St. George... Sept. 7, '63. Sub., reptd. des., Oct. 14, '63, probably prisoner at Bristoe Station.
 Stoddard, William C. 22. Gardiner ... Aug. 10,'63. Cons., tr. to navy, Apr. 16, '64. Stewart, Charles H. 28. Gardiner ... Aug. 10,'63. Cons. pris. Reams' Station, disch., June 5,'65. Taylor, Augustus D. 19. Rumford ... Feb. 24,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A. Tucker, George ... 25. No. 6 ... Aug. 13,'63. Cons., wd. Bristoe Station and Spottsylvania,
 Waters, Byron G. 18. Patten ... Aug. 19,'63. Sub., wd. Oct. 13, '64, died, Apr. 28, '65. White, George ... 22. Robbinston ... Aug. 12,'63. Sub., wd. Bristoe Station and Wilderness,
 disch. May 19, '65.
Whitney, Charles B...20..Lee.....Aug. 26,'63..Sub., mortally wd. North Anna, died, June 17,'64
 SOLDIERS TRANSFERED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT JUNE 15, 1864
 Allen, Charles W. . . . 19 . Sedgwick. . . Jan. Brackett, Charles W. . 19 . Houlton . . Nov. Carter, Edwin J. . . . . 21 . Sedgwick. . . Nov.
                                                                                        1,'64...Vet. pr. corp., tr. 1st. H. A. 9,'61...Wd. Gettysburg, abs. at m. o. 9,'61...Disch. exp. term. 9,'61...Disch. exp. term.
 Cox, George 40. Bangor Nov 9, 61. Disch. exp. term.
Clough, John 20. Bluehill Nov 9, 61. Disc. exp. term.
Downs, Samuel N. 23. Winterport Jan. 1, 64. Vet. pr. corp. wd. Petersburg, disc., Mch. 16, 65
Emerton, Andrew L. 21. Brooksville Nov 9, 61. Pris. Gettysburg, abs. sick, never joined
                                                                                                          company.
 Eugley, James M. 24. Icfferson ... June 15, '61. Disch. exp. term.
Furbish, Abram J. 24. N. Vineyard ... Jan. 1, '64. Vet., tr. 1st. H. A.
Heal, William I. 21. Belmont ... Dec. 4, '63. Pris. while on picket, Nov. 5, '64, tr. 1st. H. A.
Jackson, Joel ... 28. Montville ... Nov. 9, '61. Corp., wd. North Anna, disc., exp. term.
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AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                        U. S. SERVICE
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Order of the first state of t
 Ring, Cyrus. L. 20. Casco Dec. 30, '63. Pris. Reams Station, died, Salisbury prides Dec. 1, '64.

Rose, Charles 28. Bangor Nov. 9, '61. Wd, and pris. Gettysburg, disch., exp. term. Sawyer, Ferdinand E. 18. Knox Jan. 1, '64. Vet., tr. 1st. H. A.

Sherman, Frank A. 20. Knox Aug. 12, '62. Corp., wd. Cold Harbor, disc. Mch. 7, '65.

Tripp, William H. 18. Sedgwick Jan. 1, '64. Vet. sergt. pr. 2d. lieut. co. H.

Webster, John. 32. Bluehill Nov. 9, '61. Mus., abs. sick at m. o.

Young, Morrison. 22. Belmont Jan. 1, '64. Vet., missing Apr. 2, '65.
  SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER 1864.
 Bush, James L. 24 Clinton Oct.
Groves, Jonathan 41 Mercer Oct.
Merrow, Shepherd H. 18 Oldtown Oct.
Salsbury, Charles H. 19 Canaan Oct.
Weymouth, Marshall 29 Clinton Oct.
Waldron, James W. 22 Clinton Oct.
Webber, Retire W. 24 Clinton Oct.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        5,'64. Corp., disch., June 5, '65.
5,'64. Sergt., pris. Boydton Road.
5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
5,'64. Disc., June 15,'65.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              COMPANY I.
                                 SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         SERGEANTS
 Henry H. Earle 19. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Disc. Dec. 9, '62. George R. Palmer 23. Camden. Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 2d. and 1st. lieut. James M. Higgins 26. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Died, Dec. 8, '62. Francis W. Rhoades 26. Bremen Aug. 25, '62. Killed, Gettysburg. Stephen Colburn 34. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, '62. Died, Nov. 1, '62.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     CORPORALS
 James W. Packard ...19..Rockland ....Aug. 25, '62..Died, Dec. 18, '62. Alexander Dumphe ...29..Vinalhaven ...Aug. 25, '62..M. o.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            WAGONER
   Hiram Whitten ......32.. Rockland ..... Aug. 25,'62.. M. o.
Arey, Hiram F. 18. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Tr. to navy, Apr. 23, '64.

Anderson, Edwin 32. Camden Aug. 25, 62. Tr. to navy, Apr. 23, '64.

Bachelder LaForest P. 19. Camden Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Dec. 29, '62.

Barter, George W. 24. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Dec. 29, '62.

Barter, George W. 24. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. to navy, Apr. 23, '64.

Benjamin, Addison. 44. Whitefield Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. to navy, Apr. 23, '64.

Benjamin, Addison. 44. Whitefield Aug. 25, '62. Disc. Jan. 12, '63. Marine hosp. Baltimore.

Black, Gorham L. 18. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Disd., Jan. 12, '63. Marine hosp. Baltimore.

Black, Gorham L. 18. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Pr. corp. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, m. o.

Bray, Francis E. 21. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, '62. Died in hosp. at St. Louis, Mo., May 2, '65.

Cables, John H. 18. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Died in hosp. at St. Louis, Mo., May 2, '65.

Calph, John 27. Appleton. Aug. 25, '62. M. o.

Carey, John F. 35. Camden Aug. 25, '62. M. o.

Carey, Gobert H. 25. Camden. Aug. 25, '62. M. o.

Carver, Francis S. 18. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, '62. M. o.

Carver, Lafayette 24. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, '62. M. o.

Carver, Lafayette 24. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Sept. 15, '63.

Clark, Joseph L. 26. Rockland Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Feb. 16, '64.

Cleveland, James S. 19. Camden. Aug. 25, '62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Feb. 16, '64.
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NAME
                                                                                                              AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                                                                                                       MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  REMARKS
Cobb. George S. 21. Camden ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. corp. wd. Wilderness, killed, Boydton Road. Conway, Orrin T. 29. Vinalhaven ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, died, Sept. 1, '63. Creamer, Roscoe D. 18. Bremen ... Aug. 25,62. Tr. V. R. C. Sept. 30, '63. Dodge, Adrian C. 21. Rockland ... Aug. 25,62. Wd. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Dyer, Alden W. 19. S. Thomaston ... Aug. 25,62. Wd. Gettysburg, pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch. June 12, '65. Parnham, George N. 18. Camden ... Aug. 25,62. Pr. corp. wd. Gettysburg, pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disch. June 12, '65. Parnham, Samuel ... 43. Whitefield ... Aug. 25,62. Tr. V. R. C. July, 19 '63. Fisk, Franklin ... 18. Camden ... Aug. 25,62. Died, Duly 16, '63. Flagg, Micah ... 39. Camden ... Aug. 25,62. Died, May 17, '63. Greenleaf, Ebenezer ... 44. Whitefield ... Aug. 25,62. Died, May 17, '63. Greenleaf, Ebenezer ... 44. Whitefield ... Aug. 25,62. Disc. Apr. 10, '63. Hemenway, Calvin ... 18. Camden ... Aug. 25, '62. Disc. May 20, '63. Hemenway, Calvin ... 18. Camden ... Aug. 25, '62. Disc. May 20, '63. Higgins, John H. ... 39. Camden ... Aug. 25, '62. Disc. May 20, '63. Higgins, John H. ... 39. Camden ... Aug. 25, '62. Det, as teamster m. o. Holmes, George E. ... 19. Rockland ... Aug. 25, '62. Mr. corp. and sergt., wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, died, June 15, '64. Hutchings, Zuinglous. 27. Appleton ... Aug. 25, '62. M. o.
    Hutchings, Zuinglous...27...Appleton......Aug. 25,'62...M. o.
Jackson, Nahum R. ...19...Rockland .....Aug. 25,'62...Died, Jan 7, '63.
Jacobs, Edwin S. .....22...Appleton......Aug. 25,'62...Wd. Gettysburg and Spottsylvania, disc. Jan.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             14, '65.
   McIntosh, James H. 18. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Det. at div. hdqrs, m. o. Merriman, Isaac W. 19. S. Thomaston Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Apr. 9, 63. Mills, James P. ... 35. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Apr. 9, 63. Myrick, Martin V. ... 23. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Dec. 7, 63. Myrick, Martin V. ... 23. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, 65. Norton, Joseph H. ... 20. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Wilderness, disc. Mch. 20, 65. Norton, Joseph H. ... 20. Vinalhaven Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg and Wilderness, pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, disc. Aug. 1, 65. Overlock, Ansel A. ... 21. Liberty Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 3, 63. Overlock, Ansel A. ... 21. Liberty Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 3, 63. Overlock, Ansel A. ... 21. Liberty Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 3, 63. Overlock, Ansel A. ... 21. Liberty Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, asbent at m. o. Perry, Chandler F. ... 26. S. Thomaston, Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Spottsylvania, m. o. Place, James H. ... 28. Rockland Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Spottsylvania, m. o. Place, James H. ... 28. Rockland Aug. 25, 62. Disc. May 13, 63. Rackliff, William N. ... 22. Rockland Aug. 25, 62. Disc. May 13, 63. Shepherd, George W. 18. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Det. in q. m. dept. m. o. Shibles, Rufus Jr. ... 23. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Det. in q. m. dept. m. o. Shibles, Rufus Jr. ... 23. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Det. Hon, o. Gettysburg, tr. V. R. C. Shibles, William H. 18. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Died Feb. 2, 63. Simonton, W. H. H. ... 21. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Died Feb. 12, 63. Simonton, W. H. H. ... 21. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Died Feb. 12, 63. Simonton F. ... 19. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Studley, George 28. Camden, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Taylor, Solomon 31. Rockland Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Turner, George S. 18. Bremen, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Turner, George S. 18. Bremen, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Turner, George S. 18. Bremen, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 63. Turner, George S. 18. Bremen, Aug. 25, 62. Disc. Mch. 5, 64. Wd. Gettysburg, no further record, Vinal, Worster S

      Mariner, Leander S.
      18. Camden
      Aug. 25, 62

      McIntosh, James H.
      18. 'Vinalhaven
      Aug. 25, 62

      Merriman, Isaac W.
      19. S. Thomaston
      Aug. 25, 62

      Mills, James P.
      35. 'Vinalhaven
      Aug. 25, 62

      Myrick, Martin V.
      23. 'Vinalhaven
      Aug. 25, 62

      Norton, Joseph H.
      20. 'Vinalhaven
      Aug. 25, 62

                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    Det. at div. hdgrs., m. o. Disc. Apr. 9, '63.
         RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION'
        Anderson, John......21..Portland .....Aug. 13,'63..Cons. died Andersonville, June 28, '64, records
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 disch. do not disclose when captured.
         Anderson, C. S. .....25. Richmond... Feb. 10, '65. Disc, for pr. in regular army.

Baker, Joseph .....23. Lewiston .... Aug. 4, '63. Cons. reptd. des. Oct. 14, '63, probably taken
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pris. on that day.

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Name
                                                                                               AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                                                                                                     MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                REMARKS
                                                                                                                                                                                                        U. S. SERVICE
 Bogue, Edward .....29. Lewiston ..... Aug. 13, '63. Cons. det. in arty. brig. wd. Boydton Road,
| Knox, Sylvanus | 22 | Waterville | Aug. 11,63. Cons. disc. Jan. 8, 764 |
Larkin, Peter | 18 | Buxton | Apr. 20,64. Pris. Reams' Station, died Andersonville, Oct. |
Lang, John L | 30 | Portland | Aug. 15,63. Cons. supposed pris. disch. June 26, 65. |
McAllister, Alvin | 34 | Belfast | Dec. 8,63. Tr. to navy Apr. 23, 64. |
McKay, Anthony F | 29 | Belfast | Mch. 4,65. Tr. 1st. H. A. |
Meservey, Dexter | 22 | Belfast | Mch. 4,65. Tr. 1st. H. A. |
Meservey, Dexter | 22 | Belfast | Mch. 4,65. Tr. 1st. H. A. |
Miller, Charles B | 27 | Augusta | July 25,63. Des. near Stevensburg, Va., Nov. 26, 63. |
Milles, Andrew J | 26 | Oldtown | Sept. 19,63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. |
Nulligan, Francis | 26 | Portland | Aug. 12,63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. |
Nickerson, Ingraham | 30 | Litchfield | Mch. 15,65. Tr. 1st. H. A. |
Norris, Henry | 22 | Searsport | Aug. 15,63. Cons. des. Brandy Station, Dec. 4, 63. |
O'Connor, Timothy | 37 | Augusta | Aug. 15,63. Cons. disc., Dec. 17, 63. |
Pennon, Frederick | 21 | Buxton | Apr. 20,64. Died, July 10,64. |
Powell, Charles H | 9 | Augusta | Aug. 15,63. Cons. pris. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A. |
Radcliff, James | 43 | Rockland | Nov. 28,63. Disc., Apr. 6,64. |
Reynolds, Augusta | 4,9 | Augusta | Aug. 15,63. Cons. killed, Spottsylvania, |
Riley, John | 27 | Portland | Aug. 15,63. Cons. des. Brandy Station, Dec. 4, 63. |
Riley, Henry | 21 | Portland | Aug. 15,63. Cons. des. Brandy Station, Dec. 4, 63. |
Riley, Henry | 21 | Portland | Aug. 15,63. Cons. des. Brandy Station, Dec. 4, 63. |
Riley, Gharles | 20 | Belfast | Feb. 20,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Frederick | 28 | Phipsburg | Feb. 29,64. |
Rosignal, Freederick | 31 | Macwahoc | Aug. 15,63. Cons. pris, Jerusalem Plank Road, tr. 1st. H. A. |
     SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT, JUNE 15, 1864.
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Butler, Michael38.. Boscommon ... Dec. 3,'61.. Disch. exp. term.

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NAME AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
U. S. SERVICE
Burgin, Augustus ....22.. Searsport .... Dec. 10,62.. Wd. Gettysburg, pris, Jerusalem plank Road,
died, Andersonville, Sept. 11, '64.
Colson, Prentice ... 27. Frankfort ... Jan. ... 1,'64. Vet. tr. 1st. H. A.
Fowles, Lyman P. ... 23. Brewer ... Aug. 22,'63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, tr. V. R. C.
Gray, Clarendon W. .. 18. Stockton ... Jan. ... 1,'64. Vet. pr. sergt. and 2d. lieut.
Grant, Lemuel C. ... 21. Frankfort ... Jan. ... 1,'64. Vet. tr. 1st. H. A.
Jellerson, Lemuel B. .. 20. Monroe ... Jan. ... 1,'64. Vet. tr. 1st. H. A.
Kent, Edward E. ... 21. Brewer ... Jan. ... 1,'64. Vet. cr. pr. str. H. A.
Kelley, Jeremiah ... 25. Swanville ... Aug. 28,'63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, Rebel
Prison. Oct. 28.'64
Kelley, Jeremiah. 25. Swanville Aug. 28, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, Rebel Prison, Oct. 28, '64.

Knowlton, John M. 20. Swanville Aug. 21, '63. Cons. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, Rebel Prison, Oct. 28, '64.

Knowlton, John M. 20. Swanville Aug. 21, '63. Cons. died, Nay 19, '65.

Madison, James D. 38. Lawrence Ms. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. died, Feb. 12, '65.

Madison, James D. 38. Lawrence Ms. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. died, Feb. 12, '65.

Madison, James D. 38. Lawrence Ms. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. died, Feb. 12, '65.

Madison, James D. 38. Lawrence Ms. Aug. 29, '63. Cons. died, Feb. 12, '65.

Madison, James D. 21. Springfield Ms. Aug. 19, '63. Cons. wd. Wilderness, died at home, Sept. 20, '64.

Miles, Charles 21. Springfield, Ms. Aug. 25, '63. Cons. tr. Ist. H. A.

Newbit, Lora A. 26. Appleton. Aug. 27, '63. Cons. tr. Ist. H. A.

Newbit, Lora A. 26. Appleton. Aug. 27, '63. Cons. tr. Ist. H. A.

Nickerson, Benjamin 38. Eden. Dec. 31, '61. Disch. exp. term.

Rich, Wesley 20. Jackson. Dec. 3, '61. Pris. Gettysburg, died, Belle Isle prison, Nov.

18, '64.

Small, Samuel D. 23. Bucksport. Dec. 8, '62. Pris. Gettysburg, died, Belle Isle prison, Nov.

15, '64.

Wragg, Theodore M. 23. Lowell. Aug. 21, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.

Vork, Edward. 19. Hermon. Aug. 26, '63. Cons. tr. 1st. H. A.
 SOLDIERS WHO JOINED COMPANY FROM FIFTH COMPANY UNASSIGNED INFANTRY IN NOVEMBER 1864.
NOVEMBER 1864.

Calman, James J. 22 Clinton Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Cunningham, George H.18. Augusta Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Fairbrother, James. 18. Limerick Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Gordon, Sylvanus. 34. Mercer Oct. 5,'64. Sergt., tr. 1st. H. A.
Lewis, Wilson C. 33. Clinton Oct. 5,'64. Capt. assigned to co. G.
McNelley, Hazen 33. Clinton Oct. 5,'64. Mus. tr. 1st. H. A.
Perry, Stephen W. 20. Burnham Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Plummer, Edward L. 31. Pittsfield Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Speed, Enoch R. 22. Athens. Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Taylor, Dexter 44. Gardiner Oct. 5,'64. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Tibbetts, Rodney D. 23. Smithfield Oct. 5,'64. Corp., tr. 1st. H. A.
Tobin, James B. 27. Windsor Oct. 5,'64. Corp., tr. 1st. H. A.
                                                                                                                                           COMPANY K.
              SOLDIERS WHO VOLUNTEERED AND JOINED COMPANY AT ITS ORGANIZATION.
                                                                                                                                         SERGEANTS
co. E.
  Weld Sargent ......30.. Boothbay ..... Aug. 25, '62.* Red. wd. Gettysburg, pr. corp., wd. Spottsylvan-
                                                                                                                                                                              ia, died, July 6, '64.
 Joseph W. Winter ....37..W. Bath ...... Aug. 25,'62.. Red. pr. commissary sergt., m. o.
                                                                                                                                        CORPORALS
CORPORALS

Samuel E. Buckman 31. Eastport Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 2d. lieut., wd. Gettysburg, died, Dec. 3, '63. William Boynton Jr. 35. Bath Aug. 25, '62. Pr. sergt., killed, Gettysburg.
Thomas P. Beath 20. Boothbay Aug. 25, '62. Pr. st. lieut. and capt. co. C. James N. Hinkley 31. Georgetown Aug. 25, '62. Pr. 1st. sergt. and 2d. lieut., mortally wd. Morton's Ford, died, Feb. 15, '64.

Edwin W. Swett 22. Arrowsic Aug. 25, '62. Red. det. in 4. U. S. arty., wd. Wilderness, m. o. George L. Grant 33. Phipsburg Aug. 25, '62. Pr. sergt. wd. Gettysburg, died, Nov. 5, '63. Giles O. Bailey 20. Gardiner Aug. 25, '62. Disc., Sept. 14, '62.

Addison Sawyer 22. Bath Aug. 25, '62. Red. wd. Gettysburg, m. o.
                                                                                                                                              MUSICIAN
  David R. Bressons ...41.. Chesterville... Aug. 25,'62. Disc. Jan. 26, '63.
 WAGONER Charles T. Clifford ...25..Bath .......Aug. 25,'62..Tr. V. R. C., Jan. 15, '64.
  Blaisdell, Robert B. ..30. Phipsburg ... Aug. 25,'62. Tr. to navy, Apr. 15, '64.
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AGE RESIDENCE
                                                                                                                             MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                    REMARKS
                                                                                                                                                                 Pr. corp., wd. and pris. Jerusalem Plank Road. died Andersonville Mch. 13, '65.

        Scott, Thomas E.
        25. Georgetown
        Aug. 25, 62.
        Wd. Gettysburg, disc. Apr. 23, 765.

        Shea, Samuel B.
        30. Georgetown
        Aug. 25, 62.
        Wd. Gettysburg, died, July 20, 63.

        Smith, Melville
        20. Brunswick:
        Aug. 25, 62.
        Abs. sick, disch., June 6, 765.

        Snowman, Ambrose
        22. Georgetown
        Aug. 25, 62.
        Disc., Apr. 20, 763.

        Spinney, Charles F.
        22. Phipsburg
        Aug. 25, 62.
        Dropped from the rolls as des., Oct. 24, 764.

        Sprague, Charles E.
        18. Bath
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Disc., Feb. 18, 763.

        Stevens, Carroll H.
        18. Bath
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Disc., Feb. 18, 763.

        Sullivan, Jeremiah
        18. Lewiston
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Tr. V. R. C.

        Swassey, John J.
        38. Bath
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Tr. to navy, Apr. 15, 764.

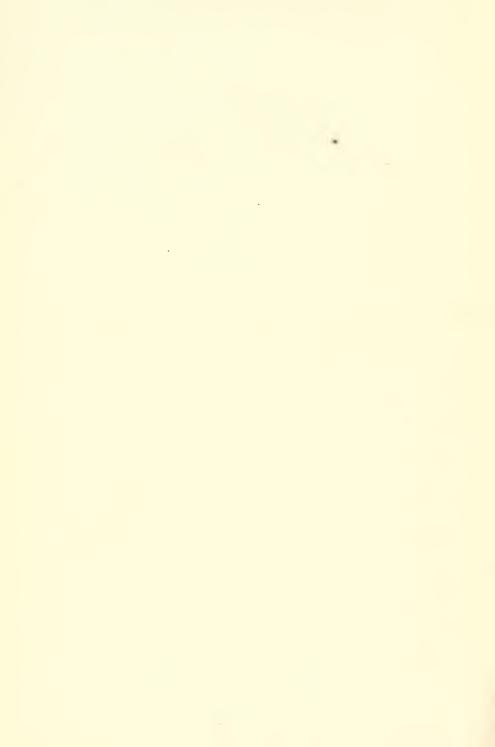
        Tobie, Philander H.
        22. Bath
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Killed, Spottsylvania.

        Trafton, Stephen P.
        20. Georgetown
        Aug. 25, 762.
        Wd. Gettysburg, pr. sergt., wd. Jerusalem Plank

        Road, m. o'
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AGE RESIDENCE MUSTERED INTO
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      REMARKS
                                                                                                                                                                         U. S. SERVICE
 Webster, Leonard S. 24. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Disc., Mch. 10, 63. Webster, Lorenzo 21. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, in hosp. at m. o. Williams, Henry N. 26. Richmond Aug. 25, 62. Wd. Gettysburg, died, July 18, 63. Willis, William T. 18. Arrowsic Aug. 25, 62. Pr. corp., wd. Wilderness, m. o. Wylie, James A. 18. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Died, Falmouth, Va., Dec. 30, 62. Wylie, Samuel Jr. 36. Boothbay Aug. 25, 62. Died, Palmouth, Va., Dec. 26, 62.
RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
Allen, Manley 32. Augusta Aug. 17,63. Sub. disc., Dec. 11, '63.
Bennett, George H. 19. Camden. Dec. 3, '63. Tr. 1st. H. A.
Bixby, George 24. Lewiston Aug. 14, '63. Sub. disc., Jan. 11, '64.
Bixby, George 24. Lewiston Aug. 14, '63. Sub. disc., Jan. 11, '64.
Bixby, George 24. Lewiston Aug. 14, '63. Sub. disc., Jan. 11, '64.
Bourne, Justin T. 22. Levant Sept. 11, '63. Cons. pris. Wilderness and in prison at m. o.
Carter, Edwin F. 18. Lewiston Feb. 26, '64. Died, Apr. 14, '64.
Chapman, John S. 30. Damariscotta Feb. 27, '64. Wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, July 7, '64.
Chase, George 36. Waterville Aug. 8, '63. Sub. disch., June 8, '65.
Dorrity, Charles M. 20. Corinth Sept. 18, '63. Sub. disch., June 8, '65.
Dorrity, Charles M. 20. Corinth Sept. 18, '63. Sub. disch., June 8, '65.
Parrar, Leroy 21. Augusta July 22, '63. Sub. wd. Totopotomoy, disch., Apr. 29, '65.
Fielding, John 38. Augusta Aug. 14, '63. Sub. disc., Dec. 16, '63.
Flinn, Charles B. 18. Levant Sept. 22, '63. Pr. sergt. wd. Jerusalem Plank Road, tr.1st. H.A.
Ford, Lot A. 19. Montville July 22, '63. Wd. Wilderness, died May 19, '64.
Gibbs, Reuben 38. Fairfield Aug. 13, '63. Sub. pris. Jerusalem Plank Road, died, Andersonville, Jan. 23, '65.

Glidden, Wesley 23. Orneville Aug. 14, '63. Cons., tir. V. R. C., Sept. 11, '64.
Hefferan, Thomas 30. Portland Aug. 14, '63. Sub. pris. Reams' Station, tr. 1st. H. A.
Hefferan, Thomas 30. Portland Aug. 14, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
Higgins, William N. 18. Belfast. Nov. 30, '63. Abs. sick, tr. 1st. H. A.
Howard, Charles A. 22. Portland Sept. 22, '63. Cons., tr. V. R. C., Sept. 11, '64.
Howard, William 18. Georgetown Aug. 14, '63. Sub. wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
Howard, William R. 21. Oldrown Aug. 6, '63. Cons., wd. Spottsylvania, tr. 1st. H. A.
Howard, William R. 21. Phipsburg Aug. 14, '63. Sub. by wd. Wilderness, tr. 1st. H. A.
Howard, William R. 21. Phipsburg Aug. 14, '63. Sub. Willed Researches, tr. 1st. H. A.
McChaelt, Gardi
   RECRUITS AND CONSCRIPTS WHO JOINED COMPANY SUBSEQUENT TO ITS ORGANIZATION
 SOLDIERS TRANSFERRED TO COMPANY FROM FOURTH MAINE REGIMENT, JUNE 15, 1864
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Appendix.



APPENDIX.

The author of this volume is a native of Maine and proud of her history. Nothing has contributed more to the renown of the Pine Tree State than the character of her statesmen from 1855 to 1870 and the service and sacrifice of her sons during the distressing period of the Civil War. Her sons and their descendants may be found in every State of the Union. When the flag and the perpetuity of the Government were threatened in the sixties, these sons of Maine—these patriotic men of patriotic spirit and hardihood—responded to the call of their country.

The men who died for their country and its institutions, on the battlefields of the War, should be gratefully remembered. Let us recall a few of their names: Hiram G. Berry, Rockland; Hiram Burnham, Cherryfield; Daniel Chaplin and William L. Pitcher, Bangor; Freeman McGilvery, Stockton; Charles S. Bickmore, Ebenezer Whitcomb and Robert H. Gray, Searsport; Calvin S. Douty, Dover; William S. Heath, Waterville; Edwin Burt, Augusta; Stephen Boothby and George F. Leppien, Portland; Winslow P. Spofford, Dedham; Archibald D. Leavitt, Turner; William Knowlton, Lewiston; William C. Morgan, Cornville; Joel A. Haycock, Calais; and James P. Jones, China.

These men were killed in battle. They were all general and staff officers of Maine organizations. Maine is richer because these men lived—and died. But this list comprises only a few of the officers, highest in command. Line officers and enlisted men who fell in battle, who died in hospitals or miserably perished in the prisons of the South, make a list of heroes which is Maine's richest heritage.

In the examination of the War records and in the research necessary to be made in the preparation of this work, the author gathered information not pertinent to a Regimental History. It may, however, be of sufficient general interest to the people of Maine, to justify its printing.

A partial list of men born in the State of Maine, who entered the military service of the United States from other states or through the regular army and attained the rank of general or field officer, is herewith appended. W. P. indicates that the men were educated at West Point.

MAJOR-GENERALS

James G. Blunt, C. C. Washburn, E. D. Keyes (W. P.),

Appointed from Kansas. Entered service from Wisconsin.
Appointed to West Point from Maine but born in Massachusetts.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS

Adelbert Ames (W. P.), Formerly 1st Lieut. 5th U. S. Artillery. James H. Carleton, "Col. 1st California Infantry. Francis Fessenden, Cuvier Grover (W. P.), Capt. 19th U. S. Infantry. Capt. 10th U. S. Infantry. Cyrus Hamlin, Col. 80th U. S. C. Infantry. Col. 2nd Iowa Cavalry. Edward Hatch, Edward Hatch,
Joseph Hayes,
Edward W. Hinks,
Albion P. Howe (W. P.),
Rufus Ingalls(W. P.),
Francis G. Lanners (W. P.), Col. 18th Massachusetts Infty. Col. 19th Massachusetts Inftry Capt. 4th U.S. Artillery. Q. M. and Major U. S. A. Col. 43rd New York Infantry. Capt. 4th U. S. Infantry. Col. 23rd Ohio Infantry. Henry Prince (W. P.), Eliakim P. Scammon (W. P.), Seth Williams (W. P.), 4.6 Lt.-Col.Asst. A. G., U. S. A.

COLONELS

Melville A. Cochran,
Albert Erskine,
Samuel A. Foster,
John W. T. Gardiner,
Charles F. Haynes,
Horatio C. King,
Edward B. Knox,
William J. McDermott,
Alfred Morton,
James W. H. Stickney,
Peter G. Stuyvesant,
Charles W. Thompson (W. P.),
James H. Thompson,
Charles J. Whiting,
Henry C. Wood (W. P.),
Joseph S. Gage,
Augustus H. Gibson (W. P.),
Samuel Harriman,
John H. Holman,
Marshall S. Howe,
Marshall S. Howe,

A 5th U. S. Infantry.
Surgeon U. S. Volunteers.
Charles W. Thompson (W. P.),
Asst.. A. G. U. S. A.
29th Missouri Infantry.
37th Wisconsin Infantry.
37th Wasconsin Infantry.
37th Wasconsin Infantry.
37th Wasconsin Infantry.
37th Wisconsin Infantry.
37th Wasconsin Infantry.
37th U. S. Cavalry.

Daniel Huston,			. 7th Missouri Cavalry.
Warren L. Lothrop .			1st Missouri Light Artillery.
Granville Moody,			74th Ohio Infantry.
			Medical Inspector General.
Charles G. Sawtelle (W. F			Q. M. U. S. A.
Orland Smith,			73rd Ohio Infantry
Charles R. Thompson, .			. 12th U. S. C. Infantry.
Ansel D. Wass,			60th Massachusetts Infantry.
William Appleton Webb ((W.	P.),	. 42nd Illinois Infantry.
Edward F. Winslow, .			. 4th Iowa Cavalry.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS

			26th	Massachusetts Infantry.
Seth Eastman, .				. 1st U. S. Infantry.
Robert F. Patterson,				
William Sanborn, .				22nd Michigan Infantry.
Charles W. Thomas (W	7. P.),			. 7th U. S. Infantry.
Charles A. Whittier,		Asst. A	. G.,	U. S. Vols. (20th Mass.).

MAJORS

Josiah H. Carlisle (W. P.), Stephen D. Carpenter (W. F.)	P.),	2nd U. S. Artillery. 19th U. S. Infantry. Killed battle of
John A. Darling,		Murfreesboro, Dec. 31, 1862. 3rd Pennsylvania Artillery.
John Edwards (W. P.), . Frederick W. Emery, .		Asst. A. G., U. S. Volunteers, Kansas.

The following commissioned officers, below the rank of Major, who lost their lives in the service, were born in Maine:

> Roderick Stone (W. P.), Captain 14th U. S. Infantry, mortally wounded battle of Valverde, New Mexico, Feb. 21, 1862. William H. Chamberlain, 1st Lieutenant, 17th U. S. Infantry; killed at Gettysburg, July 2nd, 1863.

> Otto Fisher, 1st Lieutenant 8th U. S. Infantry; mortally wounded battle of Poplar Spring Church, Va., Sept. 30th, 1864; died Oct. 3rd, 1864.
>
> Thomas H. Green (W. P.), Captain on staff of General Prince, commanding Second Division of Banks' Army Corps; killed

at battle of Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 1862.

I regret to state that Maine has to her credit (or discredit) the fact that several of her sons, born within her borders and educated at West Point at the public's expense, deserted the old flag and fought for the South and the perpetuation of human slavery. The writer recalls three such cases.

Frederick Lynn Childs, born in Maine but appointed to West Point from North Carolina, became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the artillery branch of the Confederate army.

James Hoffman Hill, born in Maine but appointed to

West Point from New York, became a Major and Assistant Adjutant-General in the Confederate service.

Danville Leadbetter was born in and appointed to West Point from Maine and became a Brigadier-General in the Confederate army. Leadbetter never distinguished himself for bravery or skill upon the battlefield. He won his doubtful honors from the Confederacy by reason of his brutal and fiendish persecution of Union men and women and their families in East Tennessee.



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