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## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE SECOND BRIGADE

#### TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, FIFTEEN AND SIXTEEN REGIMENTS.

The Militia Called out—Organizations of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Regiments—Rendezvous at Brattleboro—Department for Washington—Organization of the Second Vermont Brigade—Ordered into Virginia—Camp Vermont—General Stoughton assumes command—Duty in the Defenses of Washington—Repulse of Stuart's Cavalry from Fairfax Court House—Winter Quarters at Fairfax Station and Wolf Run Shoals—Organization of Twenty-Second Army Corps—Capture of General Stoughton—Fifteenth and Sixteenth Regiments to move to Union Mills, and the Thirteenth of Occoquan—General Stannard assumes Command—Spring Campaign of 1863—Reopening and Guarding the Orange and Alexandria Railroad—Mosby Captures and Burns a Train—Opening Movements of the Gettysburg Campaign—Brigade joins the Army of the Potomac—Assigned to First Army Corps—March to Gettysburg—Battle of Gettysburg—Pursuit of Lee to the Potomac—Expiration of Term of Service—Departure for Home and Muster Out.

Roused by the reverses of the Peninsular campaign to a fuller realization of the magnitude of its task, the Government, in July and August, 1862, was making extraordinary efforts to place a force in the field sufficient to speedily overwhelm all resistance to the national authority. It was not enough that on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July the President has issued his call for 300,000 three years men. Congress, a few days later, passed an act authorizing him to call out the entire militia of the States, add provisions for filling the quotas, if necessary, by conscription – the method by which the Confederacy had for six months been filling its armies. Under this act, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, Mr. Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 militia to serve for nine months, within which time the rebellion was to be crushed. When this new call came the State authorities of Vermont were busy in arming and

equipping the Tenth and Eleventh regiments, and were hoping that when these had been sent out and the other regiments filled by volunteers in numbers sufficient to raise the State's quota of three years men, they could have a respite from the work of recruiting troops; but they responded to the new demand with undiminished spirit. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August the instructions of the Secretary of War, fixing Vermont's quota of the militia at 4,898 men, were received by Governor Holbrook, and on the next day he issued a general order for a new enrollment of the militia of Vermont, comprising all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and on the day following an order – General Order No. 12, of August, 12, 1862 – calling into active service all the militia companies in the State.

Twenty-two such companies appeared upon the State roster. Ten of these had seen three months' service in the First regiment, but so many of the members of these companies had subsequently re-enlisted in the three years regiments, that but six companies had been able to preserve their organizations, and these were much reduced in numbers. Of the other companies, some had formally disbanded, and some, though existing on paper, had ceased to exist in fact. Under the circumstances only thirteen companies were able to respond to the call. These were the Howard Guards of Burlington,<sup>1</sup> West Windsor Guards, Allen Greys of Brandon, Saxton's River Light Infantry of Rockingham, Woodstock Light Infantry, Bradford Guards, Rutland Light Guard, Tunbridge Light Infantry, Ransom Guards of St. Albans, New England Guards of Northfield, Emmett Guards of Burlington, Lafayette Artillery of Calais, and Frontier Guards of Coventry.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of August a third order – General Order No. 13, - called for volunteers for nine months to fill the

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<sup>1</sup> This company was the first to respond. It was filled and organized for service on the 23d of August.

quota. The order stated that no recruiting officers would be appointed, but that the town officers and patriotic citizens would be expected to enlist the men and form the companies. "The commander-in-chief," said the order, "confidently expects that before the time for a legal draft shall arrive, every man necessary to complete the requisition upon the State will be furnished; and he trusts to the people of the State to carry out his wishes, in their own way, without the intervention of recruiting officers or other official agencies."

Thirty companies were enlisted, organized and accepted under this order, as follows:

The Montpelier company, from Montpelier, Waterbury, Barre, Berlin, Middlesex and other towns; organized August 25<sup>th</sup>.

The Moretown company, from Waitsfield, Warren, Fayston, Duxbury, Moretown and Middlesex; organized August 25<sup>th</sup>.

The Bethel company, from Bethel, Stockbridge, Rochester, Royalton and Pittsfield; organized August 26<sup>th</sup>.

The Bennington company, from Bennington, Pownal and Woodford; organized August 27<sup>th</sup>.

The Wallingford company, from Danby, Pawlet, Middletown, Clarendon, Wallingford, Shrewsbury, Tinmouth and other towns; organized August 27<sup>th</sup>.

The Brattleboro company, from Brattleboro, Marlboro, Putney, Dummerston, Guilford and Westminster; organized August 28<sup>th</sup>.

The Manchester company, from Manchester, Rupert, Winhall, Sunderland, Arlington and Dorset; organized August 28<sup>th</sup>.

The St. Johnsbury company, from St. Johnsbury, Waterford, Barnet, Kirby, Concord and Ryegate; organized August 28<sup>th</sup>.

The East Montpelier company, raised in East Montpelier, Berlin, Calais, Marshfield, Worcester, Plainfield and Orange; organized August 29<sup>th</sup>.

The Ludlow company, from Ludlow, Plymouth, Andover, Weston, Landgrove, Cavendish, and other towns; organized August 29<sup>th</sup>.

The Shoreham company, from Shoreham, Cornwall, Bridport, Benson, Orwell, and other towns; organized August 29<sup>th</sup>.

The Townshend company, from Wardsboro, Londonderry, Windham, Grafton, Townsend and Jamaica; organized August 29<sup>th</sup>.

The Middlebury company, from Middlebury, Salisbury, Addison, Cornwall, Whiting, Shoreham, Weybridge, Ripton, and other towns; organized August 30<sup>th</sup>.

The West Fairlee company, from Vershire, Thetford, Strafford, West Fairlee and Washington; organized August 30<sup>th</sup>.

The Springfield company, from Springfield, Chester, Weathersfield, and Reading; organized Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>.

The Barton company, from Barton, Irasburgh, Sutton, Albany, Craftsbury, Greensboro, Brownington, Westmore and Glover; organized Sept. 3d.

The Castleton company, from Castleton, Hubbardton, Fairhaven, Poultney and West Haven; organized Sept. 3d.

The Wilmington company, from Wilmington, Whitingham, Dover, Searsburgh and Halifax; organized Sept. 3d.

The Barnard company, from Barnard, Pomfret, Sharon, Bridgewater and Hartford; organized Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>.

The Colchester company, from Colchester, Milton and other towns; organized Sept. 6<sup>th</sup>.

The Bristol company, from Bristol, Starksboro, Monkton, New Haven, Hinesburgh and other towns; organized Sept. 8<sup>th</sup>.

The Danville company, from Danville, Hardwick and Walden; organized Sept. 8<sup>th</sup>.

The Morristown company, from Morristown, Stowe, Cambridge, Eden, Wolcott, Johnson and Westford; organized Sept. 8<sup>th</sup>.

The Richmond company, from Jericho, Underhill, Essex, St. George, Bolton, Williston, Huntington, Richmond and Starksboro; organized Sept. 10<sup>th</sup>.

The Rutland company, from Rutland, Sherburne, Mendon, Chittenden, Pittsfield, Mount Holly, Ira and other towns; organized Sept. 10<sup>th</sup>.

The West Randolph company, from Northfield, Brookfield and Randolph; organized Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>.

The Highgate company, from Swanton, Highgate, Franklin, Grand Isle, Alburgh, North Hero, South Hero and other towns; organized Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>.

The Bakersfield company, from Berkshire, Bakersfield, Enosburgh, Richford, Montgomery and other towns; organized Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>.

The Chester company, from Springfield, Baltimore, Weathersfield, Grafton, Cavendish, Norwich and Chester; organized Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>.

The Wait's River company, from Barre, Orange, Topsham, Newbury, Groton, Corinth, Washington, Bradford and other towns; organized Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>.

Within a month forty-three companies, comprising about 4,000 men, were organized and accepted; and by the 20<sup>th</sup> of September seven additional companies tendered themselves, so that the quota of militia was filled by voluntary enlistments.<sup>2</sup> These seven companies were as follows:

The Island Pond company, raised in Brighton, Holland, Morgan, Newark, Burke, Lunenburgh, Canaan, East Haven, Lemington, Charleston, Brunswick and Maidstone; organized September 15<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> It is true that drafts were ordered in a few towns, by which forty or fifty men were drawn; but the men so drawn at once enlisted, and they were enrolled as volunteers, and not as conscripts.

The Vergennes company, raised in Charlotte, Addison, Vergennes, Ferrisburgh, New Haven, Huntington, Goshen, Panton and Granville; organized September 16<sup>th</sup>.

The McIndoe's Falls company, raised in Barnet, Peacham, Ryegate, Danville, Coventry, Greensboro, Barton, Waterford and St. Johnsbury; organized September 16<sup>th</sup>.

The Lyndon company, raised in Sheffield, Wheelock, Lyndon, Sutton, Glover, Guildhall, Kirby and Victory; organized September 17<sup>th</sup>.

The Danby company, raised in Danby, Pownal, Rupert, Sandgate, Shaftsbury, Stamford, Wallingford, Wells, Poultney and other towns; organized September 18<sup>th</sup>.

The Felchville company, raised in Reading, Hartford, Hartland, Weston, Royalton, Barnard, Sharon, Stockbridge, Windsor and other towns; organized September 18<sup>th</sup>.

The Williamstown company, raised in Newfane, Putney, Guilford, Peru, Stratton, Readsboro, Dummerston, Brookline, Searsburgh, Windham, Wardsboro, Marlboro, Jamaica and other towns; organized September 20<sup>th</sup>.

Among the men so enlisting were many men of high patriotic purpose, whose professional and civil responsibilities had not permitted them to engage for a three years' term in the army; and the nine months regiments thus comprised an unusual proportion of men of liberal education and recognized standing.

The fifty companies were organized into regiments by Adjutant General Washburn, and rendezvoused at Brattleboro as soon as barracks furnished by the United States were ready for occupation. As these were militia regiments, they were officered in accordance with the State Constitution – the companies electing the company officers; the company officers nominating the field officers, who were thereupon commissioned by the Governor; and the field officers selecting the regimental staff.

## THE TWELFTH REGIMENT.

The Twelfth regiment comprised the first ten of the thirteen companies which first responded to the new call, and was, in a sense, a revival of the First regiment, seven of its companies, viz., B, C, E, F, G, H, and K, having been companies of the First, though with different company officers and for the most part different members. The field officers were elected at a meeting of the line officers, held at Bellows Falls, September 19<sup>th</sup>, and the regiment was organized as follows:

Colonel – Asa P. Blunt, St. Johnsbury.  
 Lieut. Colonel – Roswell Farnham Bradford.  
 Major – Levi G. Kingsley, Rutland<sup>3</sup>  
 Adjutant – Roswell C. Vaughan, St. Johnsbury.  
 Quartermaster – Harry Brownson, Rutland.  
 Surgeon – Benjamin F. Ketchum, Manchester.  
 Assistant Surgeon – Granville P. Conn, Richmond.  
 Chaplain – Rev. Lewis O. Brastow, St. Johnsbury.

Company A, West Windsor Guards,	Captain	Charles L. Savage.
“ B, Woodstock Light Infantry,	“	Ora Paul, Jr.
“ C, Howard Guards,	“	Lemuel W. Page.
“ D, Tunbridge Light Infantry,	“	David F. Cole.
“ E, Ransom Guards,	“	Hamilton S. Gilbert.
“ F, New England Guards,	“	Darius Thomas.
“ G, Allen Greys,	“	Ebenezer J. Ormsbee.
“ H, Bradford Guards,	“	Preston S. Chamberlain.
“ I, Saxton's River Light Infantry	“	Carlton H. Roundy.
“ K, Rutland Light Guard,	“	Walter C. Landon.

The field officers of the Twelfth had all seen service. Colonel Blunt, when the war broke out, held a responsible position in the employ of the great manufacturing firm of E. & T. Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. He went out as adjutant of the Third regiment in July, 1861, and five months after was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Sixth, in which he served with credit for a year. He was now 34 years

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<sup>3</sup> Captain N. T. Sprague, of Brandon, was chosen major; but having declined the office, under medical advice, Captain Kingsley was chosen in his place.

of age, straight and soldierly, a fine horseman, apt in military duties and prompt and spirited in command." He took hold with spirit of the work of drilling and disciplining the regiment, and at once established himself in the respect and confidence of the officers and men.<sup>4</sup>

Lieut. Colonel Farnham was of patriotic lineage, his grandfather on the mother's side having fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont, and when the war broke out was practicing his profession, of the law, in Bradford, with promise of prominence and usefulness, which was fully borne out by his subsequent career in civil life, as lawyer, legislator, and Governor of the commonwealth. He was State's attorney of Orange County and captain of the Bradford Guards when appointed lieutenant colonel of the Twelfth. He had learned military duty as lieutenant of the Bradford company of the First regiment, under Colonel Phelps, and was a highly intelligent, patriotic and efficient officer.

Major Kingsley was captain of the Rutland Light Guard when elected major. He had also seen service as a lieutenant of the Rutland company in the First regiment, and was a faithful, trusty and competent soldier.

The staff were generally new in their duties. Surgeon Ketchum had recently established himself in the practice of his profession in Manchester. Assistant Surgeon Conn was a practicing physician in Richmond. An additional assistant surgeon was appointed in January, 1863, in the person of Dr. Oliver E. Ross, of Cornwall. Chaplain Brastow was one of the pastors of the two Congregational churches in St. Johnsbury, who left their pulpits to accept chaplaincies in the

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<sup>4</sup> After the close of his service with the Twelfth, Colonel Blunt entered the Regular Army as Captain and A. Q. M., held highly responsible positions in the quartermaster's department during the war, and was promoted to be colonel and brevet brigadier general of volunteers, for faithful and meritorious services. He was subsequently for many years superintendent of the United States military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Second brigade, and returned to them after their term of service expired. He was an earnest and faithful chaplain.

A considerable proportion of the line and non-commissioned officers had seen service in the First and other regiments.

September 25<sup>th</sup>, the regiment went into camp at Brattleboro, designated as "Camp Lincoln." Colonel E. H. Stoughton, of the Fourth Vermont, was commandant of the post, having been taken from his regiment under the understanding that after drilling the new regiments while in the State he should command the brigade when it took the field.

On the morning of October 4<sup>th</sup> the regiment was reviewed and inspected by Governor Holbrook, Adjutant General Washburn, Q. M. Gen. Davis and Colonel Stoughton. On the afternoon of the same day it was mustered into the service of the United States by Major William Austine, U.S.A., and on the evening of the 7<sup>th</sup>, it left Brattleboro for Washington, spent the night in the cars, and at five o'clock next morning took steamer at New Haven for Jersey City, where it had soup about noon. It stopped in Philadelphia for supper, and at 9 P.M. arrived at Washington and was quartered for the night in the "Soldiers' Rest." Next morning the regiment went into camp on Capitol Hill, where it was brigaded provisionally with the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh New Jersey (nine months) regiments, under command of Colonel Derrom of the Twenty-fifth New Jersey. The brigade was attached to General Casey's Division of the Reserve Army Corps for the defense of Washington, and during its stay of three weeks on East Capitol Hill, it took part in various reviews, in which the regiment acquitted itself so well as to win special complimentary notice from the general commanding.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of October, the other regiments having arrived at Washington, the five nine months regiments were brigaded together under the temporary command of Colonel



Blunt. The subsequent record of the Twelfth forms part of the history of the Second brigade

### THE THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

The Thirteenth regiment comprised two of the thirteen companies of uniform militia, who first responded to Order No. 12-viz., the Emmett Guards of Burlington, and the "Lafayette Artillery" of Calais-with eight of the companies of volunteer militia raised under General Order No. 13. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October the company officers met at Montpelier and elected the field officers. The regiment was organized and officered as follows:

Colonel-Francis V. Randall, Montpelier.  
 Lieut. Colonel-Andrew C. Brown, Montpelier.  
 Major-Lawrence D. Clark, Highgate.  
 Adjutant-Orloff H. Whitney, Franklin.  
 Quartermaster-Leonard F. Aldrich, Barre.  
 Surgeon-Dr. George Nichols, Northfield.  
 Assistant Surgeon-Dr. John B. Crandall, Berlin.  
 Chaplain-Rev. Joseph Sargent, Williston.

Company A, Emmett Guards	Captain John Lonergan.
" B, Moretown Company,	" Oscar C. Wilder.
" C, East Montpelier Company,	" Lewis L. Coburn.
" D, Colchester Company,	" William D. Munson.
" E, Morristown Company,	" Joseph J. Boynton.
" F, Richmond Company,	" John L. Yale.
" G, Bakersfield Company,	" Marvin White.
" H, Lafayette Artillery,	" William V. Peck.
" I, Montpelier Company,	" John M. Thacher.
" K, Highgate Company,	" George S. Blake.

The regiment was well officered. Its colonel, Francis V. Randall, was a native of Braintree. He had been a prominent citizen, having held the office of State's attorney of Washington county and thrice represented the town of Roxbury in the Legislature. When the war broke out he was a lawyer in active practice in Montpelier. He recruited company F of the Second regiment and was elected its captain in

May, 1861, and had seen fifteen months' service in the First Vermont brigade, when he was elected colonel of the Thirteenth. He was in his 38<sup>th</sup> year, soldierly in bearing, blunt of speech, of genial temperament, and made a popular and efficient colonel.<sup>5</sup>

Lieut. Colonel Brown had been connected with the Montpelier *Watchman* as assistant editor, and was captain of the Montpelier company of militia when elected. He had seen no previous military service.

Major Clark was captain of the first company of the First regiment, throughout its term of service, being 48 years old and the oldest officer in the line when he responded to the first call for troops. Led by high patriotism, he now returned to the service at the age of fifty, and was the oldest commissioned officer in the Second brigade.

Adjutant Whitney had served with credit in the ranks of company C of the First regiment. Quartermaster Aldrich was a Barre merchant, and proved a competent officer. Surgeon Nichols was a graduate of the Woodstock Medical College, and a physician in Northfield, whose genial temperament and care for the men won him their cordial affection. He became prominent, after the war, in civil life, as Secretary of State of the State of Vermont. Assistant Surgeon Crandall had been hospital steward of the Sixth regiment, and gained valuable experience in the field. Chaplain Sargent was a Universalist minister of Williston. He died, in camp, near Occoquan, Va., of disease, April 20, 1863.

Several changes in the field and staff occurred during the term of service of the regiment. Lieut. Colonel Brown resigned in May, 1863, and was succeeded by Captain Wm. D. Munson, of company D, who was a graduate of Norwich University, and a popular officer. Major Clark resigned in

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<sup>5</sup> After the close of the war Colonel Randall resumed the practice of his profession for a time, at Montpelier, and subsequently purchased the hotel at Northfield Centre, where he resided when, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, 1885, he died from a stroke of apoplexy.

March, 1863, in impaired health, and was succeeded by Captain Joseph J. Boynton, of company C. Adjutant Whitney was promoted, January, 1863, to the captaincy of company H, and was succeeded as adjutant by Lieutenant James S. Peck of company I, who was a graduate of the University of Vermont, a man of many genial qualities, and a thoroughly competent officer.<sup>6</sup> Quartermaster Aldrich resigned, in December, in consequence of serious illness, and was succeeded by Quartermaster-Sergeant Nelson A. Taylor of Montpelier.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October it received its arms, Springfield rifles, and had its first battalion drill. The regiment was mustered in by Major Austine, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, with 953 officers and men, and left Washington in the afternoon of Saturday, the 11<sup>th</sup>, by the usual route by way of New Haven and Jersey City.

It marched through Baltimore in the night, in a drenching rain, and after the usual delays and a tedious ride of eight hours in open cars, reached Washington in the afternoon of the 13<sup>th</sup>. The next day the regiment went into camp-at first in shelter-tents, for which A tents were soon substituted-on East Capitol Hill, about half a mile west of the camp of the Twelfth, with which and the two New Jersey regiments already mentioned it was temporarily brigaded. Its energetic colonel soon brought his command into a condition of proficiency which had been under longer discipline, and company drill in the forenoon, regimental drill in the afternoon, and brigade drills and reviews twice a week, gave the men plenty to do.

The first death in the regiment took place on the 26<sup>th</sup>, in the regimental hospital,<sup>7</sup> and on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Lieutenant

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<sup>6</sup> Subsequently Adjutant General of the State from 1872 to 1881.

<sup>7</sup> Isaac N. Brooks of company E, a boy of eighteen years.

Nathaniel Jones, Jr., of company B, died of typhoid fever. In general, however, the health of the regiment was excellent during its stay on Capitol Hill.

The order consolidating the Vermont regiments into a brigade, was read at dress parade on the evening of October 27<sup>th</sup> and was received with cheers. On the 30<sup>th</sup> the regiment broke camp and marched across Long Bridge into Virginia. Its subsequent service forms a notable part of the history of the Second Brigade.

### THE FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

The companies which formed the Fourteenth regiment were recruited in the counties of Addison, Rutland and Bennington. The company officers met at Rutland and Bennington. The company officers met at Rutland on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September, and elected the field officers; and when the regimental staff had been appointed the list stood as follows:

Colonel-William T. Nichols, Rutland.  
 Lieut. Colonel-Charles W. Rose, Middlebury.  
 Major-Nathaniel B. Hall, Bennington.  
 Adjutant-Harrison Prindle, Manchester.  
 Quartermaster-Charles Field, Dorset.  
 Surgeon-Edwin H. Sprague, Middlebury.  
 Assistant Surgeon-Lucretius D. Ross, Poultney.  
 Chaplain-Rev. William S. Smart, Benson.

Company A, Bennington Company	Captain	Ransom O. Gore.
" B, Wallingford	"	" John C. Thompson.
" C, Manchester	"	" Josiah B. Munson.
" D, Shoreham	"	" Charles E. Abell.
" E, Middlebury	"	" Edwin Rich.
" F, Castleton	"	" Joseph Jennings.
" G, Bristol	"	" Noble F. Dunshee.
" H, Rutland	"	" Walter C. Dunton.
" I, Vergennes	"	" Solomon T. Allen
" K, Danby	"	" Alonzo N. Colvin.

Colonel Nichols was one of the three Vermont colonels whose first commission was that of colonel. In January, 1861, he was a young lawyer in Rutland, and was a member of

the Rutland Light Guard when Captain Ripley of that company called its members together, three months before Sumter was fired on, to ascertain how many would agree to take the field to maintain the Constitution and protect the National Capital. Private Nichols was the first to respond and the speech in which he set forth the duty of the patriot in such a crisis, was long remembered. He served with the First regiment, was under fire at Big Bethel, and returning home was elected to represent the town of Rutland in the Legislature of 1861, of which he was a prominent member. He had been re-elected representative of Rutland in September, 1862, when the command of the Fourteenth regiment was tendered to and accepted by him; and dropping all civil duties he devoted himself anew to the armed defense of his country. He was now 33 years old. He took hold of the drill and discipline of his regiment with characteristic energy and proved himself a prompt and efficient commander.<sup>8</sup>

Lieut. Colonel Rose was first lieutenant of the Middlebury company of the First regiment in the spring of 1861; returned to the service as captain of company B of the Fifth regiment in September of that year; was wounded at Savage's Station in June, 1862; and now, at 24 years of age, was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy of the Fourteenth, bringing to the position, experience and recognized capacity.

Major Hall was a son of Hon. Hiland Hall, long prominent in the annals of Vermont as Judge, Congressman, Governor and historian. He was a lawyer in successful practice, and State's attorney of Bennington county, when elected major. He was a highly patriotic and efficient officer.

Adjutant Prindle had had no previous military experience. Quartermaster Field was also new in military duties,

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<sup>8</sup> After the war Colonel Nichols removed his residence to Maywood, Ill., near Chicago, where he was a leading citizen and property owner, and where he died, in April, 1882.

but speedily demonstrated his fitness for his responsible office. Surgeon Sprague was discharged, after a three weeks' trial, for incompetency-the only case of the kind on record among the Vermont surgeons-and was succeeded by Dr. Adrian T. Woodward of Brandon, who was an able and acceptable surgeon. Assistant Surgeon Ross was a competent physician. Chaplain Smart was the pastor of the Congregational Church in Benson, which gave him leave of absence for nine months, and continued his salary while he was in the army. He made an excellent chaplain. Dr. A. M. Plant of Burlington, was appointed second assistant surgeon in January, 1863.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October, and was at first armed with old muskets, which were subsequently replaced by Austrian rifles.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, the regiment was reviewed, with the Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments, by Governor Holbrook, accompanied by General Phelps and Colonel Stoughton, in the presence of throngs of spectators. In the afternoon of the same day it was mustered into the United States service, with 952 officers and men. It left the State on the 22d of October, going by rail to New Haven; thence by steamer "Continental" to New York; thence by two steamboats to Perth Amboy, N.J., and thence by a cold night ride by rail, via Camden and Philadelphia, to Washington, where it arrived at noon of the 25<sup>th</sup>. The day was hot, and three men were prostrated by sunstroke while standing in the line. In the evening of the same day it marched seven miles-its first march of any distance with knapsacks-via Chain Bridge to "Camp Chase," on Arlington Heights, where it was temporarily brigaded with some Maine troops.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, the regiment, with the brigade, was reviewed by General Casey; and, after a parade lasting five hours, re-crossed the river, and marched to Capitol Hill, Washington, where it joined the three Vermont regiments

already there, and became a part of the Second Vermont brigade

### THE FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

The companies which constituted the Fifteenth regiment were recruited in towns in Caledonia, Orleans, Orange and Windsor counties, one of the number, the Frontier Guards of Coventry, being one of the thirteen existing companies of uniform militia which responded to the President's call of August 4<sup>th</sup>.

The election of field officers took place at St. Johnsbury, September 26<sup>th</sup>, and the regimental staff was soon after announced. The field, staff and company commanders were as follows:

Colonel-Redfield Proctor, Cavendish.  
 Lieut. Colonel-William W. Grout, Barton.  
 Major-Charles F. Spaulding, St. Johnsbury.  
 Adjutant-J. Monroe Poland, Montpelier.  
 Quartermaster-Putnam D. McMillan, Danville.  
 Surgeon-Carleton P. Frost, St. Johnsbury.  
 Assistant Surgeon-Gates P. Bullard, St. Johnsbury.  
 Chaplain-Rev. Ephraim C. Cummings, St. Johnsbury.

Company A, West Fairlee Company	Captain	Horace E. Brown.
“ B, Danville	“	James M. Ayer.
“ C, West Randolph	“	Cornelius N. Carpenter.
“ D, Wait's River	“	Charles G. French.
“ E, Island Pond	“	Warren Noyes.
“ F, McIndoe's Falls	“	Xerxes C. Stevens.
“ G, Lyndon	“	Stephen McGaffey.
“ H, Frontier Guards	“	Riley E. Wright.
“ I, Barton	“	Wm. H. Johnson.
“ K, St. Johnsbury	“	George B. Woodward.

Colonel Proctor was of revolutionary parentage. His grandfather, Captain Leonard Proctor, fought under Washington at Trenton and Monmouth and on other battlefields of the revolution, and after the close of the struggle for American independence, came to Vermont as one of the

pioneers and founders of the town of Cavendish. Colonel Proctor was born in Proctorsville, in that town. He graduated at Dartmouth college and at the Albany law school, commenced practice as a lawyer in 1859, and when the war broke out was a law partner of his cousin, Judge Isaac F. Redfield, of national eminence in his profession, in Boston. Relinquishing his flattering prospects of professional success, he entered the army as quartermaster of the Third Vermont regiment. He was for a time on the staff of General William F. Smith, and was then appointed Major of the Fifth Regiment. After nine months' service with that regiment he resigned, in consequence of serious and prolonged illness. Now, with restored health, he was again ready for service.

Lieut. Colonel Grout was a young lawyer of the Orleans county bar, who, at 26 years of age, had already made his mark, and had just received the republican nomination for State's attorney of that county. This he declined at that time in consequence of his purpose to enter the army; but the office was subsequently held by him, as well as those of town representative, State senator, and representative in Congress, which kept him almost continuously in the civil service of the State and nation after the close of the war. He had enlisted in the Barton company and had been elected as its captain, before his election as lieutenant colonel, a position to which he brought enthusiasm, industry and ability.

Major Spaulding was a business man of St. Johnsbury, and was captain of the militia company recruited in that town, when elected major.

Adjutant Poland was the eldest son of Hon. Joseph



Poland of Montpelier. He had just graduated from the University of Vermont, when he enlisted and was appointed a sergeant in the Montpelier company of the Thirteenth, in which his ability had recommended him for the higher position. Chaplain Cummings was the pastor of the North Congregational church of St. Johnsbury, which gave him leave of absence to accept the chaplaincy. Surgeon Frost and Assistant Surgeon Bullard were physicians in established practice in St. Johnsbury. The former resigned in May, 1863, and was succeeded as surgeon by Assistant Surgeon Bullard, who added intense patriotism and thorough devotion to the regiment to high professional ability.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, occupying the barracks which had been vacated by the Twelfth the day before. After two weeks in camp it was mustered into the United States service on the 22d of October, and left the State on the 23d. The men had the usual experiences of greetings along their way, of Philadelphia hospitality, and of delays on the railroads. Arriving in Washington early in the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup>, it spent a day and a night there and then went to Alexandria, to join the Second brigade of Casey's division, consisting of the Fourteenth Vermont and some Maine regiments; was reviewed with these by General Casey, and then marched back with the Fourteenth to Washington, to join the other Vermont regiments composing the Second Vermont brigade.

#### THE SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

The Sixteenth Vermont was composed of companies recruited in Windsor and Windham and Windham counties.

The election of field officers took place at Bellow Falls

on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September, and the field, staff and company officers were as follows:

Colonel – Wheelock G. Veazey, Springfield.  
 Lieut. Colonel – Charles Cummings, Brattleboro.  
 Major – William Rounds, Chester.  
 Adjutant – Jabez D. Bridgman, Rockingham.  
 Quartermaster – James G. Henry, Royalton.  
 Surgeon – Castanus B. Park, Jr., Grafton  
 Assistant Surgeon – George Spafford, Windham  
 Chaplain – Rev. Alonzo Webster, Windsor

Company A, Bethel Company,	Captain Henry A. Eaton
Company B, Brattleboro Company,	Captain Robert B. Arms.
“ C, Ludlow “	“ Asa G. Foster.
“ D, Townshend “	“ David Ball.
“ E, Springfield “	“ Alvin C. Mason.
“ F, Wilmington “	“ Henry F. Dix.
“ G, Barnard “	“ Harvey N. Bruce.
“ H, Felchville “	“ Joseph C. Sawyer.
“ I, Williamsville “	“ Lyman E. Knapp.
“ K, Chester “	“ Samuel Hutchinson.

Colonel Veazey was a native of Brentwood, N.H., a graduate of Dartmouth College, and at the opening of the war was just commencing practice as a lawyer in Springfield. He enlisted under the call for three years men and was elected captain of company A of the Third regiment. His military genius was early recognized, and within a month after he was mustered into the U. S. service he had been successively promoted to be major and lieutenant colonel of that regiment. He was, for some time in the winter and spring of 1862, a member of the staff of Maj. General William F. Smith, and during a portion of the Peninsula campaign of that summer, was detailed to command the Fifth Vermont. Thus trained, under masters of the art of war, he was a spirited and capable commander. A thorough disciplinarian, cool and brave in battle and prompt and zealous in every duty, he had the absolute confidence of his regiment, which he made one of the best in the army in drill and discipline. His brilliant military reputation was supple-

mented after the war by a like honorable and distinguished record in civil life as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont.

Lieut. Colonel Cummings was the editor of the Brattleboro *Phoenix* and had been for years the popular clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives. He had enlisted in the Eleventh Vermont, was chosen first lieutenant of company E of that regiment at its organization, and a month later was elected lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth. He returned to the service, after the muster out of the Sixteenth, as lieutenant colonel of the Seventeenth, and was killed in battle while commanding that regiment in the battle at Poplar Grove church, in front of Petersburg.

Major Rounds was a lawyer in good standing, of the Windsor county bar, a man of sturdy patriotism and sterling qualities, staunch and true as steel wherever he was placed. Adjutant Bridgman and Quartermaster Henry were men of liberal education, and lawyers by profession. Surgeon Park was one of the best of surgeons, and subsequently served with distinction as surgeon of the Eleventh. He had an efficient assistant in Dr. Spafford. Chaplain Webster was a Methodist clergyman, holding the office of chaplain of the Vermont State prison, and was granted leave of absence for nine months by the directors of the prison, to allow him to accept his army appointment.

These officers all remained with the regiment during its term of service, except Adjutant Bridgman, who resigned in January, 1863. His place was filled by the appointment of Lieutenant Harland O. Peabody of Andover. A second assistant surgeon was added to the staff in January, in the person of Dr. Nathaniel G. Brooks, of Acworth, N.H.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of October, the regiment went into camp at Brattleboro, where it remained about two weeks, receiving meantime its arms and outfit, and taking its first lessons in soldier life and discipline. It was mustered into the United

States service on the 23d of October, with 949 officers and men, and left the State next day by the customary route.

Arriving at Washington on the 27<sup>th</sup>, the regiment marched to Capitol Hill and went into camp near the other new Vermont regiments, with which it was brigaded. The regiment took supper with the Thirteenth, and breakfasted with the Twelfth the next morning, and the officers and men had begun to settle themselves comfortably in camp, when the brigade was ordered across the Potomac. The important part which it thenceforth contributed to the history of the Second brigade will be related in the pages following.

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#### ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND BRIGADE.

As has been noted, the order brigading together the five nine months regiments was received by them on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October, 1862. This arrangement was gratifying alike to the troops and to the people of Vermont, who recognized the distinction gained by the First Vermont brigade, and expected like worthy service from a second brigade composed wholly of Vermont regiments. The brigade did not disappoint this expectation. Probably no body of troops of equal number ever contained more men of high patriotism and unselfish sense of duty. Desertions were almost unknown among them. The Fourteenth never lost a man by desertion, the Fifteenth lost but one, and the whole brigade less than a dozen. As regarded good order in camp, soldierly appearance and general good conduct, they were a marked body of men. The number of professional men among them was large, and they did not altogether disappear from sight when they returned to civil life. From their number, in the twenty-five years after the close of the war, three governors, two lieutenant governors, two judges of the

supreme court, a congressman, a secretary of state, a United States district attorney, an adjutant general, a quartermaster general, fourteen State senators, and many town representatives were selected, in the State of Vermont; and others attained prominence in other States.

The concentration of the brigade took place on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, at "Camp Casey," on East Capitol Hill, so named after Maj. General Silas Casey, under whose command it constituted the Second brigade of Casey's division of the Reserve Corps, in the defenses of Washington. Its first brigade commander was its ranking colonel, Colonel A. P. Blunt. Its stay, as a brigade, on Capitol Hill, was of but a few hours. The Twelfth and Thirteenth regiments had been there long enough to get their tents floored and stockaded, and the others, just arrived, were preparing to follow their example, when the order came to move across the Potomac.

The brigade broke camp on the morning of the 30<sup>th</sup>, crossed the river by Long Bridge, and moving out five miles into the country back of Arlington Heights, halted near Munson's Hill and camped in the edge of a stretch of oak timber, where fresh green grass, near a stream of clear water, was in refreshing contrast with the bare and barren surface and stifling dust-storms of Capitol Hill. After a day's stay in this pleasant spot, the Twelfth and Thirteenth regiments were sent to the south by a ten miles' march through Alexandria, to a spot south of Hunting Creek, on the road to Mount Vernon, to take the place of Sickles's brigade, which had marched the day before, with other troops, to join General Sigel at Centreville. The two regiments bivouacked there for the night and the next day moved to the south a mile and a half, to the spot occupied by the brigade for the next month. The other three regiments moved thither on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, and the camp was christened "Camp Vermont," the brigade headquarters being established in a wing of the mansion of Mr. George Mason – an old Virginian

who announced himself as a “neutral” on the war issue – on whose estate of “Springbank,” the Vermonters found a good camping ground, with timber near by for fuel. This was a matter of some consequence, for the winter opened early in Virginia, and five inches of snow lay on the ground on the night of November 7<sup>th</sup>, a month earlier than any such snowfall occurred in Vermont that year. The main duty of the brigade was the picketing of a portion of the line encircling Washington, extending from a point on the Potomac two miles north to the vicinity of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. To this was added fatigue duty on the outworks of Fort Lyon, half a mile north of Camp Vermont, for which 1500 men were detailed daily from the brigade.

At this time Lee's army was in the Shenandoah Valley, and McClellan was concentrating the Army of the Potomac around Warrenton. The change of commanders of the Army of the Potomac, made November 7<sup>th</sup>, created no excitement in the Second brigade, for not many of its officers had served under McClellan, and some who had, had lost confidence in him as a fighting general. No enemy was in the immediate front of the brigade, and no sound of actual combat reached their ears, with the exception that, one day, the cannon of the Second Corps were heard far to the northwest, when Hancock occupied Snicker's Gap. The men prepared for winter by building barracks of oak logs for company quarters; but few had been finished before orders came to leave them.

While in Camp Vermont, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments exchanged the old French and Belgian muskets with which the government had armed them on leaving Vermont, for Austrian and Enfield rifles. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth regiments, under command of Colonel Randall, were sent to the neighborhood of Union Mills, to picket the line of the

Occoquan and Bull Run, and guard the railroad. The Fifteenth returned to Camp Vermont on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth on the 5<sup>th</sup>. The two latter reached camp at nightfall in a heavy snow-storm, and being without tents, were glad to find shelter in the tents and quarters of the other regiments. The brigade remained at Camp Vermont for a week longer, doing picket duty in rain and snow and sometimes on frozen ground with the mercury 18 or 20 degrees below freezing.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of December General E. H. Stoughton, having been appointed a brigadier general and assigned to the command of the brigade, arrived at Camp Vermont and assumed command.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, when Burnside moved to the Rappahannock and commenced his ill-fated Fredericksburg campaign, Sigel's corps was moved forward from Fairfax Court House in order to be within supporting distance, and the Second Vermont Brigade was ordered up to the position vacated by Sigel. The brigade moved thither on the 12<sup>th</sup>. The men started in excellent spirits – though many were sorry to leave the comfortable log huts which they had just completed – and marched twenty miles in ten hours, over roads which became slippery as the frozen ground thawed under the sun, with heavy knapsacks and with little straggling. At four in the afternoon the regiments halted and camped among the pine trees near Fairfax Court House, and General Stoughton established his headquarters in the village, where they remained for three months.

The brigade now had to picket a front of five or six miles along Bull Run and Cub Run, in the outer line of infantry pickets around the defenses of Washington, the line being continued on the right and left of the brigade by other troops of the Reserve Corps. In front of the infantry pickets, videttes of the First Virginia (loyal) cavalry were posted. The regiments took turns in picket duty, a regiment

being sent out at a time, and remaining for four days. The service was not particularly exciting, the only enemy in front being guerrillas, till, a few weeks later, the Confederate partisan, Mosby, began operating in that quarter with his rangers. The weather in December was much of it fine, and the log huts which kept Beauregard's troops warm the winter before, while McClellan's were shivering under canvas, were still standing and afforded shelter for the picket reserves in the cold nights and storms.

In the camps the men stockaded their tents, and the officers built commodious log houses, where some of their wives joined them during the winter. General Stoughton added to the usual battalion drills, frequent brigade drills, for which the broad open plain near Fairfax Court House afforded admirable ground. A brigade band of 17 pieces, which had been organized by Colonel Blunt, furnished music for dress parades and special occasions. The camps were clean and orderly, the men well behaved, the health of the brigade was fair, and the time passed not unpleasantly and with little excitement till the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, when Stuart's raid, called by his biographer the "Dumfries Raid," afforded a decided sensation.

Starting from Lee's army south of the Rappahannock on the 26<sup>th</sup>, with 1,800 cavalry and a light battery, Stuart marched to the north, and the next day made a demonstration against the Union post at Dumfries. Finding that position strongly guarded he moved north to the Occoquan, taking some sutlers' and army wagons on the way, and struck the Orange and Alexandria railroad at Burke's Station. There he captured the Union operator in the telegraph office, put an operator of his own in his place, took from the wires the dispatches of General Heintzelman, commanding the defenses of Washington, notifying the officers in command at Fairfax Station and Court House of the dispositions he was making of troops to intercept Stuart; and



after sending a dispatch to Quartermaster-General Meigs at Washington, complaining of the poor quality of the mules he furnished to the Union army, cut the wires and moved toward Fairfax Court House, hoping to surprise and capture that post.

General Stoughton, however, was on the alert. The artillery firing at Dumfries, twenty-five miles to the south, had been heard and the fact that Stuart was on a raid became generally known. Of course rumors and expectations were rife in the camps. At nightfall on Sunday, the 28<sup>th</sup>, Stuart's arrival at Burke's Station was announced, and the regiments were ordered to fall in. Colonel Veazey, with the Sixteenth, with a section of the Second Connecticut Battery, Captain J. W. Sterling, which was now attached to the brigade, was sent by General Stoughton to Fairfax Station to guard the army supplies there. The Fifteenth, Colonel Proctor, was on picket at Centerville and was left there. The Twelfth, under Lieut. Colonel Farnham, Colonel Blunt being absent in attendance on a court-martial in Alexandria, and the Thirteenth, Lieut. Colonel Brown, Colonel Randall also being in Alexandria, were posted in some old rifle-pits, half a mile east of the village, running across the Alexandria turnpike, by which Stuart was approaching, with four guns of the Connecticut battery; and the Fourteenth, Colonel Nichols, was in reserve, a short distance to the rear of them. Companies B and G of the Twelfth, under Captain Paul, were posted half a mile in advance, in some timber by the side of the turnpike, and a cavalry vidette was stationed farther out. Lieutenants Hooker and Schermerhorn of General Stoughton's staff, volunteered to reconnoiter down the turnpike, and went toward Burke's till they were near enough to Stuart's column to hear the orders to "close up," when they returned with the information they had obtained. About ten o'clock in the evening, a cool moonlit evening, the cavalry pickets

were driven in, Stuart's advance following them on the gallop, till they came within 100 yards of Paul's detachment, which received them with the first shotted volley fired by any of the troops of the Second Brigade. This bought the Confederate troops to a sudden halt. They then wheeled and retired out of musket range, without returning the fire, and came no more within musket shot of any portion of the brigade. A squad of six men, under Sergeant Dan K. Hall of company G of the Twelfth, was then sent down the turnpike to reconnoiter. They went till they met the enemy's picket, when Hall tied a white handkerchief to his bayonet, announced himself as a flag of truce, asked for the commander of the Confederate force, and was sent back with word that General Stuart would communicate with General Stoughton next morning. Soon a line of camp-fires, seen along the turnpike, seemed to indicate that the enemy was bivouacking for the night. The battery shelled the fires but evoked no response. Thirty men of companies B and G, under Captain E. J. Ormsbee, were then sent forward to reconnoiter and marched up to the fires but found no enemy. Ormsbee learned from a colored man, whose house was near by, the Generals Stuart, Fitzhugh Lee and Hampton, with a very long column of cavalry, had passed on to the north. Upon receipt of this information Stoughton hurried his regiments to the north of Fairfax Court House, and disposed them to meet an attack from that quarter. They stood to arms all night, but were not molested. Stuart had given up the attempt to surprise any of the Union posts; and marching round by way of Vienna, Middleburg and Warrenton, returned whence he came.

Confederate accounts of this affair are as follows: Lieut. Colonel W. R. Carter, Third Virginia Cavalry, says:

'Reaching the Little River Turnpike, the division turned down toward Fairfax Court House, and on arriving within a mile of that place the enemy's infantry, in ambush, opened

on the head of our column, fortunately killing only two horses and wounding one man very slightly. We made no reply to their fire, and only withdrew out of musket-range; whereupon the enemy, not knowing how to interpret it, and thinking it might be a party of their own men, sent a flag of truce to ask whether we were friends or foes. They were told that they would be answered in the morning. On this being reported back they began to shell the turnpike; but in the interim we had built camp-fires, as if about to encamp for the night, and had left, taking a cross-road toward Vienna.”

Major McClellan, the biographer of Stuart, says:

“From the information he had received Stuart conceived that it might be possible to surprise and capture the post of Fairfax Court House. He therefore marched direct to that point; but when within about a mile of the town his advance was stopped by a volley from infantry and artillery, which showed that the enemy was in force and on the alert. While still maintaining the semblance of an attack, he turned off the rear of his column to the right without the least delay, and crossing the turnpike between Fairfax Court House and Annandale, marched to Vienna. Here he turned westward to Frying Pan, which he reached at daybreak, and fed and rested for some hours. Thence by easy marches he returned through Middleburg and Warrenton to Culpeper Court House, which he reached on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December. His loss on the expedition was one killed, 13 wounded, and 14 missing.

The execution done by the volley of Paul's men is somewhat understated by Colonel Carter. A man in front of whose house the head of Stuart's column halted just after, stated next day that *eight* of Stuart's troopers were wounded by it. The bodies of three horses killed, a riderless horse captured, and several revolvers, carbines, hats and other articles found in the turnpike showed that a number of bullets too effect; and there is no doubt that the squadron which received the fire was pretty well shaken up.

Colonel Randall, returning from Alexandria, passed along the turnpike just before it was occupied by Stuart, and joined his regiment in the rifle-pits. Colonel Blunt, attempting to do likewise a little later, was stopped near

Annandale by an outpost of the First Vermont cavalry, who informed him that the turnpike was full of rebel cavalry, and he waited and joined his command the next morning.

The affair was a trifling one; but as the first actual collision with the enemy it made no little stir in the brigade, and on other accounts it had prominent mention in the newspapers and reports. It had also the effect to inspire officers and men with mutual confidence; for the former, from their young general down, were seen to be firm and cool in the prospect of a sharp encounter; and the men were willing and even eager to fight.

Nothing further occurred of special interest till the 20<sup>th</sup> of January. The troops of General Slocum's (the Twelfth) corps, which had been stationed at Fairfax Station and on the line of the Occoquan, having been sent forward, the Second Vermont brigade was at that date moved down to take their places. It was understood that Generals Slocum and Sigel had both asked for the brigade to strengthen their commands; but General Casey was unwilling to relinquish it, and it remained in his division. The order to move came on the evening of the 19<sup>th</sup>, and early the next morning the regiments broke camp. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, with the Second Connecticut battery<sup>9</sup>, marched to Fairfax Station, where they occupied, in part, the stockades and barracks which had sheltered Slocum's men. The Station, a military village of sheds and store tents, was the base of supplies for the thousands of troops at Centreville, Fairfax Court House, Union Mills, and other points in the vicinity, and as such needed to be strongly guarded. The Twelfth and Thirteenth moved on seven miles farther to Wolf Run Shoals, where one of the highways leading from Fairfax Court House south to Dumfries crosses the Occoquan.

Heavy rain storms set in on the night after this move; the bottoms dropped out of the roads; and in addition to

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<sup>9</sup> The battery shortly after moved down to Wolf Run Shoals.

picket duty the regiments had to turn and corduroy the roads leading from the Station to Wolf Run Shoals, in order to make them passable for the loaded army wagons.<sup>10</sup> What with this labor, the digging of rifle pits to guard the fords across the Occoquan, the stockading of their tents, the corduroying of the company “streets,” and the leveling of some Confederate fortifications on the south side of the river, the men did not languish much in idleness, though drills were for a time abandoned.

The details for picket duty from the regiments at the Shoals were heavy, the two regiments there having to picket seven miles of the outer boundary of the newly organized Department of Washington, extending from the mouth of the Occoquan to Union Mills. A few weeks later the force for this duty was increased and the duty of the Vermont troops somewhat lightened, by the addition of a force of Pennsylvania and Michigan cavalry, which furnished men for outpost duty, and to be “gobbled” by Mosby.

This daring partisan was now beginning to be an annoyance and dread, especially to the cavalry pickets in that quarter. Mosby had been a soldier in Stuart's cavalry, and rode in his column on his raid to Dumfries and Fairfax Court House. Perceiving during this raid the opportunities for irregular operations afforded in the debatable ground outside the Union lines around Washington, he had at his own request been detailed to harass the Federal forces guarding the Capital between the Potomac and the Blue Ridge. Fifteen men of the First Virginia (Confederate) cavalry formed the original nucleus of his force, which he increased at will to a troop of a hundred or two, by additions at will to a troop of a hundred or two, by additions of inhabitants of the region, who placed themselves under his command, retiring to their homes when not needed by him.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> It was here, according to tradition, that a teamster of a Vermont regiment discovered “a new road to camp – three feet below the old one.”

<sup>11</sup> Mosby called his force “the Conglomerates,” and said that like one of the old political parties they were “held together by the force of public plunder.”

Having guides perfectly familiar with every road and by-path; tied to no headquarters or base of supply; assembling his force at an hour's notice; striking a supply train one day here, and surprising an outpost the next, fifty miles away, he waged a sort of mosquito warfare, vastly annoying to the Union commanders, who had to keep large numbers of men employed in watching and guarding against his petty incursions. As a rule, however, he preferred to keep clear of infantry; and so far as is known he never got through the pickets of the Second Vermont brigade; nor did he make any captures from its number, with a single notable exception, soon to be related.

On the 2d of February the troops in the Department of Washington were organized into the Twenty-second Army Corps, under command of Major General Heintzelman. The brigade remained, under this organization, the second brigade of Casey's division. Though the men suffered somewhat from poor water and exposure, the weather being sometimes quite cold and snow storms more than once in February leaving over a foot of snow on the ground, the general health of the brigade continued good, and the morning reports of February 15<sup>th</sup> gave as present for duty, of the Twelfth, 856; Thirteenth, 831; Fourteenth, 777; Fifteenth, 753; Sixteenth, 684 men – an effective aggregate of 3,901. Sickness increased and pneumonia and typhoid fever developed somewhat as the spring rains came on, but the epidemics were soon under control and by the end of March the health of the brigade as a whole was again excellent.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of March occurred the peculiar incident of the capture of the brigade commander by Captain Mosby. When the brigade moved forward to Fairfax Station and Wolf Run Shoals, General Stoughton retained his headquarters at Fairfax Court House. Here, three miles from his nearest regiment, he occupied the brick house of a Dr. Gunnell, having with him his personal staff, the brigade

band, and a small headquarters guard of half a dozen men, detailed by turns from the regiments of his command. His exposure to capture, under these circumstances, was a matter of common remark and of much uneasiness on the part of both officers and men of the brigade. In his behalf it is to be said that his retention of his headquarters at Fairfax Court House had the sanction of his superior officers, though it was reported the General Casey considered it an unwise arrangement. Colonel Percy Wyndham, of the First New Jersey, an English soldier of fortune, who had served in the Sardinian army and under Garibaldi and was now commanding three regiments of cavalry in the Department of Washington, also had his headquarters in the village, and often had a cavalry force with him, though the camps of his regiments were several miles away. General Stoughton had himself call General Heintzelman's attention some days before to a portion of the picket line northwest of Fairfax Court House, which was insufficiently manned. Having been assured, in reply, that this should be better guarded, General Stoughton apparently dismissed any apprehension of trouble from that quarter, and paid no heed to the advice of officers of his brigade, who thought he was running too great a risk.<sup>12</sup> He had his mother and his two sisters with him at his headquarters, and in this and other ways showed that he felt quite secure. That his command did not share this feeling was shown by the frequent remark among them, that General Stoughton would be "gobbled" some night, if he stayed where he was; and by similar predictions expressed in letters written from the camps, weeks before his capture."

An opportunity so apparent was not overlooked by Mosby. Starting from Aldie with 30 picked men, at night-

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<sup>12</sup> One of these letters dated February 26 1863, contained the following sentence: "For all we can see the rebels might make a dash any night, and take the general headquarters and all, and get away before his brigade would be any the wiser."

fall of dark and rainy night of the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, the Confederate partisan passed through the Union picket line between Chantilly and Centreville, moved around to the south of Fairfax Court House, and at two o'clock in the morning entered the village by the road leading to it from Fairfax Station. He had with him Sergeant Ames, a deserter from the Fifth New York Cavalry, who was familiar with the situation at the Court House. This renegade, who was killed under Mosby a year later, carrying with him to his unmarked grave the secret of his hatred of the Union cause and of the comrades with whom he enlisted, captured one or two of the Union sentinels, by representing that the party was a squad of the Fifth New York Cavalry. Stoughton's headquarters guard was taken in a tent in the rear of his headquarters, where, with his permission, they had found shelter from the rain. In front of the village hotel, used at the time as a hospital, Mosby went to General Stoughton's headquarters. Rapping at the door and announcing that they had dispatches for General Stoughton, they were admitted; and going to the general's room, roused him from sleep and informed him that he was a prisoner. He dressed himself and accompanied them perforce, as did Lieutenant Samuel F. Prentiss of the Thirteenth Vermont, of his staff. The latter, however, soon after made his escape. Ames did not find Colonel Wyndham, who was in Washington that night, but took there Lieutenant A. Austin of the First New Jersey Cavalry, of Wyndham's staff, and Captain Barker of the Fifth New York Cavalry. The raiders spent an hour in the village without a shot being fired and without causing any general alarm, and between three and four o'clock they left as they came, taking with them General Stoughton, Captain Barker, Lieutenant Austin, a Baron Vardner who



was a guest at Wyndham's headquarters, the telegraph operator, post postmaster, a photographer, and 15 private soldiers, several of whom were members of the Vermont regiments, on duty at headquarters as guards and orderlies. They also secured 55 horses, 14 of which belonged to General Stoughton and his aids. Before daybreak they passed out between the Union pickets near Centreville, and reached Warrenton unmolested. Some of the officers had narrow escapes. Lieutenant George W. Hooker, General Stoughton's adjutant general, who was asleep in his room, was not discovered by the raiders and was unmolested. Lieutenant L. L. O'Conner of the Fifth New York Cavalry, provost marshal of the post, owed his safety to the fact that he was visiting his outposts at the time. Lieut. Colonel Johnston of the Fifth New York, quartermaster of the post, stepped to the door of a house which he occupied with his wife and hailed the raiders as they passed to inquire who they were. Suspecting from the way in which he occupied with his wife and hailed the raiders as they passed to inquire who they were. Suspecting from the way in which the question was answered, that it was a party of the enemy, he ran out of the back door in his night linen, crawled under a barn and was not discovered, though close search was made for him. Lieutenant Prentiss, of General Stoughton's staff, slipped away from his captors before they left the village. Next day Mosby took his prisoners to Culpeper, where he delivered them to General Fitz Hugh Lee, who, having known General Stoughton at West Point, was quite civil to him. They were forwarded thence to Libby prison.

Several hours elapsed after Stoughton's capture, before the event became known to the troops of his command. It of course created no small sensation among them, as in fact it did throughout the country.<sup>13</sup> The officers and men of the brigade, however, felt in no wise responsible for the occur-

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<sup>13</sup> President Lincoln's *mot* on the subject became historic. He said he did not so much mind the loss of a brigadier general, for he could make another in five minutes; "but those *horses* cost \$125 apiece!"

rence and they accepted it with equanimity. To General Stoughton the misfortune was most disastrous. It ended his military career. His nomination as brigadier general, which was awaiting confirmation by the Senate at the time, was withdrawn by the President; and when, two months later, General Stoughton was exchanged and released from prison, he found himself without military rank or position.

He never re-entered the service, and died a few years later.

Nine citizens, residents in the village, together with Miss Antonia Ford, a young lady whose southern sympathies had not prevented her from making the familiar acquaintance of the northern officers, were arrested by Provost Marshal O'Conner on suspicion of complicity in the capture of General Stoughton,<sup>14</sup> and were sent to the Old Capitol prison in Washington; but nothing was established against them and they were soon released.

The command now again devolved upon Colonel Blunt, who at once removed the brigade headquarters to Fairfax Station. He strengthened the defenses of that important depot of supplies with miles of rifle-pits, dug by the Fourteenth, and Sixteenth Vermont regiments; increased the efficiency of the picket service, and in other ways made the position more secure.

The Vermont regiments, however, did not remain much longer around Fairfax Station. In the last week of March, General Casey moved the headquarters of his division from Washington to Centreville, accompanied by a large portion of his command, and the three Vermont regiments which had been for two months at Fairfax Station were moved forward – the Fourteenth joining the Twelfth and Thirteenth at Wolf Run Shoals, and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth going to

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<sup>14</sup> Major Scott, author of "Partisan Life under Mosby," published after the war, who was one of Mosby's party, says this suspicion was "wholly devoid of foundation in fact." As he also says that Mosby's first proceeding, after entering the village, was to go to the house of a citizen, there is, nevertheless, room for the suspicion that the citizen was expecting him.

Union Mills. Colonel Blunt at this time removed his headquarters to Wolf Run Shoals.

On the 2d of April the Thirteenth was moved five miles down the Occoquan, and camped about a mile north of the river, opposite the village of Occoquan, in a fine open field on the farm of one Widow Violet, after whom the camp was named. Here it took the place of a cavalry force which had been stationed there, which had gone to Fairfax Court House, where the several regiments of cavalry which had been stationed in the vicinity were concentrated under command of General Stahel. The duty of the Thirteenth was to guard the ferry at Occoquan village, and the several fords up to Davis's Ford, three miles below Wolf Run Shoals. The Twelfth and Fourteenth regiments guarded the line from there to Yates's Ford, two miles below Union Mills, on Bull Run, and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth from there to Blackburn's Ford, where the troops of General Hays's brigade continued the picket line to the north.

The snows and severe weather lasted into April, in Virginia that year, and made the spring a trying one to the health of the brigade. The sick list rapidly increased, and the picket service became more arduous. Bushwhackers prowled around the outside of the line, and so frequently fired on the pickets at night, that a closer supervision of the inhabitants near the line was instituted. A general search of the houses of the planters and farmers, made by Captain Munson of the Thirteenth who was detailed as brigade provost marshal, revealed numerous fire-arms, of all ages and patterns, with concealed stores of powder and ammunition, which were confiscated, though relinquished with great reluctance by their owners. The oath of allegiance was administered to all who would take it, and a number citizens who would not take it were sent to Washington for safe custody. These measures had a salutary effect, and materially lessened the annoyances to which the soldiers of the brigade were exposed.

About the 10<sup>th</sup> of April the weather became more settled, and General Hooker's preparations for the Chancellorsville campaign being in progress, Colonel Blunt was ordered to put his brigade in readiness for more active duty. The A tents and officer's baggage were accordingly sent to Alexandria; the sick men who were able to be moved were removed to the city hospitals; rations and ammunition were provided, and the men waited eagerly for the order to advance. Several weeks elapsed, however, before it came.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, the brigade received a new commander in the person of General George J. Stannard, who had been promoted brigadier general after the withdrawal of the appointment of General Stoughton, and assigned to the command of the Second brigade. He was personally known to many of the officers, and his character and military record, as well as the quiet but effective way in which he entered on the duties of his position, gave him the respect and utmost confidence of his command. Five hours of drill each day kept the troops from getting rusty, and the brigade was kept in fine condition of drill and discipline.

The protection of the Orange and Alexandria railroad, which had just been re-opened for the use of the army from Union Mills to the Rappahannock, was now added to the duties of the brigade. On the 21<sup>st</sup> the Sixteenth regiment was sent out to guard the construction train which re-opened the road; and was the first infantry to pass over the road after the close of Pope's campaign.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, General Abercrombie, who had succeeded General Casey in the command of the division, directed General Stannard to send a regiment to Warrenton Junction, to guard the railroad. The Twelfth regiment was detached for the purpose. It started early next morning and marched to Union Mills, where a train was awaiting which took the regiment to Warrenton Junction over a track portions of which had been so often torn up and so hastily

repaired, as to be scarcely passable, strewn on either side with car-trucks, the remains of trains burned in Pope's campaign. Two companies were left at Catlett's Station and the rest of the regiment went on three miles beyond Warrenton Junction, and bivouacked in a stretch of level meadow. The battle of Chancellorsville was then in progress, twenty miles to the south of that point, and the sound of the artillery of the contending armies was audible, there and in the camps nearer Washington. The thunder rolled more heavily next day, when the First Vermont brigade, under Sedgwick, was storming Marye's Heights and Hancock, Sickles and the rest were fighting around the Chancellor house. Intense as was the interest of the men of the Twelfth in the great battle, the smoke of which was almost visible to them, their attention was more strongly taken by a cavalry encounter nearer by. Mosby, now promoted to be a major, had left Warrenton that morning, with 100 men, for Fredericksburg, intending to hang upon and harass Hooker's rear. On his way he ran upon the picket line of the Twelfth, captured three men, and finding that he was close upon an infantry camp, turned back to Warrenton Junction, where he struck an outpost of DeForest's cavalry brigade which was on duty in that quarter, consisting of 100 men of the First Virginia loyal cavalry. The latter were taken entirely unawares, their horses unsaddled, and men scattered here and there, and after a short fight, in which their commanding officer, Major Steele, was mortally wounded, about half of them surrendered and were being taken off by Mosby, when Major Hammond and a squadron of the Fifth New York Cavalry, followed by a portion of the First Vermont Cavalry, came upon the scene, and in a running fight of four or five miles recaptured all the prisoners but two, captured 23 of Mosby's men, most of them wounded, and scattered the rest so that hardly two were together. Mosby himself got off

with a single follower. The captured pickets of the Twelfth made their escape in the skirmish.

After three days here, the Twelfth moved forward, on the 7<sup>th</sup>, to Rappahannock Station, to guard the railroad bridge, which, though much damaged, was still passable for foot passengers. The Fifteenth regiment was sent forward to Bealton, four miles back of the river. The camps were pleasant, the region healthful, and the health of the two regiments was much benefited by the change. They were twenty miles from any infantry supports; the Confederate pickets were in sight across the Rappahannock; Confederate scouting parties were frequently seen, and if the enemy had attempted to repossess that portion of the railroad, they might have had trouble.

An episode of some interest occurred during their stay here. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of May three colored men, lately the chattels of Hon. John Minor Botts, and about the last he had left to him, escaped from his plantation at Brandy Station and came to the camp of the Twelfth. They were followed thither by Mr. Botts, who asked to have them returned to him on the ground that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation affected only the slave property of rebels, and that as a Union man he was entitled to reclaim his Negroes. Colonel Blunt did not see his way clear to grant his request, but allowed Mr. Botts an opportunity to persuade the fugitives to voluntarily return with him. This, it is needless to say, he did not succeed in doing, the colored men being clear that they would rather be free. The spokesman, a mulatto boy who strongly resembled Mr. Botts and used about as good language, discussed the matter with Mr. Botts and quite posed the latter by the suggestion that though if he was a rebel he might claim his slaves, if he was a truly loyal man, he ought to respect Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, which declared all the slaves in any State or part of a State in rebellion, to be "thenceforward and forever free." His powers of persuasion

failing, and worsted in the argument, Mr. Botts drew up and forwarded through General Stannard to the President, a long letter arguing his right to his slaves and representing that the refusal of the Vermont officers to restore his chattels was calculated to drive many Union men into the Confederate ranks. This appeal, however, was without effect; the President did not recall or modify his proclamation; and the colored men remained with the brigade as officers' servants and hostlers during its term of service, and returned with it to Vermont, where they supported themselves and their families in comfort by their industry.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> Stoneman's cavalry came to guard the position at Rappahannock Station, and the two Vermont regiments were withdrawn. The Fifteenth returned to Union Mills and resumed picket duty on Bull Run. The Twelfth was drawn back, its right wing to Bristoe's Station and the left in two detachments was stationed at Catlett's Station and Manassas, till the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, when the Twelfth returned to Union Mills and was replaced on the railroad by the Sixteenth, which was succeeded after two weeks by the Fifteenth. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth remained on the Occoquan. The brigade was now guarding a front of nearly fifty miles, three regiments maintaining a picket line of about twenty miles, and the other two guarding thirty miles of railroad, for which a year before 16,000 men had been considered to be only a sufficient guard, though there was then no enemy in force east of the Blue Ridge. Much malarial fever prevailed in the Thirteenth regiment during May and June, and its camp was moved a short distance to what it was hoped would be a more healthful location.

Among the incidents of this period were the capture by guerrillas of some men and army wagons belonging to the Thirteenth, and the capture and destruction by Mosby of a supply train on the railroad. The former occurrence took place May 14<sup>th</sup>. The wagons, three in number, with their

drivers, accompanied by three men, were on their way to Fairfax Station for rations, when, about two miles out from camp, they were suddenly attacked by a party of guerrillas, under command of Lieutenant Smith of the Fourth Virginia Cavalry. With pistols held at their heads, the teamsters and their companions, all being unarmed, had no option but to surrender. Their captors cut the teams from the wagons, mounted the captives on the horses and hurried back across the river. Word was soon brought to camp, and Lieut. Colonel Munson commanding, Colonel Randall being ill, hurried off several parties on each side of the river, in hopes to intercept the guerrillas; but they had too long a start, and took their prisoners to Gainesville, where they were paroled and released.<sup>15</sup>

The other affair was a more exciting one. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May a supply train of ten cars loaded with forage for the cavalry at Rappahannock Station left Alexandria. At Union Mills it took on a train guard of twenty-five men, detailed from the Fifteenth regiment under command of Lieutenant Hartshorn of company E of that regiment. Chaplain Brastow of the Twelfth accompanied the train as a passenger. In the neighborhood of Catlett's Station, Major Mosby, with 50 or 60 men, was lying in wait for the train. He had obtained from General Stuart a mountain howitzer to assist his operations against the railroad trains, and, proud as a boy with a new top, he took it to a favorable spot, put it in position behind a screen of bushes about a hundred yards from the track, removed a rail sufficiently to derail the train, and taking his men under cover, awaited the train. It approached at a good rate of speed, ran off from the track and came to a halt. Mosby's first shell crashed through a car.

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<sup>15</sup> The men so taken were Sergeants Boyce and Silsby of company B; Sergeant Fuller of company G, who was picked up by the party on the south side of the river where he was scouting on his own hook; G. Woodworth and J. Griffith of company G; S. Austin of company H, and J. Carr of company I – all of the Thirteenth.



His second shot went through the boiler of the locomotive. The engineer, train-men and guard waited for no more; the latter fired a few shots, one of which killed one of Mosby's horses; and springing from the cars, made their escape into the woods near by. Mosby's men at once surrounded the train, pillaged a car loaded with sutlers' supplies, and setting fire to the hay in the rest, destroyed the train and started back for the mountains. How they were pursued by Colonel Preston and a battalion of the First Vermont Cavalry, which was in camp near by, and how the Vermont troopers charged upon and captured the gun, will be related in the history of the Vermont cavalry, in subsequent pages.

While the picket and guard duty was at this time more exacting than ever, daily drill was not neglected, and some of the regiments attained a high degree of proficiency in infantry evolutions and the manual of arms. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments were reviewed by General Abercrombie at Union Mills soon after he assumed command of the division, and received high compliments from him on their fine condition and appearance, which were conveyed to them in a special order.

In the first week in June, General Lee began the preliminary movements of his second invasion of the north, and the artillery firing in the great cavalry fight between the mounted forces of the two armies, on the 9<sup>th</sup>, which followed Hooker's endeavor to unmask the movement of his adversary, was plainly heard by the Fifteenth Vermont, then stationed at Bristoe's and Catlett's.

Next day Pleasonton's cavalry corps bivouacked near Warrenton Junction, his pickets joining those of the Second Vermont brigade.

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, the infantry of Hooker's army began to move past, on the march which was to end at Gettysburg, led by the Eleventh Corps, which bivouacked that night at Catlett's Station, followed by the three other corps which

took the line of the Orange and Alexandria road. With these columns came large numbers of colored people. These, finding at Catlett's what seemed to be a permanent infantry camp, halted there, under the supposition that perhaps the region was not to be permanently abandoned by the Union forces.

Lieut. Colonel Grout, commanding the four companies of the Fifteenth stationed at Catlett's, which was now the extreme southern infantry outpost on that line, was informed by General Buford, commanding the First division of the cavalry corps, then in camp within sight of Catlett's and forming the rear guard of the army, that he should move to the north that night; that the enemy was in force in his immediate front and undoubtedly follow him; and that it would not do for Grout to remain after he left. The latter replying that he had no orders to withdraw, General Buford took the responsibility of giving such an order, and promised to supply transportation for Grout's tents and baggage, provided a train came to take his own baggage and supplies. But as no train arrived, Grout and his men took care of themselves. A car was hastily constructed by Captain Blake from some lumber and a set of car-trucks found by the side of the track. A rope was attached to the front of the car, to draw it by hand; another rope behind served the purpose of a brake. The tents and baggage were loaded, and the battalion started for Bristoe's, followed by Buford, who burned his forage and supplies, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and marched away by the light of the conflagration. A colored woman with a baby three hours old had a place on Grout's car, and a crowd of over a thousand Negroes, men, women and children, accompanied the battalion. The party joined the rest of the regiment at Bristoe's that night; and next day the regiment joined the rest of the brigade at Union Mills.

The headquarters of the cavalry corps on the night of

the 15<sup>th</sup>, were at Union Mills, where General Pleasonton accepted the hospitality of General Stannard; and on the 16<sup>th</sup> the Sixth Corps, moving from Dumfries to Fairfax Station, marched past, and there were fraternal greetings of the soldiers of the two Vermont brigades.

## MARCH TO GETTYSBURG

On the 23d of June General Stannard was notified that his brigade had been attached to the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac; that he was to hold his line till all the rest of the army had passed on; and then he was to follow the column to the north, and report to General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps. On the 25<sup>th</sup> the brigade was accordingly concentrated at Union Mills; and starting at three P.M., marched eight miles and bivouacked a mile beyond Centreville, where Howe's division of the Sixth Corps lay that night. Waiting next morning till the troops and long trains of artillery and wagons of the Sixth Corps had passed, and forming the rear guard of the army, the brigade marched next to Herndon Station. Thence moving on with the great tide of the army, along the line of the Alexandria and Loudon railroad, it struck at Guilford Station the line of march of the First Corps, which had passed that point two days before, and was now a day's march into Maryland. That afternoon the brigade crossed the Potomac on the pontoon bridges at Edwards Ferry and marched nearly to Poolesville, Md. Waiting next morning, Sunday, June 28<sup>th</sup>, for many troops and trains to pass, the brigade started at eight A.M., crossed the Monocacy at its mouth at noon, and marching hard, the men discarding knapsacks and blankets by hundreds, bivouacked two miles beyond Adamstown, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Moving again, in a steady rain, which lasted all day of the 29<sup>th</sup>, the brigade halted for three hours at Frederick City. The march was

telling on some of the men, many of whom were poorly shod, he chief quartermaster thinking it not worth while to issue new shoes before the march, to troops whose term of service was so soon to expire. Most of the men had blistered and bleeding feet; and 90 disabled men were left at Frederick City. Marching due north the brigade bivouacked that night near Cregertown, where the news was received that General Hooker had been superseded by General Meade. Here a rumor that the rebels had sacked Harrisburg stirred the blood of the tired soldiers. Next day, June 30<sup>th</sup>, after another hard day's march in the mud, the brigade reached Emmittsburg, two miles from the Pennsylvania line. It had marched 120 miles in the six days, which was doing well for troops unused to marching. General Meade telegraphed General Halleck this day that the Pennsylvania Reserves, which left the defenses of Washington the same day with the Second Vermont brigade, could not keep up with the army. Stannard's brigade had not only kept up, but had gained a day's march on the First Corps. An aid sent forward by Stannard to report the approach of the brigade to General Reynolds, found him that evening, stretched on a wooden settle in a little wayside inn at Marsh Run, five miles from Gettysburg, and took back to General Stannard a message from General Reynolds to the effect that the brigade had marched well, and that he should be glad when it joined him, for he was likely to need all the men he could get. Twelve hours later this gallant and trusty commander had passed beyond the need of men. Next morning General Reynolds was assigned to the command of the left wing of army and turned the command of the First Corps over to Major General Abner Doubleday, to whose division (the Third) the Second Vermont brigade had been attached, the command of the division devolving upon Brig. General Thomas A. Rowley.

That the enemy was in force at Cashtown, less than a

dozen miles away, was known in the camps that night; and that a pitched battle was impending was doubted by on one, from the general commanding to the youngest drummer-boy.

The armies about to engage in the bloodiest and most momentous battle since Waterloo, were not as nearly equal in numbers, as they were supposed to be at the time. The Army of the Potomac numbered in round numbers a hundred thousand men of all arms; that of Northern Virginia about eighty-five thousand men. In effective strength upon the field, according to the careful and impartial computation of the Comte de Paris, Meade had 91,000 men and 327 guns. Lee had 80,000 men and 268 guns. The numbers that actually took part in the fighting, however, were about equal, for Lee fought every brigade but two in his army, while Meade had one corps which was held in reserve. Being in an enemy's country, there was no straggling from the Confederate ranks; and the fighting strength of Lee's army approached the reported number of effectives more nearly than Meade's. Meade's preponderance of artillery availed him nothing; for Lee's longer lines enabled him to use more guns than Meade could place in battery. Lee's army consisted wholly of veterans, in splendid condition, flushed by the victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, under a tried and trusted leader; and according to the testimony of Confederate historians, "equal to anything,"<sup>16</sup> The Union army contained a larger proportion of troops that had never been under fire, was more widely scattered when the battle opened, and was under a general who had accepted the chief command with reluctance and had held it but two days. Yet as a body it was nerved throughout by the common thought that the battle was for the possession of the National

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<sup>16</sup> "I do not think a better army, better nerved up to its work, ever marched upon a battlefield."—Gen. E. P. Alexander, chief of artillery of Longstreet's corps: *Century Magazine*, vol. xxxiii., p.464

Capital and that a Union defeat might be the success of the rebellion.

### GETTYSBURG.

When the first shot of the battle of Gettysburg was fired at 9 A.M. of Wednesday, the Second Vermont brigade was lying where it had bivouacked, a little outside the village of Emmittsburg. Having established communication with General Reynolds and with the headquarters of the Third division, which lay that morning near the house of W. R. White, in Freedom, Pa., the next town north of Emmittsburg, General Stannard awaited further orders.

July 1, 1863.

About six o'clock that morning, General Reynolds, having become satisfied that the enemy was moving upon Gettysburg, went forward from Marsh Run with Wadsworth's division, to support Buford, whose cavalry at that hour was the only Union force between Gettysburg and Hill's corps, advancing from Cashtown. At the same time, he directed Doubleday to assemble the rest of the corps and follow him. The Third division got its order to move, and started, at eight o'clock. An hour or more later Stannard, who had moved forward two or three miles from Emmittsburg, received orders to leave two regiments to guard the corps trains, and to follow the division with the rest of his brigade. The Twelfth and Fifteenth regiments were accordingly directed to remain with the trains, and the other three regiments moved forward to the north. The forenoon was misty and rainy, but later the sun came out, and during the afternoon the heat was oppressive. Occasionally a watery cloud obscured the sun and sent down a short and sudden shower of rain, which did not cool the air, the rays of the sun seeming to be more scalding after each shower. About noon a courier from General Doubleday brought word that the battle had begun in earnest; that General Reynolds was killed; that the First

Corps and cavalry were holding back a much superior force, and that the brigade was needed at the front as soon as it could get there. Stannard hurried his regiments forward, and the men pushed on about as fast as they could march, yet all too wearily, till as the column crossed a crest, the first sound of the battle, the distinct and heavy roar of cannon, came to their ears. The effect of the sound was noticeable. The ranks at once closed up, the weary men stepped off with freer step, and not a straggler thenceforward dropped from the column. About four o'clock the brigade halted for a few moments' rest, in a grove of walnut trees by the side of the road, about four miles from Gettysburg. The smoke of the battle was now mounting high into the air in front, and "the sultry thunder of Gettysburg" rolled heavily from under the vast pillars of cloud.

At this time the First and Third divisions of the First Corps, after five hours of hard fighting, were still holding their ground in front of Seminary Ridge. Howard's corps (the Eleventh) had arrived and relieved the cavalry on Doubleday's right, and was now formed in the fields north of the village. Both corps were soon to be flanked and overwhelmed, upon the arrival of Ewell's corps, now coming on to the field by way of the Carlisle and York roads. But how the fight was going was not known to the Vermonters till another courier meets the head of the column with word that Doubleday is hard pressed and cannot hold his ground without help, and that the brigade must hurry forward. Receiving Stannard's reply that he will be there just as soon as he can and have his men in any condition to fight when they reach the ground, the orderly strikes spurs into his dripping horse and returns. The brigade hurries forward at quicker step. Soon companies of pale women and frightened children are men, fleeing from the scene of bloodshed, and groups of excited inhabitants, gathered at points of view looking towards Gettysburg, meet the column with varied greetings—

some seeming to say by their sad gaze: "Alas that these new thousands should be food for powder," while the expression of other countenances can be seen to change from fear to hope and confidence, as they glance along the well-closed ranks and look into the stern sunburned faces pressing resolutely forward; and they wave them on, as to certain victory.

The brigade followed, according to its orders, the round-about route taken by the division, by way of the country roads west of Marsh Creek, and though the men did their very utmost, it was nearly sunset when the column struck across Willoughby Run to the Emmittsburg road within the limits of the town of Gettysburg.

By this time what was left of the First and Eleventh Corps had fallen back to Cemetery Hill. Hancock, sent forward by General Meade to represent him on the field, had made the necessary dispositions to resist further attack. A faint demonstration made by Ewell against the north face of Cemetery Hill had been repulsed. General Slocum had arrived with the advance of the Twelfth Corps. The Third Corps, General Sickles, was coming upon the ground, and the storm of human strife had about ceased for the day, to be more heavily renewed on the morrow.

The Second Vermont brigade, turning from the Emmittsburg road at Klingel's house, passed across the fields, close behind the picket line of Buford's cavalry, along which the carbines were cracking, to a wheat-field on Cemetery Ridge, a little south of the spot now occupied by the National Cemetery. Immediate command of the brigade was at once claimed by the commanders of the First, Third and Twelfth corps, and under contradictory orders from one and another, the brigade was marched and countermarched to and fro for an hour, to the immense disgust of the men, who had had enough of marching for one day. It was finally placed on the right of Birney's division of the Third Corps, and the men



stayed their stomachs on the hard bread in their haversacks, and sank to sleep upon their arms. A picket detail of 200 men of the Sixteenth, under Major Rounds, brigade field-officer of the day, was posted out in front, relieving Buford's cavalry. Colonel Veazey accompanied Major Rounds to the picket line, and with some difficulty, darkness having fallen on the field, the pickets were posted a short distance in front of the Emmittsburg pike, connecting right and left with the pickets of the other corps.

It had been a hard fought day. Of the 16,000 men of the First and Eleventh corps, barely 6,000 remained at sundown with their colors. But they had inflicted heavy loss upon the enemy—Rhode's division of Ewell's corps having lost 3,000 men, and Hill's corps having suffered heavily;—and holding the key to the field in their possession of Cemetery Ridge, Doubleday and Howard had made possible the final victory.

General Hancock having returned to report in person to General Meade, who was still back at Taneytown, engaged in hurrying forward the troops, General Slocum took command upon the field for the time being, and Maj. General John Newton, of the Sixth Corps who had been sent forward by General Meade, to take command of the First Corps, relieved General Doubleday, who returned to his division. General Slocum appointed Stannard general field-officer of the day, or night rather, for the left wing of the army; and while his men slept their general watched the front and rode the lines in the moonlight. There, on the left of Cemetery Hill, at three o'clock in the morning, he met the vigilant commander of the army, who, having arrived at midnight, was satisfying himself by personal observation in regard to the disposition of the troops.

To return to the regiments left near Emmittsburg,—the Twelfth and Fifteenth had accompanied the First Corps train to within five miles of the field, and were halting in a

grove by the side of the Emmittsburg road, the train being parked near by at a cross-road leading east, when General Sickles rode up on his way to the field. He inquired what brigade that was, and under what orders it was acting, and remarking that one of two such large regiments was enough to guard the train, directed Colonel Blunt to leave the smaller of the two with the wagons, and to have the other follow the division (Birney's) of his corps, then passing at a hurried pace. "Let your men," he said, "drive up all the stragglers, and bayonet any man that refused to go forward."<sup>17</sup>

A count by companies, which was taken of the two regiments, showed that the Fifteenth had a few more men present for duty than the Twelfth, and it accordingly followed the Third Corps to the field. It arrived at Gettysburg in the course of the night, and joined the brigade at daylight in the morning.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> General Sickles's testimony to the exposed nature of the duty these regiments were doing, is worth quoting. In a public address at Gettysburg, July 2d, 1882, he said: "On my way [to Gettysburg] I discovered Stannard's Vermont brigade guarding a wagon-train. This was a duty those splendid soldiers did not much relish, so I took the responsibility of ordering them to join my command. You can hardly imagine their joy when they found they were going to join in the battle. They gave a rousing cheer, and the splendid work they performed during the next two days justified my order. The march of the advanced brigades of the Third Corps on the flank of the enemy—without an attack—without annihilation, is one of the strangest incidents of the movement. Yet more remarkable is the circumstance that the trains of the First Corps, guarded by the Vermont brigade under Stannard, were found by me parked on the road to Gettysburg. I ordered the trains to the rear, and brought those splendid regiments of Vermonters, with my column, to Gettysburg, where they fought so heroically and so effectively on the last day. These trains and their escort had likewise escaped capture. It was easy enough for the enemy to reach out and capture and destroy all these detachment on their flank."

General Sickles was in error in supposing that these two regiments were the whole of Stannard's brigade; but he correctly describes their willingness to go forward.

<sup>18</sup> This matter of the count having been a subject of some discussion, at the time and afterwards, it may be explained that at no previous time would any count have been needed to determine which regiment was the stronger in numbers, the Twelfth regiment having left the State with 55 more men than the Fifteenth and having maintained its preponderance in numbers up to the time the brigade left Union Mills. At that time, in preparation for the march, the sick and feeble men of the brigade were sent to Alexandria. The numbers so excused by the surgeons from the Twelfth and Fifteenth, were about equal. But the detachment of invalids from the Fifteenth happening to come under General Stannard's eye as they were starting, he found among them a number of convalescents whom he thought fit for duty and ordered back to the ranks. The detachment of the Twelfth, having already gone to Alexandria, escaped his scrutiny. There was thus a greater depletion of the Twelfth, at this time, than of the Fifteenth, and there was room for doubt which was the larger. The result of the count was, however, a surprise to the officers and men of the Twelfth, and Colonel Blunt ordered a second count of his regiment, directing the captains to see that every man was counted. The result was the same, and he accordingly sent the Fifteenth on. It left for the field in high spirits, while the Twelfth remained as train-guard, much to the disgust of most of its officers and men, many of whom, it must be added, did not believe, either before or after the count, that the Fifteenth was the larger regiment, and severely blamed the adjutant of the Twelfth, by whom the count was made, for keeping the regiment out of the fight.

Apprehensions of a movement from the enemy's right upon the communications and army trains, coupled possibly with a feeling on the part of some one that General Sickles's interference with the troops of the First Corps was uncalled for, occasioned a reversal of the order which had brought the Fifteenth to the field, and on the morning of the 2d, it was sent back, by orders from division headquarters, to join the Twelfth with the trains now parked at Rock Creek Church, two and a half miles back. General Stannard tried to obtain leave for the regiment to remain with him, but his request was refused. Proctor's instructions were to return by the route over which he came. Starting about noon, he accordingly took his regiment back by a route between the line of battle and the skirmish line of the Third Corps, in front of Little Round Top, and had turned thence to the right, to strike across the field to the Emmitsburg road, when a staff officer was sent by General Sickles to him with the information that he could not go much farther in that direction

without marching into the enemy's lines. He accordingly halted, and sent back for further instructions. These were to return to Rock Creek Church by any route open to him. He started again, and guided by a citizen, passed between the Round Tops, and on to the south. The movement of the Third Corps to occupy the ridge beyond the Emmittsburg road, was at that time in preparation, and that of Longstreet' to the same position was in progress, and as the regiment passed over the ridge, the cannonade which precluded the terrible fighting of the afternoon was seen as well as heard. From Rock Creek Church, the trains and train-guards were ordered to Westminster, Md., twenty-two miles back. A portion of the First Corps' ammunition train, however, remained near the field, and companies B and G of the Twelfth and two companies of the Fifteenth were detached to guard the wagons. These, with the guard, moved on the forenoon of the third day, in consequence of a threatening movement of the enemy's cavalry, across Rock Creek and up the Taneytown road to a field near the barn occupied as the brigade hospital, and remained there during the fighting of the third day.

#### THE SECOND DAY.

The commanders of the armies were hurrying forward their men to the field during the night of the 1st. By morning of the 2d almost all of Lee's army was on the ground, or near by. Of the Army of the Potomac, the First July 2, 1863. and Eleventh corps, now reduced to the size of divisions, and the Twelfth, were the only corps wholly up. The others were in large part still strung out along the roads, and were arriving by brigades and divisions all along from seven A.M. to four P.M. As the troops poured in and lines extended and batteries multiplied, the Vermonters of the Second Brigade awoke to the full realization of the fact that they were in the centre of the vast field of what

might be the decisive battle of the war. The men of the Sixteenth on picket had been relieved at daylight by troops of the Third Corps, and the brigade joined Doubleday's division to which it belonged, which was lying in the rear of Cemetery Hill, a little east of the Taneytown road. Here they got their breakfast. That they had anything to eat was owing to the energy of Acting Brigade Quartermaster Charles Field. Aware that the men had not over a day's rations with them, he took the responsibility when the trains were ordered back, of going forward with four wagons loaded with hard bread, pork and coffee. He reached the field with these after dark of the first day. Coming in by the Emmitsburg road, he would have gone unawares into the Confederate lines if he had not been halted by the Third Corps pickets who directed him to the position of the brigade. He had a cordial welcome from General Stannard, and the regiments were thus supplied with the food so needed to sustain the men in the strain and struggle before them. During the forenoon of the second day the brigade lay massed in column by divisions, in the rear of Cemetery Hill, the men occupying themselves in drying in the sun their cartridges which had become damp in the rain of the previous night, and awaiting events. They were pleased and cheered by a remark of General Doubleday's, made in the hearing of many of them, to a member of his staff, as he rode by: "Here are some boys that will *fight* when their turn comes.

About two P.M., General Stannard was placed in general charge of the infantry supports of the batteries on the left brow of Cemetery Hill; and took his position with several of his staff where the Taneytown road crosses the brow of the hill. There was an occasional cannon shot and a little skirmishing out near the Peach Orchard; but on Cemetery Hill all was quiet till about three o'clock P.M., when two Confederate batteries of 10 and 20-pound guns, placed on a knoll in a wheat field 1,300 yards in front, suddenly opened fire on

Cemetery Hill. "This was," says Colonel Wainwright, chief of artillery of the First corps, "the most accurate fire I had ever yet seen from their artillery." The first shell thrown, just clearing the ridge of Cemetery Hill, exploded over the Thirteenth Vermont, wounding several men—the first men of the brigade hurt by hostile shots. Others quickly followed, and there was a sudden scattering to the rear of ambulances, orderlies and all whose duties did not hold them to the spot; and the three Vermont regiments were moved a little closer under the hill, where the men, lying down, were fairly sheltered by the crest. The Union guns on the brow of the hill, thirteen in number, replied vigorously, and a sharp artillery duel followed, lasting two hours, when the enemy's batteries were silenced. During this cannonade the spot where Stannard stood was much exposed, not only to the enemy's artillery, but to his sharpshooters on his skirmish line in front, whose bullets hummed by with unpleasant frequency. General Stannard was at one time whirled off from his feet by the explosion of a shell which burst almost in the little group of himself and his staff; but none were hurt, though a fragment of the shell cut a button on the breast of Lieutenant Prentiss. A gap in the picket line in front being reported to General Stannard, he sent for a company of the Sixteenth to fill it. Company B, Captain Arms, of that regiment, reported for the purpose, and Captain A. G. Foster of the brigade staff was sent to station it. The company moved down under partial cover of Bryan's house, and thence to the Emmitsburg road in front, and had barely time to get protection in a ditch by the road side when a volley from a body of the enemy whistled over them. By this fire Captain Foster fell with musket balls through both legs, and was taken to the rear. Captain Arms deployed his company and advanced some distance beyond the road beyond the road, connecting with the picket line on his right. There was some picket skirmishing here during the after-

noon, in which two men of the company were seriously wounded, and a corporal of the Nineteenth Mississippi was captured by the pickets of company B. The company remained on the skirmish line the rest of the day and night. During the forenoon of the 3d it was relieved from the skirmish line and then, together with company G of the same regiment, under Lieutenant Dutton, and a battalion of Pennsylvania "Bucktails," supported a battery on the left of Cemetery Hill. During the terrible cannonade of Friday afternoon, Captain Arms was stunned by a shell which killed a man by his side, and four men were wounded, two of them mortally, by artillery fire. The companies rejoined the regiment in the evening.

During the opening cannonade of the afternoon five companies, D, E, F, H and K of the Thirteenth regiment, were detached and sent, under Lieut. Colonel Munson, to support a battery on the north front of Cemetery Hill. They moved to the rear of the battery, a short distance to the right of the brigade, and remained there during the remainder of the day till about sundown.<sup>19</sup>

The brigade as a body had little to do till near the end of the afternoon. The Third Corps had made the important movement to the front which has been the occasion of so much discussion since the battle. Sickles had been struck on front and flank by Longstreet with much superior numbers of men and guns. After prolonged and bloody fighting and great loss on both sides, the angle of Sickles's lines at the Peach Orchard had been broken; he himself had been

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<sup>19</sup> During the shelling of Cemetery Hill, Lieutenant S. F. Brown and Privates Hogan, Prouty and Monahan of company K, rendered active assistance to one of the batteries from which most of the gunners had been driven by the severity of the enemy's fire. The battalion moved to the left and front, with other troops, to support the Union lines which were being re-established after Longstreet's onset. It did not become engaged, however. Later in the evening it joined the other half of the regiment, in front line on the left centre.

disabled by a shell which shattered his leg, and his entire corps was driven back, in a broken condition, to the position from which it advanced. Longstreet followed up his advantage with great vigor, and pushed forward his masses to seize the low crest between Cemetery Hill and the Round Tops. Had he succeeded in this effort he would have cut the Army of the Potomac in two; taken its lines in reverse on right and left, and probably ended the battle in the defeat of the Union army. On the extreme left, the day was restored by the Fifth Corps, which had been ordered forward from Rock Creek. General Meade was in that part of the field in person, had his horse shot under him and was active in stemming the tide of defeat. General Warren, sent by him to look after the commanding summit of Little Round Top, had sent thither in haste the brigades of Weed and Vincent, both of whom were killed in the struggle for the possession of the Hill. That was saved, in large part, by the desperate fighting of the Twentieth Maine, Colonel Chamberlain, on the extreme left, some Vermonters of the Second United States Sharpshooters, also contributing a part to the result. The shattered lines of Birney's division of the Third Corps were enabled to rally behind the lines of the Fifth, supported by portions of the Twelfth Corps, brought over from the right, and of the Sixth Corps, just arrived upon the field, and after a tremendous struggle, in which General Hood commanding the right division of Longstreet's corps lost an arm, and his successor, Robertson, was wounded, the arrival of darkness found the Union position secure. On the left centre, to the right of the scene of this contest, General Hancock was in command, having had the Third Corps assigned to him in addition to his own corps, after General Sickles was wounded. Humphreys' division, after most obstinate and effective resistance, had fallen back to Cemetery Ridge, closely pressed by Anderson's Confederate division of double its numbers. General Hancock brought



forward to Humphreys' support what troops were available of the Second Corps; but they were not sufficient in number to make a continuous line, or stay the onset of the enemy. The Confederate brigades of Wilcox, Perry and Wright advanced to the crest, outflanked Humphreys on right and left, broke through the fragmentary line of Second Corps troops, seized a number of Union guns,<sup>20</sup> and had well nigh cut the Army of the Potomac in two. At this juncture the Second Vermont brigade came into action; took the place of veteran troops which had broken; drove back the advancing masses; filled a large gap; and completed the re-establishment of the Union lines along Cemetery Ridge.<sup>21</sup>

Some idea of the critical nature of the situation when this service was performed, and of the prompt and steady way in which the Vermont troops went in, may be gained from the following graphic description given in a letter to the writer of these pages, by Lieut. Colonel George Meade, son of General Meade, who was on his father's staff, and at his side, that day. After alluding to the circumstance that an important message was received by General Meade, after his return to his headquarters from the left, which caused him to send an order to Newton to bring up some troops as soon as possible, and then to mount and hurry out to the line of the Second Corps, Colonel Meade says:

As the general rode up toward the line the firing was

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<sup>20</sup> Wilcox and Wright claimed that they captured, but could not hold, 28 guns.

<sup>21</sup> General Doubleday says that General Meade's attention was called to the critical condition of things at this point by General Tidball, chief of artillery of the cavalry corps, who said to him: "General, I am sorry to see that the enemy have pierced out centre. \* \* \* If you need troops, I saw a fine body of Vermonters a short distance from there, belonging to the First Corps, who are available." Whereupon General Meade directed Tidball to take an order to Newton and to put the men in at once. "I have been particular," says General Doubleday, "in narrating this incident, as Stannard's Vermont Brigade contributed greatly to the victory of the next day, and it is worthy of record to state how they came to be on that part of the field."—Campaigns of the Civil War, Vol. VI., p. 177.

very sharp, both of artillery and infantry. Between the left of Gibbon and some troops farther to the left, there seemed to be a vacant space in the lines, and apparently no organized body of troops there. Many of our men were scattered about, coming back. Directly in front of the general a line of the enemy could be seen advancing in the open between our ridge and the Emmitsburg pike. I think this must have been Wright's Georgia brigade. They seemed to be making straight for where we were. The general at once took in the situation. He once or twice looked anxiously in the direction whence Newton should come, and then rode slowly forward. It was in the minds of those of us who were with him that as a last resort he was going to make some personal effort at a diversion—anything to give a little time. I was so impressed with this that I rode up as close to him as I could get. The others did the same. I do not remember that there was anything said—in fact the fearful crash of the firing all around and the shouts of the men, that you know so well on a field of battle, would have prevented any one being heard. Just as we were making up our minds for the worst, some one shouted or rather yelled: “There they come, General!” Looking around we saw a column of infantry come swinging down the Taneytown road from the direction of Cemetery Hill, in close column of divisions, as a sharp double-quick, flags flying, arms at right shoulder, officers steadying their men with sharp commands. They came on as if on review. It was the most exciting and inspiring moment I ever passed, and every one yelled as if for dear life. Newton came up ahead of the column and General Meade rode to meet him. They had a few hurried words; the head of the column wheeled to the right and moved up to the line of battle. A line of skirmishers was thrown forward, and as they passed General Meade and his aids, he turned his horse's head and waving his hat, said: “Come on, gentlemen!” and rode along with the skirmish line p to and beyond the crest.

The rest you know better than I can tell. Some one about this time rode up to General Meade and remarked that at one time it looked “pretty desperate.” It was a great relief, I can assure you, to hear him reply: “Yes! But it is all right now, it is all right now.” This column of troops was Doubleday's and Robinson's divisions of the First Corps and I have always understood that at the head of the column was Stannard's Vermont brigade. It has always been to me the most dramatic incident connected with

General Meade on that field, and I have often wished that I could only command the power of description, so that I could give it as I saw it then and as I think of it now.

The column thus seen and described by Colonel Meade was in fact simply the Second Vermont brigade. With its nearly 2,000 muskets, it undoubtedly looked like a division. It was in advance of the rest of Doubleday's division, which followed as a considerable interval; and still more in advance of Robinson's, which in fact did not go down where the Second Vermont brigade went, or anywhere very near it. The reports of Generals Doubleday and Robinson do not mention the taking of any active part in the repulse of Wright by any troops of the First corps except Stannard's brigade. And the Vermont troops were in fact the only ones of the corps that actually struck the enemy at this time, and it was by them that the broken line of the Second Corps was re-established. The details of this important piece of service are as follows.

Till they were thus put in, the Vermonters, lying under the hill, had seen little of what was going on in front; but the activity of the batteries along the ridge and the gradual nearing of the smoke-clouds and musketry-volleys had admonished them that the tide of battle was sweeping toward them. Suddenly, after a pause, there came a fresh outbreak of musketry, nearer still, followed by the shrill yell with which Wright's men rushed upon a Union battery. A moment later the orders came which hurried the regiments into the fight. The Fourteenth lay nearest to the break in the Union lines, and led the way to the left for a quarter of a mile, when fronting into line of battle, it moved forward under sharp fire to the rear of a battery which had been left alone by the retirement of its supports. The line of the enemy which was assaulting the battery halted and then fell back as the Fourteenth moved forward, and did not again advance to the attack.

The Sixteenth, Colonel Veazey, came next. It moved

left in front, down the Taneytown road a short distance, and then into the field and along the crest till it reached the position of the Second Corps' batteries, receiving as it moved a cannon-shot—the first that entered its ranks—which knocked down a file of men, killing two of them.<sup>22</sup> The smoke enveloped that part of the ridge, but it could be seen that a battery near there was without support, and a line of the enemy was both seen and heard advancing upon the guns with loud shouting. The Sixteenth deployed in rear of the battery; the enemy, disconcerted by the appearance of this fresh line, fell back; and the Sixteenth supported the battery till dark, when the regiment was moved to the left and forward into the front line in that part of the field.

Colonel Randall, with companies A, Captain Lonergan; B, Captain Wilder; C, Captain Coburn; G, Lieutenant Clarke and I, Lieutenant Searles, of the Thirteenth, moved with equal promptness. On the crest he met General Hancock, who had been endeavoring to rally the supports of Weir's (Fifth U.S.) battery, now in danger of capture by a regiment of Wright's brigade. Lieutenant Weir had had his horse shot and was stunned by a spent ball. The gunners had abandoned three of his guns, and the entire battery was in the utmost danger. "Can't you save that battery, Colonel?" asked Hancock. "We can try," was the reply—"forward, boys!" Randall's gray horse soon fell under him, shot through the shoulder; but the colonel went on, on foot, and was one of the first to reach the battery with Captain Lonergan by his side. The Georgians were driven from the guns; the cannoneers withdrew two of them, and four were passed to the rear by hand, by the men of the Thirteenth. They did not stop long there, however, but pushed on to the Emmitsburg road, stepping over some Confederates who were lying in the ditches, on the way, one of whom rose

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<sup>22</sup> Killed, Sergeant Moses P. Baldwin and Private Sylvanus A. Winship of company C.

and fired ineffectually at Major Boynton's back after he had passed him. His life was spared by the men, in obedience to the major's command, and he was taken to the rear as a prisoner. Colonel Randall says, in his report: "I advanced my line to the [Emmitsburg] road, and sent Adjutant James S. Peck back to inform General Hancock of our position. While he was gone, the rebels advanced two pieces of artillery into the road about 100 yards to the south of us, and commenced to shell us down the road, whereupon I detached one company and advanced them under cover of the road, dugway and fences, with instructions to charge upon and seize those guns, which they most gallantly did."

About this time the battalion was fired upon from Rogers's house on the Emmitsburg road, and company A was sent thither. Captain Lonergan surrounded the house with his men, and took there a captain and 80 men of an Alabama regiment—being a larger number of prisoners than there were men in the company. It being now dark, Stannard concentrated his brigade, and it occupied at the close of the day the front line on the left centre, between Gibbons's and Caldwell's divisions of the Second Corps, which post of danger and honor it held for twenty-six hours, and to the close of the battle.

While these events were in progress, on the left, wing, General Meade's centre and right had been subjected to a shelling, which was only eclipsed by that on the left centre the day following. At five o'clock the enemy, probably surmising (which was the fact) that his right had been weakened to reinforce the left, made a determined attack on his extreme right. The ground here is high and broken, rising into a rocky eminence, known as Culp's Hill, with two summits, whose steepest inclines faced the enemy to the north-east, separated by a ravine strewn with large granite blocks. Hill and valley were wooded with a fine growth of oak. The whole position here had been made very strong by substan-

tial breastworks of felled trees and piled stones. Culp's Hill was held by General Wadsworth, with the remnant of his division of the First Corps, and by General Geary's division of the Twelfth, until the latter part of the afternoon, when Geary was ordered with two brigades of his division across to the left of the field to reinforce Sickles. General Greene's brigade of Geary's division remained and manned the breastworks through the ravine. About seven o'clock the famous Stonewall brigade, of Early's division of Ewell's corps, formed column in mass, and marched boldly up the steepest part of Culp's Hill, against what they supposed to be the extreme Union right. They met the Seventh Wisconsin and Ninety-fifth New York Volunteers, who received them with a fire of musketry which piled the ground in front of the entrenchments with their dead. Foiled in his attack in column, the enemy deployed to his left in line and furiously attacked General Greene's brigade. He met again a welcome of rolling volleys, and, foiled at every point, fell back to the foot of the hill, where, covered by the trees and rocks, he kept up, till nine o'clock, a close but comparatively ineffective fire on the whole position on the right.

At the close of the second day the Army of the Potomac held Culp's Hill on the right, Cemetery Hill and Ridge in the centre, and the Round Tops on the left. But the enemy was in dangerous proximity to the Baltimore Pike on the right. In front of the left centre he had gained the low ridge crossed diagonally by the Emittsburg road; and on the left he had gained the Devil's Den and established himself on the very bases of the Round tops. Lee had lost in the two days' fighting 13,000 men, and Meade 20,000. In spite of the untoward progress of the battle, the Union generals took courage from the strength of their position, and from the fact that the army was at last al upon the ground; and, though there was deep depression among the troops which

had suffered so severely,<sup>23</sup> even among them there was not thought but of fighting the thing through.

After nightfall of Thursday Colonel Veazey was detailed as division field-officer of the day, and taking the Sixteenth Vermont regiment and a detail from the brigade on the right, posted a picket line along the front, from the right of Codori's house on the Emmitsburg road through the low grown to the left, till it joined the picket line of the Fifth Corps. Three companies were deployed on the picket line, and the remainder of the regiment lay as picket reserve. "It was," says Colonel Veazey, "the saddest night on picket that I ever passed. The line ran across the field that had been fought over the day before, and the dead and wounded of the two armies, lying side by side, thickly strewn the ground. The mingled imprecations and prayers of the wounded, and supplications for help, were heart-rending. The stretcher-bearers of both armies were allowed to pass back and forth through the picket lines, but scores of wounded men died around us in the gloom, before any one could bring relief or receive their dying messages."

During the night word was brought by a prisoner to Colonel Nichols that General Barksdale, of Mississippi, lay mortally wounded on the field in front of his line. Colonel Nichols at once sent out a detail of eight men under Sergeant Vaughn (a brave soldier who fell next day), who brought him in on a stretcher and took him to a small temporary hospital in the rear. His last message, "Tell my wife I fought like a man and will die like one," was delivered to Sergeant Vaughan, and his hat and gloves, which he gave to one of the men who brought him in, were long in Colonel Nichols's possession. His body, with a ball-hole through the breast, and legs bandaged and bloody from gun-shots through both of them, lay in the rear of the position of the

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<sup>23</sup> "I wish I were already dead," said General Birney, to a member of his staff, Thursday night.

Vermont brigade during the forenoon, and was then temporarily interred upon the spot.

The brigade hospital was established in a barn near the Taneytown road, about a mile and a half south of General Meade's headquarters, and the surgeons were busy through the night over the wounded. The portions of the brigade not engaged in special duties lay upon their arms during the night. There were numerous movements of troops behind them as the lines were disposed and strengthened for the next day's struggle; but they slept the sleep of the tired soldier, and heeded little what was going on around them.

Friday, the last and greatest day of the battle, opened with  
July 3, 1863. cannonading at daylight on right and left,-on the left from Longstreet's batteries along the low ridge he gained the afternoon before. This was to attract attention to that part of the field, while Ewell should make good his foot-hold on the right. The horses of staff officers and mounted orderlies around General Stannard attracted the enemy's fire, and after two horses had been maimed by shells, all the horses were removed from that part of the field. This cannonade received but small response from the Union batteries, and died away in an hour or so. On the right Geary's guns opened the day. Several batteries had been collected there to shell the enemy out of the woods near the Baltimore road, where he had gained entrance the evening before; but, owing to the nature of the ground, which prevented any very effective artillery fire, the cannonade here too mainly ceased, and a terrific infantry fight succeeded. General Geary had returned during the night, charged with the duty of re-occupying the breastworks at the head of the ravine. He found himself at first the attacked rather than the attacking party. Early, supported by Rodes's division,



pressed forward to secure the advantage he had partially gained the night before. It is said he had sworn he would break through the Union right if it cost him his last man. If so, he was forsworn. For six hours—from five till eleven o'clock—the musketry rolled on those hill-sides in one incessant crash. For six hours, the rest of the army watched the white smoke-clouds curling up through the tree-tops, and wondered what the issue would be. At eleven Geary had driven the enemy back over the breastworks into the valley below. General Greene, after repulsing another desperate assault on his line, made a sally and drove the enemy from his front, capturing three colors and some prisoners. Early retired, terribly broken, and the battle was over for good on the right. The Confederate dead at its close covered the ground from the front of the breastworks to the foot of the ravine. The Union loss on the right was quite small.

To return to the left centre, the enemy's skirmishers began before four o'clock in the morning to press Veazey's pickets, who, however, held their ground, and there was more or less picket skirmishing in front for several hours. The Confederates were so watchful and became so active when any movement on the Union side was attempted, that it was not deemed best to relieve the line, and the men of the Sixteenth remained upon the picket line, though hungry, thirsty and exhausted by want of sleep.

The Second Vermont brigade took its share of the opening cannonade in the morning and lost a few men by it. The Fourteenth regiment, in particular, had several non-commissioned officers and men killed at the same instant, by the explosion of a caisson of the battery close to which they were lying, and private S. M. Southard of company I lost a leg by a solid shot. Just after the enemy's batteries opened in the morning, Colonel Nichols received permission to move his regiment forward about ten rods to a position where some scattered trees and bushes afforded a partial shelter

for his men, and the Fourteenth remained substantially in that position thenceforward through the battle. The Thirteenth regiment lay to the right and a little to the rear of the Fourteenth. Rowley's and Dana's brigades of Doubleday's division were placed behind the Vermonters, in a double line.

During the forenoon the Confederate sharp-shooters discovered from the movements of staff officers to and fro around General Stannard, that a general officer was closer to the front at that point than at any other, and began to pay especial attention to him. After a ball had passed through his coat and another cut a piece from the rim of his hat, he thought it time to return these favors, and a dozen United States sharp-shooters, under a tall sergeant, were sent down in front, and soon silenced the more troublesome of the hostile marksmen.

With the exception of some scattered firing on the skirmish line, no fighting took place on the left centre during the forenoon of Friday. The only farther preparation to resist an attack, that under the circumstances could be made in that portion of the field, was attended to. It was to collect the rails lying where the diving lines of the fields had run, and to pile them into breastworks. There were not enough of them to make a breastwork proper, anywhere; but they sufficed for a low protection of two feet or more in height, which would shelter men lying flat behind it, and every such help was needed before the day was done.

For two hours succeeding the close of the musketry fight on the right, almost absolute quiet prevailed along the lines. Occasionally only, a distant cannon-shot boomed from the northeast, where Gregg with the cavalry was harassing the enemy's left and rear. The silence else was oppressive. The batteries frowned like grim bull-dogs from the opposing ridges, but not a shot was fired. The great feature of the day—and a grander one has seldom been witnessed in human warfare—was in preparation. This has passed into

history as the charge of Pickett's division. That, however, is a most inadequate title. The troops composing it were not one but three divisions (lacking two brigades) of Lee's army. They were Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps; Heth's division of Hill's corps, commanded by Pettigrew, Heth having been wounded the day before; and half of Pender's division of the same corps, commanded by Trimble, Pender being also wounded. Pickett took about 5,000 men into that charge.<sup>24</sup> Pettigrew's was a strong division numbering some 7,000 men. Wilcox's and Perry's brigades of A. P. Hill's corps, and Lane's and Scales's brigades of Pender's division probably numbered not less than 5,000 men. Colonel Fremantle of the British Army, who wrote the account of this battle in *Blackwood's Magazine*, says Longstreet told him that the great mistake on their side was in not making the attack on Friday afternoon with 30,000 men in stead of 15,000. They made it with from 16,000 to 17,000.

This assault, which has been called by a Southern historian “the most determined assault of the war;”<sup>25</sup> and by another “a charge that well nigh ended the war with a clap of thunder,”<sup>26</sup> was heralded by a cannonade of even more tremendous proportions. The guns which Lee had been concentrating during the forenoon along the opposing ridges were upwards of *one hundred and fifty* in number.<sup>27</sup> They

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<sup>24</sup> “Four thousand, four hundred and eighty-one privates, 244 company officers, 32 field officers and four general officers, 4,761 all told.”—Confederate statement.

<sup>25</sup> John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*, p. 503.

<sup>26</sup> John W. Daniel of Virginia.

<sup>27</sup> In his official report, dated August 10th, 1863, General Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, says: “The fire opened furiously, my 75 guns being assisted by 65 in the Third [Hill's] Corps and Henry's guns (10 or 12) on the right.” These figures give 148 to 150 guns in action on his side, besides Ewell's batteries, to which General Alexander elsewhere alludes.

were placed in a curved line which gave a converging fire on the Union centre. It was a fire without parallel in field operations. The famous cannonade with which Napoleon preceded the decisive charge at Wagram was of but 100 guns, and that of Ney at Borodino of but 80. At Solferino and Sadowa neither army had half as many guns at once in action.

The enemy's batteries almost filled a front of two miles. General Hunt, Meade's chief of artillery, who just before the cannonade opened, was on the brow of Cemetery Hill where he could see them plainly, says of them: "They stretched—apparently in an unbroken mass—from opposite the town to the Peach Orchard which bounded the view to the left, the ridge of which were planted thick with cannon. Never before had such a sight been witnessed on this continent, and rarely, if ever, abroad."

At ten minutes past one o'clock two guns, fired by the Washington artillery, gave the signal to this tremendous array of the enginery of war. At once those miles of crests became wreathed in smoke, and in an instant later the air seemed literally *filled* with flying missiles. It was a converging fire which came upon the Union lines at every angle, from direct point-blank at a range which grape was served with effect, to an enfilading fire, from a battery of Whitworth guns far to the right, which sent their six-sided bolts screaming by, parallel to the lines, from a distance of over two miles. Shells whizzed and popped and fluttered on every side; spherical case shot exploded overhead, and rained showers of iron bullets; solid shot tore the ground into furrows, and grape hurtled in an iron storm against the low breastworks of rails. Meade, with more guns, had less available ground on which to place them and could put but 71 guns in battery on Cemetery Ridge. Ten or twelve more took part from Cemetery Hill, and six from Little Round Top. Thus about 90 guns replied from our side. It is im-

possible to describe such a cannonade. It may assist the imagination, however, to recollect that a field piece, actively served, is discharged with ease twice in a minute. The 240 guns in actions probably gave over 350 discharges a minute, and, adding the explosions of the shells, it is not extravagant to estimate that in many a minute of those two hours the explosions amounted to 600; and this without count of the musketry. The din was compared, by the correspondent of the London Times on the field, to “the thundering roar of all the accumulated battles ever fought upon earth rolled into one volume.” The sound was heard at Greensboro, Green County, Penns., 143 miles in a direct line from Gettysburg.

Lee's cannonade was almost described in advance by a writer on artillery, before the war, as follows: “The grandest results are obtained by the reserve artillery, in great and decisive battles. Held back out of sight the greater part of the day, it is brought forward in mass upon the decisive point, when the time for the final effort has come. Formed in a crescent a mile or more in extent, it concentrates its destructive fire upon a comparatively small point. Unless an equal number of guns is there to meet it, half an hour's rapid firing settles the matter; the enemy begins to wither under the hail-storm of howling shot; the intact reserves of infantry advance, — a last sharp struggle, and the victory is won.. Thus did Napoleon prepare McDonald's advance at Wagram, and resistance was broken before the three divisions advancing in column had fired a short or crossed bayonet with the enemy.”<sup>28</sup>

General Lee followed closely the general plan thus laid down; but there were some variations in detail. Instead of half an hour of rapid firing, he gave two hours. There was another important variation,—the troops sustaining “the hail-storm of howling shot” did not “wither” according to

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<sup>28</sup> Article on Artillery in Appleton's New American Cyclopaedia.

the programme. Creeping close under the low protection of rails they had piled in the forenoon, and hugging the ground, heads to the front and faces to the earth, the men remained immovable in their lines. The general, field and staff officers alone, as their duties required, stood erect or moved from their places; all else needed little caution to keep down—even the wounded, for the most part, remained and bled quietly in their places. Colonel Veazey mentions a most remarkable effect of the cannonade on his men, who, it will be remembered, had been without sleep and most without food for twenty-four hours. “The effect of this cannonade on my men,” he says, “was the most astonishing thing I ever witnessed in any battle. Many of them, I think a majority, *fell asleep*, and it was with the greatest effort only that I could keep awake myself, notwithstanding the cries of my wounded men, and my anxiety in reference to the more fearful scenes which I knew would speedily follow.” The portion of his regiment of which he speaks was lying at this time in front of the Union batteries, which fired right over them. Sleep obtained under such circumstances could have been nothing more than a stunned and weary drowse. The effect of this awful cannonade was especially noticeable on the batteries which occupied Cemetery Ridge and were for the most part without any protection. They stood stoutly to their work, but suffered greatly in both men and horses. Four caissons of Thomas's battery, in position to the right and rear of the Second Vermont brigade, were blown up at once by the enemy's projectiles. There was a scene of great confusion around it for a moment, as the thick cloud of smoke, through which shot fragments of exploding shells, rolled up, and mutilated horses were seen dashing wildly to the rear; but another battery wheeled promptly into its place, and before the cheers which greeted the sight from the opposite ridge had died away, its fire opened with fresh vigor from the spot. Cushing's battery, farther to the right, lost 63 of the 84 horses attached to it.

General Hunt having ordered a cessation of the Union artillery, the cannonade also ceased on the other side shortly after three o'clock, and the grand charge followed. The assaulting forces were formed in two main lines, having a front of about 1,000 yards, with supports in the rear extending beyond the flanks of the front lines. The ground selected for this movement was the only portion of the whole field over which so many men could have been rushed in line. It was a broad stretch of open meadow ground extending to the southwest of the village of Gettysburg, perhaps a mile and half in length and varying from half a mile to a mile in width between the confronting ridges. It sloped gently, for most of the distance, from the crests occupied by Lee's batteries, for half the way across, and then rose with like gentle incline to the crest of Cemetery Ridge.

The advance of Pickett's veterans was magnificently steady. Preceded by their skirmishers the long gray lines came down the slope at quick step. As the Confederate skirmishers struck the pickets of the Sixteenth Vermont, the latter fell back to the main body of the regiment. The enemy's right at this time seemed to be aiming squarely upon the position of the Fourteenth regiment, and an order was sent to Colonel Nichols, by General Stannard, to hold his fire till the enemy was close upon him, then to give him a volley, and after that the bayonet. A sudden and unexpected movement of the enemy rendered the full execution of this order impracticable. At the instant that the regiment rose the enemy's lines suddenly changed direction and marched by the flank to the north across its front for some sixty rods, when, again fronting, they came in upon the line of the Second Corps, to the right, held by Harrow's, Hall's and Webb's brigades. This side movement on the part of the enemy appeared from the position occupied by the Second Vermont brigade, to be participated in by the whole attacking force, and to have been caused by the sud-

den appearance of a body of troops in firm line, much nearer to them than they expected, and on ground from which they supposed all opposing forces had been swept away by their artillery. It was in part, however, due to the fact that in the advance a gap had opened between their right and left and the right was obliged to oblique to the left to close the interval. It was a costly movement for the enemy. The Fourteenth regiment, upon its commencement, at once opened fire, at about sixty rods' distance, and continued it with very great effect. The Thirteenth, which had moved several rods to the front, joined its fire with that of the Fourteenth, with equal effect, and a long line of Confederate dead soon marked the line of their march across the front of the Vermont brigade. As the brigades of Pickett's division fronted after they had closed the interval, their lines lapped and presented to the Vermonters the appearance of a heavy column massed by regiments, and the force is so described in Stannard's report.

With a wild yell which rose above the sound of cannon and musketry, the enemy now came in upon the charge. The Second Corps met them in front with a destructive musketry fire, and the batteries on the slope, firing grape and canister, opened cruel gaps in the serried lines. But they still came on. The front line reached the stone wall in front of Webb, pushed through the bayonets behind it, and General Armistead and a hundred or two of his Virginians actually stood among the Union guns.

The momentum of the mass of Pickett's column was as yet unchecked when a sudden assault on his right changed the aspect of affairs. The opportunity for a flank attack had been noticed by Stannard and was acted on with a decision and promptitude which did him infinite credit. Without hesitation he ordered the Thirteenth and Sixteenth regiments out upon the enemy's flank. The Thirteenth moved first, in column of fours, for thirty or forty rods toward the enemy,



When the order to “change front forward on first company” was given, and the regiment swung out squarely upon Pickett's flank.<sup>29</sup> Under a fire now opened from the enemy's rear lines the extreme left of the regiment seemed to falter for a moment; but the men who were hanging back were faced into line by one of Stannard's aids who had taken to Randall the order to change front and had staid to see the movement accomplished, and a line of fire ran down the front of the regiment as it opened at half pistol range on the crowding mass in front.

The Sixteenth soon joined the Thirteenth. The regiment had been collected by Veazey in the low ground in front of the Fourteenth and, its own front having been cleared by Pickett's divergence to his left, it had an opportunity to fire obliquely into the enemy's lines, and the men were improving it when the regiment was recalled by General Stannard, and ordered to join the Thirteenth in the flank attack. Veazey thereupon drew out from his position, passing behind the fourteenth, and the regiment, after moving by the flank to the right for some fifty rods, made an oblique change of front and moved up to the left of the Thirteenth and opened fire. The advance of the Sixteenth after its change of front took it across the line of march of part of Pickett's division and over ground covered with Confederate dead and wounded; but the men had eyes only for what was before them. Soon they opened a savage fire. The front of the two regiments was hardly a dozen rods from the enemy's flank, and they advanced while firing, so that that distance was considerably lessened. At this short range the Thirteenth fired 10 or 12 rounds, and the Sixteenth perhaps half that number, into a mass of men on which every bullet took effect, and many doubtless found two or three

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<sup>29</sup> As the regiment turned on First Sergeant James B. Scully of company A, he may be said to have been the pivot of the pivotal movement of the pivotal battle of the war.

victims. The effect upon the Confederate mass was instantaneous. Its progress ceased. For a few moments the gray lines crowded together, falling meanwhile like wheat before the reaper; then breaking into a disorderly mob, they fled in all directions. On their right and centre the larger portion dropped their arms and rushed within our lines as prisoners. On their left, the larger portion of Pettigrew's division retreated whence they came. Their dead and wounded and small arms by thousands strewed the ground over which they charged.

What share of the 3,500 prisoners taken at this time actually surrendered to the Vermont regiments, cannot be stated. Colonel Randall states that large numbers of the enemy came in to the rear of his regiment for shelter, and that he had more prisoners to take care of than there were men in his command. One body of about 250 were sent to the rear in charge of two companies of the Thirteenth. As the left of the Sixteenth regiment extended beyond the rear line of the enemy, it undoubtedly prevented the retreat of a large number of them, and many surrendered to the Sixteenth. Lieutenant Spafford with a squad of men brought in a number of Confederates who were scattered among the trees of the orchard near Codori's house; and still larger numbers threw down their arms closer to the Union front. The prisoners taken by the Sixteenth were passed to the rear, without counting, when the regiment started on its second charge. In the thickest of the assault on Pickett's flank, the colors of the Eighth Virginia, of Garnett's brigade, fell with the fall of the standard bearer, and were captured by private P. O. Harris of company E of the Sixteenth.

A description of the appearance of the Second Vermont brigade as it went into action on the previous day, as seen from the Union side, has been given in previous pages, from the pen of Colonel Meade. As a counterpart to this, a description of this flank attack of the Vermonters on the

third day, as seen from the Confederate side, is interesting. Captain H. T. Owens of the Ninth Virginia, who was in Pickett's column, says:

We were about 400 yards from the foot of Cemetery Hill when off to the right, there appeared in the open field a line of men at right angles with our own—a long, dark mass, dressed in blue and coming down at a “double quick” upon the unprotected right flank of Pickett's men, and with their muskets upon the “right shoulder shift,” their battle flags dancing and fluttering in the breeze created by their own rapid motion, and their burnished bayonets glistening above their heads like forest twigs covered with sheets of sparkling ice when shaken by a blast. Garnett galloped along the line, saying: “Faster, men! Faster!” and the front line broke forward into a double quick, and rushed toward the stone wall, where forty cannon were belching forth grape and canister twice and thrice a minute. A hundred yards from the stone wall the flanking party on the right, coming down on a heavy run, halted suddenly within fifty yards, and poured a deadly storm of musket balls into Pickett's men. Under this terrible cross-fire the men reeled and staggered between falling comrades, and the right came pressing down upon the centre, crowding the companies into confusion. But all knew the purpose to carry the heights in front, and the mingled mass, from fifteen to thirty deep, rushed toward the stone wall, while a few hundred men, without orders, faced to the right and fought the flanking party there, although fifty to one, and for a time held them at bay. Muskets were crossed, as some men faced to the right and others to the front, and the fighting was terrific far beyond all other experience, even of Pickett's men.<sup>30</sup>

The testimony of Confederate eye-witnesses and historians in regard to the effect on Pickett's division of the reception thus given to it is noteworthy. The Confederate historian, Pollard, says: “The havoc in its ranks was appalling. Every brigadier in the division was killed or wounded. Out of twenty-four regimental officers only two escaped unhurt. The colonels of five Virginia regiments were killed. The Ninth Virginia went in 250 strong, and came out with only 38 men, while the equally gallant Nineteenth rivaled the terrible glory of such devoted courage.”

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<sup>30</sup> Article in *Philadelphia Times*.

General E. P. Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, says: "When Pickett's division appeared on the slope of Cemetery Hill, a considerable force of the enemy were thrown out, attacking his unprotected right flank. Meanwhile, too, several batteries were firing on him very heavily. We opened on these troops and batteries with the best we had in the shop, and appeared to do them considerable damage; but, meanwhile, Pickett's division just seemed to melt away in the blue musketry smoke which now covered the hill. Nothing but stragglers came back."<sup>31</sup> Major Peyton of the Nineteenth Virginia, who commanded what was left of Garnett's brigade after the battle, says in his report that the identity of every regiment in that brigade was lost, every regimental commander killed or wounded, and out of 1,420 men in the brigade, 941 were killed, wounded, or missing. General Garnett rode in the rear of his front line and was shot from his horse within twenty-eight paces of the stone wall.<sup>32</sup> General Longstreet himself says: "When the smoke cleared away, Pickett's division was gone—nearly two-thirds of his men lay dead on the field. Mortal man could not have stood that fire."<sup>33</sup> Major John W. Daniel, of Virginia, in his oration at the unveiling of the recumbent statue of General Lee, on the 28th of June, 1883, said: "We saw him [General Lee] standing by the roadside, with his bridle-rein over his arm, on the second day after the battle, as the army was withdrawing. Pickett's division filed past him; every general of the brigade had fallen, and every field officer of its regiments; a few tat-

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<sup>31</sup> Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IV, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. III, p. 217.

On the Union side, Generals Hancock, Gibbon, Webb and Stannard were wounded; on the enemy's side, Generals Armistead and Garnett were killed, and Generals Kemper, Pettigrew, Trimble, and Colonel Nye commanding Archer's brigade, were wounded, all within fifteen minutes' time, and within a hundred and fifty yards of a common centre.

<sup>33</sup> Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. V, p. 70.

tered battle-flags and a few hundreds of men were all that was left of the magnificent body, 5,000 strong, who had made the famous charge." The morale of Pickett's division was destroyed; and, though subsequently strengthened, this crack division of the Army of Northern Virginia never after did any successful fighting.

Pickett's charge had failed; but the work on the left centre was not yet ended. In Longstreet's arrangement of his corps for the charge, he placed Wilcox's brigade of Alabama troops and Perry's Florida brigade, both under General Wilcox, upon the right and rear of Pickett, to guard his right flank. Had this force been within effective supporting distance, or had Stannard delayed his attack for ten minutes, the latter's assault on Pickett's flank would probably have been impracticable. Wilcox was a little too slow in moving, and before he crossed the Emmitsburg road Pickett's fate had been decided. The two Vermont regiments were still busy in taking care of the prisoners, when this new force appeared wandering across the field. It did not veer to its left as Pickett's division did; but took direction at an angle which carried it to the left of the Fourteenth Vermont, receiving the first of that regiment as it came within range. Its repulse and almost destruction was the brilliant work of the Sixteenth Vermont. Colonel Veazey describes this as follows:

While engaged in the flank movement to the right I observed another force of the enemy charging down at double quick away to the left, and apparently aiming toward the position we held before making this flank attack to the right. The direction of this new line, afterwards found to consist of Perry's and Wilcox's brigades, would take them by my left and rear as we were then situated. I immediately conceived that I should change front obliquely to the left and charge the left flank of the new line when it came within striking distance, just as we had charged the right of Pickett's division. I therefore at once called to the men to fall in, as they were then broken into squads, gathering up prisoners, and we had started or were about starting on the new movement when I received an order from General Stannard to

double quick back to our original position and get in front of this new line. This order would take me in the same direction for some rods that I had contemplated going, and we kept on in that direction; but in moving I changed the front of my regiment to the left and so as to face obliquely toward the left flank of this new line. Just then I came upon General Stannard and explained my plan of a charge. He at first opposed it, on the ground that it would be rash and too much to ask of men to go alone so far to the front against so large a force; but he soon yielded and said, "go ahead." At that moment the enemy had reached the bottom of the basin, their left flank being not more than thirty or forty rods distant, and they were crouching behind the low bushes and rocks which afforded some shelter from the artillery and infantry fire in front. The ground from our position toward the enemy was fairly smooth and a little descending; and upon receiving the order to charge the men cheered and rushed forward at a run without firing a shot. They quickly struck the rebel flank and followed it until the whole line had disappeared. The movement was so sudden and rapid that the enemy could not change front to oppose us. A great many prisoners were taken, but I cannot tell the number, as they were sent to the rear without a guard, as I had no men to spare for that purpose, and none were needed as the prisoners were quite willing to get within the shelter of our lines and away from the exposure to which they were then subjected as well as ourselves from the rebel artillery, which followed us with merciless vigor. As fast as they were captured they were told where to go and they went, and without standing on the order of their going. We took two stands of regimental colors and another standard from which the flag had been torn. This was the last effort of the infantry of the enemy. After following down this line as stated until it had substantially disappeared I moved the regiment to the left through and behind the shelter of the bushes and tried to get out of range of the rebel artillery which had gained a destructive range upon us. We had been there but a few moments when I was ordered to move a few rods to the right, and in this movement we were again exposed to a severe artillery fire and lost several men. I consequently moved again farther to the right and rear and got a little out of range, and soon after this, the firing subsided, and there was no more fighting except a little skirmishing far to our left. Our forty rounds of ammunition were mostly used up, but this was mainly done before

our first flank movement to the right and while making it. In the second flank movement but few shots were fired and those were after we struck the enemy. When they became fully aware we were on their flank I could see their line break ahead of us and the men rushed to the rear, and thereby many of them escaped being captured. The first of the Fourteenth was very destructive on Pickett's division to the right, but Colonel Nichols informed me that Perry and Wilcox came down so rapidly, and so quickly got under cover of bushes, that he produced but little effect upon them, and our charge being across his front prevented from firing after that. Four companies of his regiment were sent down on my left after we passed under shelter of the bushes as above stated. You have our losses in the reports. That they were not larger I attributed to the fact that we were almost constantly moving and that our work consisted mainly of flank charges, which if rapid and successful are usually without great loss. If not successful they are likely to be very disastrous. We were also very much enveloped in the smoke of the battle and were thus obscured from view. I failed to see a single man falter in the least throughout the battle; but every one seemed a host as the orders to charge were given. They made the changes of front first to the right and then to the left with almost the precision of a parade, and as though they fire upon them was from blank cartridges in a sham fight. At the close of the second charge, which was substantially the close of the battle, they were farther to the front than when the battle opened, except when they were upon the skirmish line, and farther than any other regiment on that part of the field within our sight.

The colors taken in this last charge were the regimental flag of the Second Florida, a handsome silk flag, which was taken by Color-Sergeant Charles D. Brink, who bore it off from the field with the colors of the Sixteenth. Another battle-flag was taken by W. C. Kingston of company C. It had been torn, probably by a shell, so that put a portion of the flag remained on the standard; and, after carrying it a short distance it was thrown away by Kingston, as it interfered with his use of his musket, and it was subsequently brought in by other troops.<sup>34</sup> General Wilcox's reports would

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<sup>34</sup> Sergeant Brink and Private Harris, escorted by company E of the Sixteenth, marched to General Meade's headquarters next day and formally delivered the captured flags to him, and received his thanks, which he accompanied with praise of the gallant service rendered by Stannard's brigade. The flag of the Second Florida, with a record of its capture by the Sixteenth Vermont, was one of the eighteen captured Confederate flags sent by Secretary Stanton to be exhibited at the great fair of the Sanitary Commission in Chicago, in October, 1863.

give the impression that his brigade did not suffer very badly on this occasion; but at the time he did not think so. Colonel Fremantle says that he saw General Wilcox come up to General Lee after his repulse, "and explain, almost crying, the state of his brigade." A condition of his command which brought tears to the eyes of General Cadmus Wilcox could not have been a cheerful one. Perry's brigade, which was first struck by Veazey, lost more heavily than Wilcox's. The two brigades lost 1,232 men killed, wounded and missing in the battle, and the larger part of these casualties were undoubtedly suffered on the third day.

The four right companies (A, F, D, and I,) of the Fourteenth, under Lieut. Colonel Rose, were detached to support the Sixteenth and reached the spot in time to take part in the affair. They formed on the left of the Sixteenth, after it halted, and fired several volleys upon a body of Confederates in front of them, who soon threw down their arms. In their excitement some of the men failed to perceive this, and it was with some difficulty that Major Hall, who had followed the detachment, and other officers, induced them to realize that the enemy had surrendered and to stop firing.

When the Sixteenth was ordered back to attend to Wilcox, the Thirteenth was recalled by General Stannard to its place in the line. The enemy's batteries, which had withheld their fire during the charge, now reopened upon them with redoubled fury and with severe effect; but they completed the movements without disorder or interruption, some of the Confederate reports to the contrary notwithstanding. At sundown the regiments were all back in the original line, and remained there till ten o'clock in the evening, when they were



relieved on the front line by the First brigade of the First division of the Third Corps; and, moving a short distance back, bivouacked for the night on Cemetery Ridge.

During the last sharp shower of grape and shell, with which the enemy strove to cover Wilcox's repulse, General Stannard was wounded in the leg by an iron shrapnel ball, which passed down for three inches into the muscles on the inside of the thigh. His wound was very painful till a surgeon came (which was not for an hour) and removed the ball; but, though urged to do so by his aids and others, he refused to leave the field. He remained in front with his men till his command was relieved from duty in the front line, till his wounded had been removed and arrangements made for burying the dead; when, having done all that could have been asked even of a man whole in flesh, the high spirit and stern purpose which had thus far sustained his body against pain and loss of blood, relaxed, and he sank fainting to the ground. To his perfect coolness, close and constant presence with his men, and to the intuition—almost inspiration—with which he seized the great opportunity of the battle, the glorious success of the day was in large measure due.

#### INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE.

Major General Hancock, after rallying troops to meet Pickett's charge farther to the right, rode down to speak to General Stannard, and fell, while addressing him, close to the front line, just after the flank attack had been ordered. He was caught, as he sank from his horse, by Lieutenants Hooker and Benedict, of Stannard's staff, and the bleeding from his wound—a singular and very severe one from the joint entrance, at the upper part of the thigh, of a minié ball and a twisted iron nail, carried from his saddle-bow, through which the bullet first passed, into his body—was stopped by their hands.

It is related that as General Doubleday saw the charge of Stannard's brigade, he waved his hat and shouted: "Glory to God, glory to God! See the Vermonters go it!~"

As the Thirteenth was returning from the charge on Pickett, a shell tore through the column, striking down two men and blowing a third to pieces. One of his legs and the foot with the shoe on struck Lieut. Colonel Munson in the side with force enough to prostrate and disable him for half an hour or more and to cause his name to be placed in the list of wounded.

Lieutenant Stephen F. Brown of the Thirteenth went into and almost through the battle armed only with a camp hatchet! This came about from the circumstance that on the march to Gettysburg, Brown had taken some canteens to a well and filled them with water for some of the men who were almost fainting from thirst, in violation of an order which forbade officers or men to leave the ranks, except during the halts for meals. Brown was thereupon placed in arrest for disobedience of orders. When the regiment reached the field he was released from arrest by General Stannard; but could not have his sword back because it was in one of the wagons. He accordingly armed himself with a hatchet, which he carried till in the repulse of Pickett's charge he received the surrender of a Confederate officer and took his sabre and pistol. On the return from the charge Lieutenant Brown was stunned by the concussion of a shell, but declined to leave the ranks.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE PART TAKEN BY THE VERMONT SECOND BRIGADE.

For the Second Vermont brigade it is claimed that its attack on Pickett's flank was the thing which, above all other things, decided the fate of the great Confederate assault, and with it the fate of the battle and of the rebellion. Many

pages might be filled with extracts from the reports of Generals Meade, Hancock, Newton and Doubleday, and from the volumes of Bates, Bachelder, Swinton, Greeley Doubleday, the Comte de Paris and other historians of this battle, showing the prominence given by them to the service of Stannard's brigade. It was not for these commanders and historians to say what part was the most important among the achievements of so many organizations of brave men, who had a gallant and glorious part in this decisive battle. But the beholders and writers on the Confederate side, having no possible partialities to gratify on the Union side, may be accepted as unprejudiced witnesses, and many of them gave unequivocal evidence in support of the proposition state above.

An account of the charge and its repulse, given in the *Richmond Sentinel* of July 13th, 1863, contains the following passage:

The order was given at three o'clock P.M., and the advance was commenced, the infantry marching at common time across the field, and not firing a musket until within 75 yards of the enemy's works. As Kemper's brigade moved up it swung around to the left and was exposed to the front and flanking fire of the Federals, which was very fatal. This swinging around unmasked a part of the enemy's force, five regiments being pushed out from their left to the attack. Directly after this force was unmasked, our artillery opened on it with terrible precision. Seven Confederate flags were planted on the stone fence, but there not being enough men to support them, they were captured by the advancing Yankee force, and nearly all of our severely wounded were left in the hands of the enemy. The First Virginia carried in 175 men, about 25 having been detailed for ambulance and other duty. They brought out between 30 and 40, many even of them being wounded. There was but one officer of the regiment who was not killed or wounded, and that was Lieutenant Ballou, who now commands it.

Another account, in the same paper, derived from the surviving officer of the First Virginia, says:

When the firing of cannon ceased, the order for the

infantry to advance was given, which was done at common time—no double-quicking or cheering, but solemnly and steadily those veterans directed their steps toward the heavy and compact columns of the enemy. The skirmishers were at once engaged, the enemy having a double line of skirmishers to oppose our single line. The enemy were driven from their position behind a stone fence, over which entrenchments had been thrown up, and our forces occupied their position about twenty minutes. About this time a flanking party of the enemy, marching in column by regiments, was thrown out from the enemy's left on our extreme right, which was held by Kemper's brigade, and by an enfilading fire forced the retirement of our troops. With their repulse the heavy fighting of the day terminated. Our loss here was heavy, and our forces, after the most desperate fighting, were forced to fall back beyond the range of fire.

The correspondent of the Richmond *Enquirer*, in a vivid account of the charge, after stating that Pettigrew's division, on the left, first broke, adds:

Pickett is left alone to contend with the horses of the enemy pouring in on him on every side. Garnett falls, killed by a minié ball, and Kemper, the brave and chivalrous, reels under a mortal wound, and is taken to the rear. Now the enemy move around strong flanking bodies of infantry, and are rapidly gaining Pickett's rear. The enemy press heavily our retreating line, and many noble spirits, who had passed safely through the advance and charge, now fall on right and left. Armistead is wounded and left in the enemy's hands. The shattered remnant of Wright's Georgia brigade is moved forward to cover their retreat, and the fight closes here.

Colonel William Allan, the Southern historian and reviewer, who was on the field, on General Ewell's staff, and who has made a careful study of the battle, says: "Pickett was overwhelmed, not by the troops in front, but by those on his flanks, especially by those on his right flank."<sup>35</sup>

This unqualified statement probably embodies the candid judgment of the most intelligent officers on the Southern side, who of course knew what hurt them most. The amount of

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<sup>35</sup> *Century Magazine*, May, 1877, p. 151.

corroborative testimony on the Union side is too ample to be even indicated here. An order issued from division headquarters, July 4th, returned the thanks of Major General Doubleday to the Second Vermont brigade, “for their gallant conduct in resisting in the front line the main attack of the enemy upon this position, after sustaining a terrific fire from 100 pieces of artillery,” and congratulated them “upon contributing so essentially to the glorious victory of yesterday.” In General Doubleday's testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, he says, after describing the flank attack: “The prisoners stated that what ruined them was Stannard's brigade on their flank, as they found it impossible to content with it in that position; and they drew off, all in a huddle, to get away from it.” Colonel John B. Bachelder says: “Stannard, whose brigade was at the front, moved it by the right flank, changed front forward on first company, and with his Green Mountain Boys opened a murderous fire upon their (the enemy's) exposed flank. The effect was resistless. The ground lay thickly covered with killed and wounded; hundreds, thousands, threw down their arms; while the broken, shattered mass sought refuge behind the hills from which they had emerged.” Swinton gives substantially the same account. It is only necessary to add that *the only troops operating on Pickett's right flank*, were the troops of Stannard's Vermont Brigade.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> As General Doubleday, in his report and history, connects the action of the Twentieth New York, Colonel Gates, with that of Stannard's brigade, in a way calculated to lead readers to suppose that they operated together on Pickett's flank, it is necessary to say that such was not the case. Colonel Bachelder's accurate maps of the battle show that the position of the Twentieth New York was some distance to the rear of the Thirteenth Vermont, and that no troops occupied an advanced position in front of the main line of battle, on the left centre, or moved upon Pickett's right flank, but the Second Vermont brigade. The careful reader of Colonel Gates's official report will also see that the movement of his regiment in repulse of the charge was not in front of, but *behind*, the main Union line. His regiment advanced toward, but not in front of, the fence which protected the front of Webb's brigade, and through which the enemy broke. The gallant action of the Twentieth New York was in fact part of the general rush of troops to stop the breach made by Armistead; and there is no apparent reason for connecting it with the charge of Stannard's brigade.

## WHO ORDERED THE FLANK ATTACK?

It was with much surprise that General Stannard and those of his command familiar with the facts, found, when General Hancock's report appeared, several months after the battle, that he claimed that he directed Stannard to strike Pickett.<sup>37</sup> In an interview with General Hancock in his room at Willard's Hotel in Washington, before he had fully recovered from his wound, Lieutenant Benedict, of General Stannard's staff, called General Hancock's attention to this statement. He said that the statement was not made from his own knowledge, — his own recollections of events just at that point of the battle having, as he frankly admitted, been much confused by his wound—but was based on the statements of members of his staff. For his own part, all he remembered, he said, was that he saw a chance for such a flank attack and that he rode down to Stannard's brigade with an idea of ordering it. Before the interview was over, General Hancock expressed himself as satisfied, from matters recalled to his memory, and especially from the circumstance (which he distinctly recollected) that one of the Vermont regiments was in motion to the right when he rode to Stannard's side, that the order to move out on Pickett's flank must have been already given to at least a portion of the Vermont brigade before he got there; and he promised to append to his report a state-

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<sup>37</sup> "While the enemy was still in front of Gibbons's division I directed Colonel Stannard to send two regiments of his Vermont brigade, First corps, to a point which would strike the enemy on the right flank. I cannot report on the execution of this order, as Colonel Stannard's report has not passed through my hands; but from the good conduct of these troops during the action I have no doubt the service was promptly performed."—Report of General W. S. Hancock.

ment which should give to Stannard the credit of the order. This promise he subsequently repeated to General Stannard.

It is to be noted that the testimony of members of General Hancock's staff on which he based the portion of his report in question, was of the less value, because no one of them was with General Hancock at the time. When he rode to Stannard's side, he was accompanied only by his bugler, or headquarters color-bearer, Sergeant Thomas M. Wells of the Sixth New York Cavalry. On the other hand General Stannard always stated, from first to last, that he received no order of the kind from General Hancock or any one; but that he ordered the flank attack of his own motion. His description of this portion of the battle, made in his private note book at the time, is as follows:

July 3d, 1863. \* \* \* At this time [when Pickett's charge was coming in] I ordered Colonel Randall to change front forward, and form again on their flank, which was done in good style; also same order to Colonel Veazey, and ordered him to form on the left of the Thirteenth, thereby placing the rebels under flank fire the whole length of their line, closed in mass in column by regiments. I will here state that I intended at first to place my whole command in same position, but seeing the rebels coming in line of battle on my left again, I ordered Colonel Nichols to remain on the original line to protect that. As soon as the Thirteenth and Sixteenth were in position and range, the rebels began to run by scattering individually back across the field. General Hancock was wounded near me while the Sixteenth were getting into line. He had been there some few minutes before. Lieutenant Hooker helped from his horse, and I cut away his pants and tied my kerchief above the wound, having just about room to cord the limb above the wound. I reported the condition of the fight to him from time to time while he lay there awaiting an ambulance. When the rebels retired, I ordered my two regiment, Thirteenth and Sixteenth, back to the original position. While performing this movement the enemy appeared in force on my left and commenced a forward movement. I ordered Colonel Veazey to move down in our front upon their flank again, on the opposite side, which was done with perfect order and seeming willingness throughout the entire regiment. After being

gone a short time I sent four companies from the Fourteenth regiment to support him. My movement was performed with the least possible delay. I will state that the air was completely filled with missiles of death of all kinds and descriptions that were ever invented to be projected from the cannon's mouth. It beat anything that I ever saw or read of. Colonel Veazey's regiment took three stands of rebel colors and any quantity of prisoners. About this time I received my wound. I should judge it to have been near six o'clock P.M. This closed the conflict and the battle was won. The Vermont brigade has the honor of closing the greatest battle, I think, I ever knew. I then ordered Colonel Veazey and Lieut. Colonel Rose back into their original position. The cannonading continued for a while and with great effect. My troops being very weary, I requested the general to relive me and allow my men to get some rest, which was promised when it became dark. I staid, although frequently requested to go to the rear, until my command was relieved, and I went off with them. My men at this time had been out of rations for two days, and not a murmur did I hear, thereby showing their true courage and manhood.

The recollections of the members of General Stannard's staff who were present, confirm General Stannard's memoranda on the point in question. The writer of this history was one of these and is able to speak from personal knowledge of the facts.<sup>38</sup> No general officer or mounted man had come to Stannard, or so far as known to his brigade, after Pickett's charge commenced, nor had any order to move upon the enemy's flank been received by Stannard, previous the time when General Hancock rode to his side. At that

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<sup>38</sup> New York, January 17th, 1877.

\* \* \* At the time your book "Vermont at Gettysburg," was published I read it with great interest, and I have since had occasion to consult it in reference to matter connected with that battle. I have especial reasons to remember yourself and Colonel Hooker, on that field, for to you both I am indebted for your kindly aid in assisting me from my horse when I was struck and about to fall to the ground, and that incident is of course indelibly impressed upon my memory.

I am truly yours,  
Winfield S. Hancock.

To Colonel G. G. Benedict, Burlington, Vt.



time the orders to move out had been taken to Colonels Randall and Veazey, and were in process of execution.

The need of any further testimony on this point, if any is needed, is fortunately obviated by a statement placed on record by General Hancock. In a memorandum on the subject of the battle, made by him several years before his death, and left among his papers, General Hancock wrote: "I had seen the importance of it [the flank attack] and probably General Stannard had also, any may have given similar directions. This is quite probably, for General Stannard was a cool and reliable officer, in whom I had great confidence, from earlier associations."<sup>39</sup> These words can only mean that General Hancock considered it probably that General Stannard had given directions for the flank attack of the Vermont brigade before he (Hancock) did, since it would be nothing to give such directions after General Hancock had ordered him so to do. With this concession, the subject may be left to the candid judgment of posterity. It must be added, however, that it was fortunate for the Union cause that Stannard ordered the flank movement when he did. Every moment than was of supreme importance; and if he had waited till he received directions from Hancock, the flank attack would probably have been a failure. For the honor of directing a movement so brilliant and so famous, it is surprising that there have not been more claimants. But the credit of the order belongs, and must forever remain due, to the brain, nerve and military intuition of a Vermont brigadier.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock, by his wife, p. 220.

<sup>40</sup> A statement contained in Colonel F. V. Randall's report of the battle to the effect that General Hancock "repeatedly" came to him that afternoon and offered supports to him and Colonel Nichols; and that General Hancock was wounded while sitting on his horse and giving him (Randall) some directions, makes it necessary to say that Colonel Randall's recollection was entirely at fault on these points. General Hancock did not come down to the line of the Vermont brigade repeatedly, nor at any time till just before he was wounded. Hancock then rode straight to General Stannard's side, and addressed him before he spoke to any member of his brigade. Of course General Hancock would not have given directions to the colonel of a regiment in the presence of his brigade commander. Who the officer could have been who came repeatedly and offered supports to Colonel Randall, and whom he says he assisted from his horse after he had given him (Randall) some directions, it is impossible to say. Certainly it was not General Hancock.

The limits of this volume forbid further description of the scenes of the actual conflict, or of the sights witnessed by the author Thursday night, during the whole of which—a bright, moonlight night—he rode, on a special duty, over the whole region within and to the rear of the lines of the Army of the Potomac, and through fields covered by the acre with wounded, collected around the barns used for hospitals; or of the sickening horrors after the battle, of a field on which lay more than *seven thousand* dead men, *three thousand* dead horses, and tens of thousands of wounded men.

The magnitude and severity of this battle is strongly shown by the losses of general officers, much exceeding such losses in any other battle of the war. Of General Meade's army, Major General Reynolds and Brigadier Generals Weed, Zook, and Farnsworth, and Colonels Vincent and Willard, commanding brigades, were killed; Major Generals Hancock and Sickles, and Brigadier Generals Barlow, Barnes, Gibbon, Graham, Paul, Stannard and Webb were wounded—fifteen in all. On the other side, Generals Armistead, Barksdale, Garnett, Pender and Semmes were killed, while Kemper, shot through the spine, lived but the wreck of a man, and Pettigrew, wounded, survived the great charge, to be slain in the sequel to the battle at Falling Waters; and Generals Anderson, Hampton, Heth, Hood, Johnson, Jenkins, Jones, Kemper, Kimball, Robertson, Scales and Trimble were wounded—*eighteen* in all.

General Meade's casualties, including the skirmishes following the battle, were, as officially stated, 2,834 killed; 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing.

General Lee made no official report of his losses; but over 5,000 of his dead were buried on or near the field; 7,600 of his severely wounded left on the field were registered in the Gettysburg hospitals; the total of Confederate prisoners taken was 13,621. Reliable Confederate historians place his loss at 23,000, not including the casualties in his cavalry.

The casualties in the Second Vermont brigade at Gettysburg were as follows:

	<i>Kille</i>	<i>Wounde</i>	<i>Missin</i>
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>g.</i>
Thirteenth Regiment	11	81	23
Fourteenth	19	74	20
Sixteenth	16	85	13
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Totals	46	240	56
 Aggregate	 342		

Most of the men reported missing fell out on the march and came in before the brigade left the field. Of the wounded 19 died of their wounds.

Lieutenant John F. Sinnott of the Thirteenth, Lieutenant W. H. Hamilton of the Fourteenth, and Lieutenant C. B. Lawton of the Sixteenth were mortally wounded.<sup>41</sup> Among

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<sup>41</sup> Lieutenant John T. Sinnott was a native of Ireland. He was a school teacher in East Rutland when the nine months men were called for. He at once enlisted and was chosen first lieutenant of company A. He was a competent officer and showed himself a brave soldier. During the flank attack of July 3d he was struck in the forehead by a piece of a shell, and died a day or two after in hospital, and was buried at Gettysburg. He anticipated his fate, and in his pocket was found a paper written at the close of the first day, giving directions for the disposition of his property, and bidding farewell to his betrothed. His remains were subsequently removed to and interred in the Catholic cemetery in West Rutland, Vt.

Lieutenant Cyrus B. Lawton was a native of Wilmington. He spent his boyhood on his father's farm, and was employed as a clerk in a store when he enlisted, at the age of 23, in the Sixteenth. He showed especial aptitude as a soldier, was promoted from the ranks in January, 1863 to be sergeant major of the regiment, and a few weeks later was commissioned as second lieutenant of his company. He was a young man of much promise. His remains were finally interred in his native town.

Lieutenant William H. Hamilton was born in Montgomery. When the war broke out he was a school teacher in Queens County, Long Island. He at once enlisted in the First New York Volunteers, and was commissioned as first lieutenant. In May, 1862, he resigned and soon after enlisted in the Fourteenth Vermont, preferring service as a private in a Vermont regiment to a commission offered him in a New York battery. He was appointed first sergeant of company F and in January, 1863, was promoted to be first lieutenant of company I. He had the fullest confidence of his superior officers, as a faithful and competent officer. He received his mortal wound in the afternoon of July 3d, and died that night. His remains were temporarily buried near the field and subsequently were removed to the National cemetery at Gettysburg.

the less severely wounded were Captain M. B. Williams and Lieutenant Frank Kenfield of the Thirteenth, Lieutenant Julius H. Bosworth of the Fourteenth, and Captains H. A. Eaton and Lyman E. Knapp of the Sixteenth.

The casualties among the rank and file were as follows:

#### THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Sergeant Major H. H. Smith; company A, Thomas Blake, Michael McEnery and Patrick Corey; company B, James H. Wilson; company D, Octave Marcell and William March; company E, Orson S. Carr; company F, Corporal Henry C. Russell; company G, Jude Newcity; company K, corporal William Church.

Wounded—Company A, Corporal T. W. Sibley, Martin Maloy, John Hamlin, A. Guinnetts, Patrick Mangan and Michael Mylan; company B, Corporals John Dolph and D. S. Stoddard, C. Carpenter, A. H. Chase, Lester K. Dow, S. J. Dana, S. Keyes, Otis G. Miles, Dexter Parker and J. W. Richardson; company C, Color-Sergeant D. A. Marble, J. C. Ballou, S. W. Benjamin, J. S. Caswell, H. H. Martin, H. A. Miles, Alanson Nye, Samuel Pratt, Joseph Simons, W. C. Snow, H. Wakefield and C. A. Watson; company D, Sergeants J. F. Densmore and James Harmon, Corporals A. J. Beeman and R. J. Griffin, L. M. Bentley, J. M. Cary, William Crosby, John Johnson, G. W. Lee, Myron P. Scullin and H. Tomlinson; company E, Corporals E. D. Butler, J. M. Chaplin and A. C. Wolcott, C. R. Butts, J. W. Daniels, D. M. Dickinson, John P. Hull, S. C. Sanborn, L. S. Seely, S. O. Wells and C. W. Whitney\*; company F, Corporal George L. Baldwin\*, J. Ellsworth, Lawrence Kelley and Byron D. Matthews; company G, Sergeant A. T. Kingsley, Corporals John Combs and George E. Cutting, H. D. Blaisdell, H. R. Heath, Thomas Snell, John Tague and J. W. Warner; company H, Corporal J. L. Martin, Nelson Cataract, A. E. Osgood\*, William Roaks and Jos. Wilson; company I, W. L. Blanchard, M. E. French, F. Jangraw, C. E. Seaver and B. N. Wright\*; company K, Sergeant James Halloway, C. H. Butterfield, John Elliott, O. Parigo, E. H. Richardson. Twelve others were slightly wounded.

\* Died of wounds.

## FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Company B, Sergeant Henry H. Vaughan and George S. Baker; company C, Sergeant John Vaughan and Thomas Burns; company D, Dyer Rogers, G. L. Roseboom and Albert A. Walker; company E, Corporal Wesley C. Sturdivant, John Brunelle and Thomas Dutton; company F, George Merling; company G, Sergeant Theophile Bissonette, Corporal Charles E. Mead, William E. Green and Charles W. Ross; company I, Sergeant Myron A. Clark and James W. Dalliston; company K, Sergeants Elisha F. Swett and John Cain.

Wounded—company B, Richard C. Archer\* and William Carnes\*; company C, Corporal W. J. Sheldon, John Leonard, Thomas Sheridan, Edward Stone and H. Sykes; company D, F. C. Howe and Eugene S. Lee; company E, Sergeant D. J. Brown, W. H. Olmstead, H. R. Perry, N. P. Sherman and Pliny F. White\*; company F, P. Humphrey, Aaron Jones\*, Andrew Marnes, J. D. Perkins, F. W. Smith\*, Elton E. Ward and D. M. Ware; company G, Corporal H. W. Frazer, E. W. Baldwin, Michael Calihan, Michael Furlong, L. M. Kent, Joseph Lavigne, Keiron Melainliff, H. H. Spooner and Henry Steinor; company H, Sergeant Stillman C. White, L. L. Baird\*, Albert Bassett, Peter Cheisen, William O. Doubleday\*, Gilbert Hanley, L. E. Manley, Albert Noyes and Carlos E. Snow; company I, Sergeants Lyman Dickerman and James Gregory, Corporal S. M. Southard, H. B. Allen, Antoine Dachno, U. D. Jacobs, William H. Merrill, Frank Pasno, Edward Tatro, G. N. Wright and C. Yattaw; company K, Loyal Allen, Thomas Barry, John Beaumont, John Bowen, Stephen Cary, Luke B. Gray, Seth Geer, Michael Ryan, Henry Schrader, James Tiff, Isaac O. Titus and Alamander Wheeler;--and twelve others less severely.

Edward L. Farmer of company H, died in Andersonville prison, May, 1864.

## SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Company A, Ira Emery, Jr., Chester F. Larned and Charles Morse, Jr.; company C, Sergeant Moses P. Baldwin, Joseph Ashly, J. R. Spaulding and S. A. Winship; company D, M. J. Cook, John Dyer and J. M. Martin; company E, Corporal R. H. Tarbell and W. M. Tyrrell; company H, E. P. Davis and C. P. Stevens; company I, J. F. Cook and W. M. Pierce.

Wounded—Company A, Sergeants E. E. Eaton and L. S. Emery, Corporal M. A. Moody, J. H. Abbott, A. G. Barnes, W. F. Bennett, William D. Conant, J. H. Fowler, William H. Gee, R. S. Hibbard, Philip Howard\*, C. A. Goldthwait, Amos Leavitt, Jr., H. J. Russ and W. Waldo; company B, Sergeants Jason Mann and W. W. Ranney\*, Corporal D. B. Stedman, H. B. Cobb, G. A. Jacobs\*, J. M. Joy and H. H. Miller; company C, Corporals H. Fletcher and V. N. Earle, M. J. Bixby, H. H. Carlisle, D. Johnson, J. C. Johnson, George C. Kingston, Z. C. Lamb\*, L. D. Minor, A. T. Moore, J. W. Pierce and A. Rowell; company D, Corporal A. F. Wilder,

\* Died of wounds.

J. C. Butters, P. A. Chapman, L. Cook, W. J. Howe, P. D. Holbrook, A. W. Parks and A. J. Stearns\*; company E, Orin Rice, W. H. Rogers, A. L. Thompson, W. W. Walker, B. E. White and H. C. White\*; company F, C. A. Barker, W. H. Barrett, C. C. Bemis, A. S. Bugbee, D. P. Chandler\*, Thomas Miner, F. N. Morse, A. W. Pike, Alfred Reed, and E. P. Thompson; company G, J. C. Keith, H. E. King and C. S. Gardner; company H, Sergeant F. A. R. Packard, T. J. Benjamin, John Carlisle, A. J. Ellis and James Monday; company K, E. H. Dudley, H. H. Hadley, M. H. Graves and Michael Kelley; and nineteen others.

Samuel B. Lincoln of company I was captured July 3d, 1863, and died in Richmond, November 20th, 1863.

General Stannard was removed from the farm house to which he was taken at the close of the battle, to Baltimore, on the Sunday following, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel Randall.

The term of service of the Twelfth regiment expired July 4th, and the next day it left Westminster for Baltimore, acting as guard thither of a long train of Confederate prisoners. From Baltimore it proceeded home and arrived at Brattleboro on the 9th. The field-officers and 200 men volunteered to return to New York on the 13th, to help suppress the draft riots in that city and tendered their services to Governor Holbrook for that purpose.<sup>42</sup> The governor, however, did not deem it best to send them without some urgent call from the military authorities at New York, which was not received, and the regiment was furloughed for a few days, previous to final muster out.

The regiments at Gettysburg marched thence on the 6th to Emmittsburg, with the First Corps. The next day the brigade started at four A. M. and marching until late at night, crossed the Catoctin mountains, and halted on the west side, near the foot, having made some 25 miles that day. Next day it moved to Middletown, Md. Here the Thirteenth regiment, whose term expired on the 10th, received orders to start for home and bidding farewell to their com-

\* Died of wounds.

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<sup>42</sup> Company C, Captain Page, with two officers and 65 muskets, volunteered to a man, to go back and fight the rioters.

panions in arms, marched to Monocacy Junction, meeting on the way near Frederick City, the First Vermont brigade just starting for Hagerstown. At Monocacy Junction they took train for Baltimore. Leaving there on the 11th they went home by way of Jersey City and New Haven, and arrived in the evening of the 13th at Brattleboro, where they were met by the Twelfth regiment with torch lights and escorted to their barracks.

The Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments, under command of Colonel Veazey, left Middletown July 8th, and marched to South Mountain, where they remained through the next day. On the morning of the 10th they marched through Boonesboro. Here the fighting at Funkstown, two miles in front, was distinctly heard. The brigade halted with the division and made ready for battle, hoping that Lee had been brought to bay. The brigade moved three miles toward Funkstown, and halted, threw up rifle-pits and lay there through the 11th. On the 12th it passed through Funkstown, which had been occupied by the enemy till within two hours previous, and crossing Antietam Creek, halted and formed again, not far from Hagerstown, nearly opposite the centre of the fortified semi-circle which Lee had drawn around Williamsport. Here on the 13th the last fighting of the brigade was done by a picket detail of 150 men of the Sixteenth, under Lieut. Colonel Grout of the Fifteenth as field-officer of the day, in a skirmish with the enemy's pickets, in which two men of the Sixteenth were wounded. That night Lee put the Potomac between him and his pursuers.

On the 14th the brigade marched to Williamsport with the First corps, and on the 15th started toward Harper's Ferry, passing the battlefield of Antietam in the afternoon and halting at Rohrer'sville, after an exhausting march of nearly twenty-five miles. Next day the regiments crossed the South Mountain again through Thornton's Gap, and

bivouacked at Petersville, two miles from Berlin, where the army halted in a pouring rain till ponton bridges could be laid across the river.

As but a week now remained of the term of service of the three regiments, and the campaign was practically ended, it was not considered worth while longer to retain the brigade, and the regiments were relieved. On the 18th they bade farewell to the Army of the Potomac; marched to Berlin, and took train for Baltimore. On the 20th they reached New York, and bivouacked on the battery. The draft riots in that city had been raging for four days and had been barely checked. The ruins of the orphan asylums, store-houses and elevators burned by the mob were still at the mercy of the over-awed but hardly subdued mob. General Canby, commanding the few troops in the city, asked the Vermont colonels to hold their regiments in the city till the other troops which had been sent for should arrive. Colonel Nichols accordingly called the Fourteenth regiment together, and in an earnest speech asked the men to volunteer to remain a few days. But the faces of the men were set toward home, and they could not see that they were needed enough to make it their duty to stay. At nine o'clock that evening the Fourteenth took boat for New Haven, and at 5 o'clock P. M. of the 21st arrived at Brattleboro.

Colonels Proctor and Veazey, to whose regiments two or three days of their terms of service still remained, did not put any questions to vote, but informed their commands that they would remain in the city till further orders, and the men of course acquiesced. The officers were entertained at the Union League Club that evening, and the presence of the regiments contributed materially to the restoration of order. Next day troops enough arrived to make the city secure, and the regiments, after two days' stay on the Battery, were sent on the way to Vermont, with the thanks of Generals Dix and



Canby. They went by way of New Haven to Brattleboro, when the men were furloughed for a few days, returning to Brattleboro for their final muster out. This took place on the following dates: The Twelfth, July 14th; the Thirteenth, July 21st; the Fourteenth, July 30th; the Fifteenth, August 5th; and the Sixteenth, August 10th.

The final statements of the regiments of the Second Vermont brigade are as follows:

#### TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 959; total	996
Gains.	
Promotion from other regiments, com. officers, 1; recruits, com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 6; total	8
Losses.	
Died of disease—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 60; total	62
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 8, disability, 1; enlisted men, disability, 64; total	73
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps and the Navy—enlisted men	2
Deserted	4
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Total loss	141
Mustered out—com. officers, 40; enlisted men, 823; total	863
	----
Aggregate	1004

## THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 919; total	955
Gains.	
Promotion from other regiments, com. officers, 2; recruits, appointed com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 9; total	12
	---
Aggregate	967
Losses.	
Death, killed in action—enlisted men	11
Died of wounds—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 5; total	6
Died of disease—com. officers, 4; enlisted men, 47; total	51
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	-
Total of deaths	68
Discharge, resignation—com. officers, resigned, 10; for disability, enlisted men, 63; for wounds, enlisted men, 3; total	76
Deserted, 7; not finally accounted for, 2; total	9
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Total loss	153
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 777; total	814
	----
Aggregate	967
Total wounded	81

## FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 922; total	959
Gains.	
Recruits, 3; transfers from other regiments, 1; total	4
	---
Aggregate	963
Losses.	
Killed in action—enlisted men	19
Died of wounds—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 7; total	8
Died of disease—enlisted men	39
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 1; from accident, 1; total	2
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Total of deaths	68
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 4; for wounds and disability, col. Officers, 1; enlisted men, 58; total	63
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, enlisted men	1
Unaccounted for	
	----
Total loss	133
Mustered out—com. officers, 39; enlisted men, 791; total	830
	----
Aggregate	963
Total wounded	47

## FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 38; enlisted men, 901; total	939
Gains.	
Recruits, enlisted men	1
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Aggregate	940
Losses.	
Transfer to other regiments, enlisted men	1
Died of disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 77; total	78
Died from accident—enlisted men	1
Discharge, resignation—com. officers, 11; disability, enlisted men, 55; total	66
Deserted	1
	----
Total loss	147
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 756; total	793
	----
Aggregate	940

## SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 924; total	960
Gains.	
Promotion, from other regiments—com. officers	2
Recruits, appointed com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 3; total	4
	----
Aggregate	966
Losses.	
Promotion and transfer to U.S. army—enlisted men	2
Death, killed in action—enlisted men	16
From wounds in action—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 7; total	8
Disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 47; total	48
Prisoners—enlisted men	1
	----
Total of deaths	73
Discharged—com. officers, resigned, 13; disability, enlisted men, 41; total	54
Deserted	3
	----
Total loss	132
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 797; total	834
	----
Aggregate	966
Total wounded	85