

The Great Battle Never Fought

THE MINE RUN CAMPAIGN, NOVEMBER 26-DECEMBER 2, 1863

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EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



Footnotes

Prologue

"I see the *Herald* is constantly harping on the assertion that Gettysburg was fought by the corps commanders...."¹

"Led by his ardor, he came to ask to resume his command...."²

Subsequent biographers have characterized him as everything ranging from "Sickles the Incredible" to "American Scoundrel."³

"He does not look his antecedents...."⁴

¹ George Gordon Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade, Major-General United States Army*. Vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1913), 160.

² Regis de Trobriand, *Four Years with the Army of the Potomac*. George K. Dauchy, trans. (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1889), 545.

³ see *Sickles the Incredible: A Biography of Daniel Edgar Sickles* by William Andrew Swanberg (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956) and *American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Dan Sickles* by Thomas Keneally (Doubleday, 2002).

⁴ Theodore Lyman, *Meade's Army: The Private Notebooks of Lt. Col. Theodore Lyman*. David W. Lowe, editor. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2007), 53.

"[A]ll his Gettysburg regiments formed without arms, in double line, along the road...."⁵
"As he passed along our lines, he was greeted with such rounds of applause...."⁶
"...and the welcome was most enthusiastic."⁷
"I reported for duty...."⁸
Meade dealt with the insubordination lightly in his official report of the battle....⁹
"He instanced the case of [Maj. Gen. Richard] Ewell, of the rebel army...."¹⁰
"The general-in-chief thought, not without reason...."¹¹
"His friends [at the front] think his valor carries him too far in his present physical condition."¹²
Sickles himself later admitted as much....¹³
"The welcome given him by his two old divisions...."¹⁴

Chapter One: The Fall of 1863

"[Robert E.] Lee made a desperate effort to get in my rear...."¹⁵
"Lee is unquestionably bullying you...."¹⁶
"It was not a retreat, but a withdrawal of the army...."¹⁷
"I am willing to leave to history the fact...."¹⁸
"It was greatly in my interest to fight...."¹⁹
"I do not deem it advisable to attack him in his entrenchments...."²⁰
"If you cannot ascertain his movements, I certainly cannot...."²¹
"I take this occasion to repeat what I have before stated...."²²
"The land is somewhat regularly hilly...."²³
"It seems to me . . . that the campaign is virtually over for the present season...."²⁴

⁵ de Trobriand, 545.

⁶ John W. Haley, *The Rebel Yell & the Yankee Hurrah: The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer*, Ruth L. Siliker, ed. (Camden, ME: Down East Books, 1985), 125.

⁷ de Trobriand, 545-6.

⁸ Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, Vol. I, 1865, 304.

⁹ Report of George Gordon Meade, OR XXVII, Vol. 1, 116.

¹⁰ JCCW, 304.

¹¹ de Trobriand, 545

¹² *New York Tribune*, 19 October 1863.

¹³ JCCW, 304.

¹⁴ de Trobriand, 545.

¹⁵ Meade, 154.

¹⁶ Halleck to Meade, 18 October 1863, OR Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, 346.

¹⁷ Meade, 154.

¹⁸ Meade, 153.

¹⁹ Meade, 154-5.

²⁰ Robert E. Lee, *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*. Clifford Dowdey and Louis Manarin, editors. (New York: De Capo, 1961), 609.

²¹ Halleck to Meade, 18 October 1863, OR Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, 346.

²² Meade to Halleck, 18 Oct. 1863, OR Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, 346.

²³ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 55.

²⁴ Meade to Halleck, 21 October 1863, OR Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, 361.

"The President was, as he always is, very considerate and kind...."²⁵
"[T]he president considered my army too large...."²⁶
"Lee said, "with emphasis," that "General Meade was the most dangerous man...."²⁷
"We were very anxious to attack or be attacked...."²⁸
... "miserable, miserable, miserable management."²⁹
"I only wish the General had good Lieutenants...."³⁰
... "Genl Meade I believe is repairing the railroad...."³¹
"The condition of the Virginia Central Railroad, upon which we depend...."³²
"[We] hold him in no fear whatever...."³³
... "the saddest chapter in the history of this army."³⁴
"This was a deep game...."³⁵

Captions:

"cuts people up without mercy."³⁶
"In addition to other infirmities...."³⁷
Theodore Lyman described Warrenton....³⁸
"Near Centreville is 'Chantilly....'"³⁹
"He is a stout man, somewhat stooping...."⁴⁰

Chapter Two: Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford

"Heretofore, the tide has been uniformly against us...."⁴¹
"These works were slight, but were deemed adequate...."⁴²
"The works on the north side of the river...."⁴³

²⁵ Meade, 154.

²⁶ Meade, 150.

²⁷ Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1903), 228.

²⁸ Robert E. Lee, *Recollections and Letters of Robert E. Lee (by his son)*, Robert E. Lee, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1904), 103.

²⁹ Walter Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant: The Wartime Letters of Colonel Walter Herron Taylor, 1862-1865*. R. Lockwood Tower, ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 82.

³⁰ Walter H. Taylor, *Four Years with General Lee*. James I Robertson, Jr., ed., (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 88.

³¹ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 616.

³² Lee, *Wartime Paper*, 622.

³³ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 85.

³⁴ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 82.

³⁵ Meade, 154.

³⁶ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 18 (quoted in editor's introduction)

³⁷ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 614.

³⁸ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 57.

³⁹ Haley, 124.

⁴⁰ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 58.

⁴¹ Daniel Holt, *A Surgeon's Civil War: The Letters & Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.* James M. Greiner, et al, eds. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994), 157.

⁴² Report of Robert E. Lee, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 611.

"It had now become so dark...."⁴⁴
 "The enemy advanced in overwhelming numbers...."⁴⁵
 ... "the guns placed in the embrasures...."⁴⁶
 "These cannon-balls as they came tearing through the air...."⁴⁷
 The 6th Maine infantry spearheaded the assault....⁴⁸
 Charles Clark, an officer in the regiment, described their advance....⁴⁹
 "We all allowed that the whole Army of the Potomac were coming...."⁵⁰
 "The enemy then poured over the trenches...."⁵¹
 But what a cacophony it made, Holt said....⁵²
 "[P]ontoons were pushed over the hill, preceded by a skirmish line...."⁵³
 "You can image the boys going through the river nearly waist deep...."⁵⁴
 ... "reduced more than I expected by the fight at Kelly's Ford...."⁵⁵
 "Though we have much to make us sad tonight...."⁵⁶
 "It was some satisfaction...."⁵⁷
 "We were up by the light of the stars...."⁵⁸
 "[W]e passed over the ground of the fight...."⁵⁹
 ... "the men all ran to the road and cheered and yelled most vociferously."⁶⁰
 "Meade manifests no very determined disposition to catch up with us...."⁶¹
 "Then it's time we were out of this!"⁶²
 ... "like a man of disappointed hopes . . . gazed around the country...."⁶³
 ... "where a general battle can be delivered on more favorable terms."⁶⁴
 "If compelled to fight Lee behind his works...."⁶⁵

⁴³ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 619.

⁴⁴ Holt, 155

⁴⁵ Report of Robert E. Lee, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 613.

⁴⁶ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 619.

⁴⁷ Wilbur Fisk, *Hard Marching Every Day: The Civil War Letters of Private Wilbur Fisk, 1861-1865*. Emil & Ruth Rosenblatt, eds. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1992), 160-1.

⁴⁸ Fisk, 159.

⁴⁹ Charles Clark, "Campaigning with the Sixth Maine: a paper read before the Iowa Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States," 1897, 46.

⁵⁰ Clark, 47.

⁵¹ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 623.

⁵² Holt, 155.

⁵³ Haley, 127.

⁵⁴ As quoted by Mike Block, "'Miserable, miserable management': The Battles of Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford," *A Want of Vigilance: The Battle of Bristoe Station* by William Backus and Rob Orrison (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2015).

⁵⁵ Stephen Dodson Ramseur, *The Bravest of the Brave: The Correspondence of Stephen Dodson Ramseur*. George G. Kundahl, ed., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 175.

⁵⁶ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 83.

⁵⁷ Holt, 156.

⁵⁸ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 63.

⁵⁹ Fisk, 161.

⁶⁰ Lyman, 45.

⁶¹ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 85.

⁶² Lyman, 45.

⁶³ Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters*, 45.

⁶⁴ Lee, *The Wartime Papers*, 621.

"I certainly expected he would fight...."⁶⁶
 At the very least, Meade hoped Lee's retreat....⁶⁷
 "You seem to be very much puzzled about my retreat as you misname it...."⁶⁸
 Meade gave the honor of leading the delegation to Brig. Gen. David Russell....⁶⁹
 Russell "rode his old black horse right up to the intrenchments...."⁷⁰
 ...he "insisted his wound was so slight as not to require care or treatment . . ."⁷¹
 Russell's commander, Brig. Gen. Horatio Wright, singled him out....⁷²
 On November 19, Stanton sent a note to Meade....⁷³
 "His experience was interesting if unsatisfactory...."⁷⁴
 En route, "his wound proving more serious...."⁷⁵
 Halleck "was very urgent that something should be done...."⁷⁶
 ..."had better fight instead of running away...."⁷⁷
 "[A]s he did not explain how I could fight to advantage...."⁷⁸
 "I take this occasion to repeat what I have before stated...."⁷⁹
 Meade understood "the condition of the public mind would hardly brook delay"⁸⁰
 "I used to think how nice it would be to be Commander in Chief...."⁸¹
 "A wretched weather!" with "Ice thicker than plate glass, these last two nights."⁸²
 "Weather exceeding fine...."⁸³
 "As to . . . our present whereabouts...."⁸⁴
 "[T]he way some ruined framed buildings went to pieces...."⁸⁵
 "[T]he army is in fine spirits...."⁸⁶

Captions:

"The General is busy with maps and officer...."⁸⁷

⁶⁵ Holt, 158.

⁶⁶ Meade, 156.

⁶⁷ Meade, 156.

⁶⁸ Meade, 154-5.

⁶⁹ Meade to Adjutant-General of the Army, 12 November 1863, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 591.

⁷⁰ Charles Brewster, *When This Cruel War is Over: The Civil War Letters of Charles Harvey Brewster*, David Blight, ed. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 266.

⁷¹ *Battles & Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. 4, 89.

⁷² Report of Horatio Wright, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 586.

⁷³ Stanton to Meade, 19 November 1863, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 591.

⁷⁴ *Battles & Leaders*, Vol. 4, 89.

⁷⁵ *Battles & Leaders*, Vol. 4, 89.

⁷⁶ Meade, 154.

⁷⁷ Meade, 155.

⁷⁸ Meade, 155.

⁷⁹ Meade to Halleck, 18 October 1863, OR XXIX, pt. 2, 346.

⁸⁰ William Swinton, *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 390.

⁸¹ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 53.

⁸² *Ibid*, 60.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 61.

⁸⁴ Fisk, 166.

⁸⁵ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 64.

⁸⁶ Meade, 155.

⁸⁷ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 62.

"[W]ith the alacrity of school boys and determination firm as a rock..."⁸⁸
"Quite late, we got a despatch that [Sedgwick] had driven them from their rifle-puts, and we thought he had done pretty well for an afternoon," said a member of Meade's staff. "But just at dusk, the distant roll of musketry indicated he was assaulting; and a telegraph has just come, that he has taken the redoubt. . . . So we go to sleep, encouraged and hopeful."⁸⁹
"It was the coldest water I ever forded...."⁹⁰

Chapter Three: Thanksgiving Day

"Thanksgiving day in the North, November 26th, should be remembered...."⁹¹
In "turning the enemy's works, and compelling him to give battle...."⁹²
"The plan promised brilliant success...."⁹³
"[F]ull explanations of the project were given...."⁹⁴
On November 23, "orders were issued requiring the troops to be in readiness...."⁹⁵
"On Tuesday, November 24 . . . we struck tents...."⁹⁶
"It is raining, and we all live in mud...."⁹⁷
"The weather was grim and forbidding...."⁹⁸
"Well, we are going to have a little peace and comfort now!"⁹⁹
"It is of utmost importance to the success of any movement...."¹⁰⁰
"I wish some critics, who complain of our inactivity...."¹⁰¹
"[I]t would seem that winter quarters...."¹⁰²
"We were up and away before light...."¹⁰³
"[A]s the beams of the rising sun touched the wintry frost...."¹⁰⁴

⁸⁸ Holt, 155.

⁸⁹ Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters*, 43-44.

⁹⁰ Worsham, 184.

⁹¹ Alfred S. Roe, *The Thirty-Ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, 1862-1865*. (Worcester, MA: Regimental Veteran Association, 1914), 126, 127.

⁹² OR XXIX, pt. 1, 677.

⁹³ Andrew A. Humphreys, *From Gettysburg to the Rapidan: The Army of the Potomac, July, 1863, to April, 1864*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 50.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 51.

⁹⁵ Osceola Lewis, *History of the One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Regiment* (1866), 48.

⁹⁶ Thomas Francis Galwey, *The Valiant Hours*, W. S. Nye, ed. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company), 165.

⁹⁷ Elisha Hunt Rhodes, *All for the Union: The Civil War Diary and Letters of Elisha Hunt Rhodes*, (Robert Hunt Rhodes, ed. New York: Vintage, 1992), 125.

⁹⁸ Fisk, 167.

⁹⁹ Warren Lee Goss, *Recollections of a Private* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1890), 245. The dialogue as well as the description of the long legs and blazing fire both come from the account.

¹⁰⁰ Meade, 156.

¹⁰¹ Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters*, 51.

¹⁰² Roe, 126.

¹⁰³ Austin C. Stearns, *Three Years with Company K*. Arthur Kent, ed., (London: Associated University Presses, 1976), 236.

¹⁰⁴ Henry N. Blake, *Three Years in the Army of the Potomac* (Geo. C. Band & Avert., 1865), 252.

“Before setting forth the men were cheered by news....”¹⁰⁵
 The news, said one man, was “good news to march on.”¹⁰⁶
 “There was need enough of whatever encouragement they could receive....”¹⁰⁷
 Meade directed Brig. Gen. George Custer “to make demonstrations . . . as if to
 cross”....¹⁰⁸
 “[L]ong lines of wagons filed over the plain towards Culpeper Court House....”¹⁰⁹
 “The surface of the ground was full of water from the recent rains....”¹¹⁰
 “[I]t was with no great degree of comfort that we trudged towards the Rapidan....”¹¹¹
 On the northernmost route....¹¹²
 Newton followed....¹¹³
 “Roads were rapidly cut out among the trees and batteries posted....”¹¹⁴
 ...“a movement attended with no little difficulty....”¹¹⁵
 “The men in wading the river, which was deep and swift....”¹¹⁶
 “An inspection was had....”¹¹⁷
 “The halt was all the more tiresome at the fords....”¹¹⁸
 “[T]he roads were very heavy and everything moved laboriously....”¹¹⁹
 “The road was not cleared until 11 a.m.,” Sedgwick tactfully reported.¹²⁰
 “A severe battle had been anticipated at the fords....”¹²¹
 Prince, “[h]aving no knowledge whatever of the place where I was to cross....”¹²²
 “The enemy were showing themselves in some small force....”¹²³
 “[T]hrow your bridge immediately, and cross without delay....”¹²⁴
 “General Prince is very slow,” French responded.¹²⁵
 “It is the worst place I have seen for a pontoon bridge....”¹²⁶
 “[T]he pioneers were constructing a support of earth and logs....”¹²⁷

¹⁰⁵ James L. Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh Regiment* (Holyoke, Mass.: Clark W. Bryan & Company, 1884), 236.

¹⁰⁶ Roe, 129.

¹⁰⁷ Bowen, 236.

¹⁰⁸ Report of Maj. Gen. George A. Custer, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 812.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Knox Sneden, *Eye of the Storm*, Charles F. Bryan, Jr. and Nelson D. Lankford, eds. (New York, NY: The Free Press), 145-6.

¹¹⁰ Joseph Keith Newell, “Ours.” *Annals of 10th Regiment* (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols), 242.

¹¹¹ Lewis, 48, 50.

¹¹² Report of Maj. Gen. George Sykes, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 794.

¹¹³ Report of Maj. Gen. John Newton, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 687.

¹¹⁴ Report of Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren, OR 29, Pt. 1, 694.

¹¹⁵ Report of Col. Hiram L. Brown, OR 29, Pt. 1, 719.

¹¹⁶ Report of Col. John R. Brooke, OR 29, Pt. 1, 714.

¹¹⁷ Report of Maj. Leman W. Bradley, OR 29, Pt. 1, 716.

¹¹⁸ Goss, 246.

¹¹⁹ Roe, 235.

¹²⁰ Report of John Sedgwick, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 796.

¹²¹ Blake, 254.

¹²² Report of Henry Prince, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 760.

¹²³ Report of William French, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 737.

¹²⁴ Humphreys to French, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 491.

¹²⁵ French to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 491.

¹²⁶ Turnbull to Duane, OR XXIX, pt. 2, 492.

¹²⁷ Blake, 254

"[M]y Regiment was selected to cross in the first boats...."¹²⁸
"Artillery can only get up by doubling teams, and it is difficult then...."¹²⁹
"We are in the bowels of the enemy,' remarked Gen. Prince...."¹³⁰
"The firing resulted in the wounding of a dog...."¹³¹
... "gloom began to set in."¹³²
"The movement now became very spasmodic...."¹³³
"No cases of insomnia were heard of during the night...."¹³⁴
"[T]hose who were not too much exhausted [made] fire...."¹³⁵

Captions:

"My army is in excellent condition and in high spirits...."¹³⁶
"Our Brigade is in the advance and will be in the fight first...."¹³⁷
"[W]e could not tell that the woods were not full of [Confederates]...."¹³⁸
"As soon as I could lay off my traps and gun...."¹³⁹

Chapter Four: Into the Wilderness

"Every commanding height on the south bank of the river...."¹⁴⁰
On November 25, intelligence had tipped Lee off....¹⁴¹
"Prepare the troops around Richmond...."¹⁴²
"All should be advanced toward Hanover Junction that can."¹⁴³
"[T]he Federal army greatly exceeds this in number...."¹⁴⁴
"But later in the day," said Jubal Early....¹⁴⁵
As for Custer's ruse, Early reported....¹⁴⁶
"The country in that vicinity was unfavorable for observation...."¹⁴⁷

¹²⁸ Robert McAllister, *The Civil War Letters of General Robert McAllister*, James I Robertson, Jr., ed. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 363.

¹²⁹ Turnbull to Duane, OR XXIX, pt. 2, 492.

¹³⁰ Blake, 255.

¹³¹ McAllister, 363.

¹³² Thomas W. Hyde, *Following the Greek Cross or, Memories of the Sixth Army Corps*, (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1894), 174.

¹³³ Bowen, 236.

¹³⁴ Roe, 129.

¹³⁵ Bowen, 236.

¹³⁶ Meade, 156.

¹³⁷ McAllister, 363.

¹³⁸ Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters*, 52.

¹³⁹ Stearns, 236.

¹⁴⁰ This and all other Custer quotes from this section come from the Custer's report, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 812.

¹⁴¹ Robert E. Lee to J. D. Imboden, 25 November 1863, OR XXIX, Pt. 2, 846.

¹⁴² Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, 25 November 1863, OR XXIX, Pt. 2, 846.

¹⁴³ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 626.

¹⁴⁴ Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, 25 November 1863, OR XXIX, Pt. 2, 846.

¹⁴⁵ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 830.

¹⁴⁶ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 830.

He issued instructions to Early....¹⁴⁸

"Matters seem to be drifting toward our old and renowned battle-fields...."¹⁴⁹

"If God be with us...."¹⁵⁰

The loss at Chattanooga, he confessed, was "a severe blow...."¹⁵¹

"Silence at last reigned over the forest...."¹⁵²

... "through regions where apparently the foot of man had never before wandered."¹⁵³

"The Wilderness," a Pennsylvanian mused....¹⁵⁴

"You may, therefore imagine our feelings...."¹⁵⁵

Captions

"[T]here is a fatality attached to this part of Virginia...."¹⁵⁶

Chapter Five: Robinson's Tavern

Meade and his staff awoke before daylight...¹⁵⁷

The morning broke "quite cold and the water froze in the tent."¹⁵⁸

... "dense, scrub-oak wood, penetrated only by farm roads...."¹⁵⁹

"The country . . . was difficult to move and manoeuvre [sic] in...."¹⁶⁰

"Our brigade was at the head of the division...."¹⁶¹

The Buckeyes had orders....¹⁶²

"On the crest of the ridge ahead of us and to the left of the road...."¹⁶³

"[W]e couldn't resist picturing what this tavern might be...."¹⁶⁴

As the Federal column approached the tavern, a woman appeared....¹⁶⁵

"One who is accustomed to war can tell...."¹⁶⁶

¹⁴⁷ Report of Robert E. Lee, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 827.

¹⁴⁸ Report of Jubal Early, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 831.

¹⁴⁹ Taylor, *Four Years*, 120.

¹⁵⁰ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 92.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Bowen, 237.

¹⁵³ Bowen, 237.

¹⁵⁴ A. M. Stewart, *Camp, March, and Battle-field* (Philadelphia, PA: Jas. B. Rodgers, 1865), 363.

¹⁵⁵ Daniel M. Holt, *A Surgeon's Civil War: The Letters & Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.*, James M. Greiner, et al, eds. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994), 159.

¹⁵⁶ Haley, 131.

¹⁵⁷ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 71.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Humphreys, 51.

¹⁶¹ Galwey, 166.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 168.

¹⁶⁴ Charles E. Davis, Jr., *Three Years in the Army: The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers from July 16, 1861, to August 1, 1864* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1864), 280.

¹⁶⁵ Galwey, 169.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

“[O]ur cavalry skirmishers came galloping back....”¹⁶⁷
 “They must have been glad to see us....”¹⁶⁸
 ...“marched eastward to strike the enemy while moving, or accept battle if offered.”¹⁶⁹
 As the column came in view of the open ground around Locust Grove....¹⁷⁰
 Hays deployed his division on the right side of the road....¹⁷¹
 Some of his men tried digging in for extra protection....¹⁷²
 Inspecting the line, Early found....¹⁷³
 “The enemy’s guns raked the road as far as they could reach....”¹⁷⁴
 “I could see nothing of the enemy’s position....”¹⁷⁵
 Supposing the attackers to be Federal horsemen....¹⁷⁶
 It “required dispositions . . . which nearly deployed all my forces....”¹⁷⁷
 ...the situation “required caution on my part.”¹⁷⁸
 “The Fifth Corps is in sight moving up on my left....”¹⁷⁹
 “The head of my column is near the plank road....”¹⁸⁰
 “What are you waiting for?” Humphreys responded....¹⁸¹
 “I think the skirmish almost deserved the name of a battle....”¹⁸²
 He “showed us his cape with thirty-one bullet holes in it....”¹⁸³
 “[S]ome troops on our right gave way or were withdrawn....”¹⁸⁴
 “It was from the opposite side of this swamp....”¹⁸⁵
 “The enemy in front of Warren at length became so active and enterprising....”¹⁸⁶
 Warren timed his advance just before dark....¹⁸⁷
 “The woods [the enemy] occupied prevented the efficient use of lines of battle....”¹⁸⁸
 “Though it did not stop the fighting....”¹⁸⁹
 He’d long before sent word to Lee¹⁹⁰

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 169-70.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 170.

¹⁶⁹ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 629.

¹⁷⁰ Jubal Early, *Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1912), 319.

¹⁷¹ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 320.

¹⁷² Report of Edward A. O’Neal, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 887.

¹⁷³ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 320.

¹⁷⁴ Early report, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 832.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 321.

¹⁷⁷ Warren, 695.

¹⁷⁸ Warren, 695.

¹⁷⁹ Warren to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 499.

¹⁸⁰ French to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 498.

¹⁸¹ Humphreys to French, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 500.

¹⁸² Thomas Livermore, *Days and Events, 1860-1866* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 300.

¹⁸³ Livermore, 300.

¹⁸⁴ Galwey, 171.

¹⁸⁵ Report of Col. De Witt C. Baxter, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 723.

¹⁸⁶ Humphreys, 61.

¹⁸⁷ Warren, 695.

¹⁸⁸ Warren, 696.

¹⁸⁹ Galwey, 171-172.

"[T]he enemy's whole force had moved up to us..."¹⁹¹
"In going to the front [earlier] in the day..."¹⁹²

Captions

"This affair closed at dark and was a very unexpected fight..."¹⁹³
General Francis Meagher, formerly of the Irish Brigade..."¹⁹⁴

Chapter Six: New Hope Church

... "and a crooked, hilly road it turned out to be," one marcher attested.¹⁹⁵
"It was a beautiful sight, as we rose to the top of a hill..."¹⁹⁶
"There was excellent reason for this precaution..."¹⁹⁷
"This train was strongly guarded by a corps front and rear..."¹⁹⁸
"It was a bold dash to come in between two army corps..."¹⁹⁹
"Under his blue overcoat we found the rebel gray," Dawes said.²⁰⁰
Brigade commander Lysander Cutler credited the 6th and 2nd Wisconsin..."²⁰¹
For all Sykes's tardiness, Stuart marveled..."²⁰²
"The country was so densely wooded..."²⁰³
"The enemy endeavored to check the advance by discharge of canister..."²⁰⁴
Only at New Hope Church could the Federals finally deploy in any strength.²⁰⁵
"Additional squadrons of dismounted men..."²⁰⁶
... "one of the prettiest little things he had ever seen done by volunteer troops."²⁰⁷
Stuart, on the receiving end of that prettiness, called it "a very uneven contest."²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁰ Early report, 832.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 833.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ J. Newton Terrill, *Campaign of the Fourteenth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Daily Home News Press, 1884), 45.

¹⁹⁵ Davis, 279.

¹⁹⁶ Third Pennsylvania Cavalry Association, *History of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, Sixtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the American Civil War, 1861-1865*, (Philadelphia: Franklin Printing Company, 1905), 366.

¹⁹⁷ Davis, 280.

¹⁹⁸ Report of Thomas Rosser, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 904.

¹⁹⁹ Rufus Dawes, *A Full Blown Yankee of the Iron Brigade: Service with the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*, Alan T. Nolan, ed., (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 225-8.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 227.

²⁰¹ Report of Lysander Cutler, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 690.

²⁰² Report of J.E.B. Stuart, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 898.

²⁰³ Report of George Sykes, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 794.

²⁰⁴ Report of David Gregg, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 807.

²⁰⁵ Sykes, 794.

²⁰⁶ Gregg, 807.

²⁰⁷ Benjamin W. Crownshield, *A History of the First Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry Volunteers* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 185.

²⁰⁸ Stuart, 898.

...“the cavalry could make no further impression. . . .”²⁰⁹
“[A] heavy battle line of infantry, with their Enfield rifles....”²¹⁰
“What in hell are you-uns shootin’ with?” one bewildered Confederate asked.²¹¹
“After several unsuccessful attempts to clear [the] front by skirmishers....”²¹²
Heth “requested him to permit me to advance....”²¹³
Heth deployed, but “to my astonishment,” he wrote....²¹⁴
Heth placed him under arrest, then tried to realign the brigade.²¹⁵
“I am getting my troops in position,” Sykes reported....”²¹⁶
Had the III Corps “moved promptly....”²¹⁷

Captions

“We were up and away before light....”²¹⁸

Chapter Seven: The Road to Payne’s Farm

Therefore, to avoid that potential clash, Andrew Humphreys recalled....²¹⁹
“Delay to this time must be considered as caused....”²²⁰
“I ordered that one man should return and report....”²²¹
“This messenger, in attempting to fulfill this order, was chased off of the road....”²²²
“It must be acknowledged that this reception....”²²³
French was “a large man with a red nose, a flushed face....”²²⁴
Men referred to him as “Blinky” because....²²⁵
When French came up Jacob’s Ford Road to make his headquarters, the men
jeered....²²⁶
Someone suggested more darkly....²²⁷
“[O]ld Blinkey was ‘fuller’n a goat....”²²⁸
In an 11:00 a.m. message to French....²²⁹

²⁰⁹ Sykes, 794.

²¹⁰ Third Pennsylvania Cavalry Association, 366-7.

²¹¹ Ibid, 367.

²¹² Report of Henry Heth, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 897.

²¹³ Heth, 897.

²¹⁴ Heth, 897.

²¹⁵ Earl Hess, *Lee’s Tar Heels: The Pettigrew-Kirkland-MacRae Brigade*, (UNC Press, 2002), 197.

²¹⁶ Sykes to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 504.

²¹⁷ Humphrey, 58.

²¹⁸ Stearns, 236.

²¹⁹ Humphreys, 51.

²²⁰ Prince, 762.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ de Trobriand, 546.

²²⁴ de Trobriand, 530.

²²⁵ Blake, 257.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Goss, 364.

²²⁸ Haley, 128.

...Humphreys sent a more urgent message a half hour later....²³⁰
"General Humphreys desires me to communicate to you...."²³¹

Captions

"This portion of the country had not been previously visited...."²³²
..."justice demands that his shameful conduct should be fully described...."²³³

Chapter Eight: The Battle of Payne's Farm (Part I)

"No instructions were given me, however...."²³⁴
"The general orders that you move on by the Robertson's Tavern road...."²³⁵
Suddenly, "I received orders to cease all operations...."²³⁶
Instead, Prince rode back to headquarters....²³⁷
"He begged me to understand...."²³⁸
"The general says go on."²³⁹
"Bing! Bing! Whang!" said one Federal soldier....²⁴⁰
...a "body of troops marching slowly along a country road...."²⁴¹
"I must say this was the promptest movement I saw during the war...."²⁴²
"They had scarcely proceeded 20 paces, however...."²⁴³
"Slowly advancing through the woods into an open field...."²⁴⁴
"When the brigade charged across the field...."²⁴⁵
..."through a dense woods, and pressing back his skirmishers...."²⁴⁶
There, at the edge of the woods....²⁴⁷
Prince surprised himself....²⁴⁸
The first two of Carr's brigades....²⁴⁹

²²⁹ Humphreys to French, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 499.

²³⁰ Humphreys to French, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 499-500.

²³¹ French to Sedgwick, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 500.

²³² Lewis, 50-1.

²³³ Blake, 257.

²³⁴ Prince, 762.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid, 763.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Lewis, 51.

²⁴¹ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865*, Vol. 1, 197.

²⁴² John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry: His Experience and What He Saw During the War 1861-1865*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1912), 187.

²⁴³ Report of George H. Steuart, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 862-3.

²⁴⁴ Report of Porter D. Tripp, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 766.

²⁴⁵ Blake, 259.

²⁴⁶ Report of Napoleon McLaughlen, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 765.

²⁴⁷ Report of Porter D. Tripp, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 766.

²⁴⁸ Prince, 763.

“The brigade was under a severe fire....”²⁵⁰

French’s moves might have been in response to an order from Humphreys....²⁵¹

“The enemy . . . has evidently flanked us,” thought one North Carolinian....²⁵²

“The rebels came on in their usual manner....”²⁵³

During the blizzard, Lt. Col. Raleigh T. Colston of the 2nd Virginia....²⁵⁴

“It seemed,” said one Tar Heel....”²⁵⁵

Captions

“Brave men were being stricken down....”²⁵⁶

“Our officers urged us to increased exertion....”²⁵⁷

“General Stafford was ordinarily very cool and collected, especially on the battle front, but it is said that at times when much provoked he was quite impulsive and not infrequently display a goodly share of hot temper.”²⁵⁸

Chapter Nine: The Battle of Payne’s Farm (Part II)

The 28-year-old commander....²⁵⁹

His men considered him “a splendid officer.”²⁶⁰

He drove the Federals “some distance to a cleared field....”²⁶¹

...“the enemy had gotten so far in my rear as to still flank me....”²⁶²

“My object in making this disposition....”²⁶³

The 37th opened what the New Yorkers called “a brisk fire....”²⁶⁴

Williams found himself still essentially surrounded....²⁶⁵

²⁴⁹ George R. Prowell, *History of the Eighty-Seventh Regiment* (York, PA), 100.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Humphreys to French, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 501.

²⁵² Clark, 198.

²⁵³ Warren H. Cudworth, *History of the First Regiment* (Boston, Mass.: Walker, Fuller, and Company, 1866), 441.

²⁵⁴ Report of Charles H. Stewart, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 850.

²⁵⁵ Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865*, Vol. 1, 198.

²⁵⁶ Osceola Lewis, *History of the One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Regiment* (Norristown, PA: Wills, Iredell & Jenkins, 1866), 55.

Osceola Lewis, *History of the One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Regiment* (Norristown, PA: Wills, Iredell & Jenkins, 1866), 55.

²⁵⁷ Haley, 129.

²⁵⁸ G. M. G. Stafford, *General Leroy Augustus Stafford: His Forebears and Descendants* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1943), 42.

²⁵⁹ VMI Historical Rosters Database, < <https://archivesweb.vmi.edu/rosters/record.php?ID=976>>

²⁶⁰ quoted in Bruce S. Allardice, *Confederate Colonels: A Biographical Register*, (University of Missouri Press, 2008), 399.

²⁶¹ Report of Titus Williams, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 870.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Report of J. Egbert Farnum, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 771.

The guns “opened at sunset....”²⁶⁶
 “Suddenly the enemy broke forth in a tremendously noisy advancing fire....”²⁶⁷
 “[T]he extraordinary density of the thicket....”²⁶⁸
 “Here the action was quite sharp for a short time....”²⁶⁹
 Colonel Robert McAllister of the 11th New Jersey....²⁷⁰
 “I beheld their flight with astonishment and saw the danger I was in....”²⁷¹
 “[E]ight Napoleons opened up with canister....”²⁷²
 He “waved it right and left in the very face of the enemy....”²⁷³
 To Steuart’s right, Walker’s Stonewall Brigade “advanced rapidly”....²⁷⁴
 Walker charged them and they “soon gave way in confusion....”²⁷⁵
 “The old Stonewall Brigade . . . charged . . . with savage fury....”²⁷⁶
 One of Morris’s men said....²⁷⁷
 As Morris’s men “directed a fearful converging fire upon him....”²⁷⁸
 Federals across the field began to holler, “Shoot the man with the flag.”²⁷⁹
 “This enabled the enemy to turn our right flank....”²⁸⁰
 Frier had loaded his gun, Hitchcock said....²⁸¹
 Said one of Keifer’s men, “Our formation into line of battle....”²⁸²
 “On they came,” recalled Osceola Lewis of the 138th Pennsylvania....²⁸³
 Morris’s and Keifer’s united front proved too much....²⁸⁴
 “The action soon became furious,” said Stafford....²⁸⁵
 Stafford had named his horse “Harry Hays”....²⁸⁶
 “The battle still raged,” said Osceola Lewis.²⁸⁷
 “The opposing lines became wrapt in one dense sheet of musketry....”²⁸⁸
 “To us it looked as though there would be a chance....”²⁸⁹

²⁶⁵ Williams, 870.

²⁶⁶ Blake, 259.

²⁶⁷ Prince, 763.

²⁶⁸ Steuart, 863.

²⁶⁹ Report of Stephen Thruston, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 866.

²⁷⁰ McAllister, *Letters*, 364.

²⁷¹ McAllister, 768.

²⁷² David B. Swinfen, *Ruggles’ Regiment* (UPNE, 1982), 31.

²⁷³ McAllister, *Letters*, 365.

²⁷⁴ Report of James A. Walker, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 849.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ Simon Burdick Cummins, *Give God the Glory: Memoirs of a Civil War Soldier*, Melvin Jones, ed., 64.

²⁷⁷ Helena Adelaide Howell, ed., *Chronicles of the One Hundred Fifty-First Regiment* (Albion, NY: M. Eddy, 1911), 49.

²⁷⁸ Johnson, 848.

²⁷⁹ From Civil War Trust wayside #8 at Payne’s Farm.

²⁸⁰ Cummins, 64.

²⁸¹ Howell, 38.

²⁸² Lewis, 52.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸⁴ Report of Leroy Stafford, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 871.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ G. M. G. Stafford, 42-43.

²⁸⁷ Lewis, 56.

²⁸⁸ Lewis, 53

Although “not engaged at Locust Grove....”²⁹⁰
 One ball, which “could not be dodged....”²⁹¹
 “Gen. Sedgwick and staff had dismounted....”²⁹²
 “[W]hen whiz! bang!! And a shell burst over our heads....”²⁹³
 Houston rolled “heels overhead....”²⁹⁴
 “No one was hurt, but I observed the gentlemen of the press....”²⁹⁵
 ... “the most miry place I ever entered,” one Confederate said....²⁹⁶
 With the arrival of Jones’s brigade....²⁹⁷
 “Their fire was severe,” said Lewis....²⁹⁸
 Captain Johnson of the 50th Virginia, “a man of about fifty years of age....”²⁹⁹
 “[T]hough under a galling fire of musketry....”³⁰⁰
 “The bullets flew by my ears like the wind through the leaves....”³⁰¹
 “It was marvelous to see the way they put danger behind them....”³⁰²
 “Neither side seemed to gain any ground, or lose anything but *men*,” grieved
 Haley.³⁰³
 “After a while,” said a VI Corps soldier, “the firing ceased....”³⁰⁴
 ... “strewn with arms, with artillery and infantry ammunition, [the enemy’s] dead and
 dying.”³⁰⁵
 “I can never forget the experience of that night....”³⁰⁶
 “In the morning the brigade pioneer corps went out and buried the dead....”³⁰⁷
 “The sanguinary loss of the enemy, and their repulse....”³⁰⁸
 “The ignominious result of this conflict....”³⁰⁹
 As Andrew Humphreys saw it....³¹⁰
 “Had the column moved promptly by either road....”³¹¹
 “There should have been no fight here,” said John Haley of the 17th Maine....”³¹²

²⁸⁹ Fisk, 169.

²⁹⁰ Hyde, 175.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Penrose, 236.

²⁹³ Swinfen, 31.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 33.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Worsham, 187.

²⁹⁷ L. Stafford, 871.

²⁹⁸ Lewis, 54.

²⁹⁹ Worsham, 188.

³⁰⁰ Johnson, 847.

³⁰¹ Cummins, 45.

³⁰² Haley, 129.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Fisk, 169.

³⁰⁵ Johnson, 848.

³⁰⁶ Paul Stephen Beaudry, *The Forgotten Regiment: History of the 151st New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment* (InChem Publishing, 1995), 67-8.

³⁰⁷ McAllister, *Letters*, 365.

³⁰⁸ Report of William French, OR XXIV, Pt. 1, 743.

³⁰⁹ Blake, 260.

³¹⁰ Humphreys, 63.

³¹¹ Ibid, 58.

Captions

“The fighting that has occurred to-day....”³¹³

One VI Corps soldier described “Uncle John” Sedgwick....³¹⁴

“We had few officers who could command 10,000 men as well as he....”³¹⁵

Chapter Ten: Along Mine Run

“[S]lop, slop in the mud....”³¹⁶

“A pretty place to pass my Wedding-day!”³¹⁷

...Meade flashed “a look that expressed supreme displeasure.”³¹⁸

“After cooking and eating breakfast, the lines were formed....”³¹⁹

“We passed the point where we held by the enemy yesterday....”³²⁰

“A heavy rain came on,” Warren later reported.³²¹

“[D]uring a severe rain-storm, the line was advanced...”³²²

In all, the Federals advanced a mile and a half beyond their previous day’s position.³²³ And then, said a member of the 93rd Pennsylvania....”³²⁴

“The ravine of the run was difficult of passage....”³²⁵

A II Corps soldier felt....³²⁶

Another noted the far position, “strongly defined....”³²⁷

“The little run which our Corps would be compelled to cross....”³²⁸

“The run has been dammed by the rebels....”³²⁹

“Any troops, advancing to the assault....”³³⁰

Daniel Holt, the surgeon of the 121st New York....³³¹

...“It was a formidable position to assault.”³³²

³¹² Haley, 129.

³¹³ Quoted from a Civil War Trust marker on the Payne Farm Battlefield at Zoar Church.

³¹⁴ Hyde, 172-3.

³¹⁵ Lyman, *Meade’s Headquarters*, 266.

³¹⁶ Lyman, *Meade’s Army*, 73.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Stearns, 237.

³¹⁹ Galwey, 172.

³²⁰ Report of Henry W. Cunningham, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 725; Galwey, 172.

³²¹ Warren, 696.

³²² Report of Edward Fowler, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 692.

³²³ Galwey, 172.

³²⁴ Fowler, 692.

³²⁵ Humphreys, 63.

³²⁶ Francis A. Walker, *History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1887), 374.

³²⁷ Galwey, 173.

³²⁸ Mark, 236.

³²⁹ A. R. Small, *The Sixteenth Maine Regiment in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (Portland, ME: B. Thurston & Co., 1886), 153.

³³⁰ Lyman, *Meade’s Headquarters*, 55.

³³¹ Holt, 160.

Confederates had thrown up their initial defenses....³³³
 Lee, coming to the front from his headquarters....³³⁴
 "He had been riding at a pretty fair gait...."³³⁵
 Taylor called it "a striking scene . . . one of the soul-stirring tableaux of the war."³³⁶
 As the position took shape, "[t]he parapet was crowded with men...."³³⁷
 "While lying here, we discerned in our front...."³³⁸
 Although "heavy rain fell and added to our discomfort"³³⁹
 "This line was strongly and rapidly fortified...."³⁴⁰
 "I couldn't look over to those gray-coated devils...."³⁴¹
 "Right there in front of us, on this side of the valley...."³⁴²
 "It is always easy to know which side is advancing...."³⁴³
 "[O]ur Batteries were placed in position and fire opened...."³⁴⁴
 "We had stirred up their hive, and found a pretty lively swarm...."³⁴⁵
 "General Meade might, indeed, on the first sight of the enemy's line...."³⁴⁶
 "As soon as you have taken position and examined the position of the enemy...."³⁴⁷
 Unfortunately, as John Sedgwick later recorded....³⁴⁸
 As a result, Theodore Lyman lamented....³⁴⁹
 "The morass into which our Regiment was led...."³⁵⁰
 "We are lying in mud and water...."³⁵¹
 On top of that, said Alfred Roe of the 39th Massachusetts....³⁵²
 "So near were we to the rebel lines...."³⁵³
 Warren complained that the heavy rain....³⁵⁴
 Newton's pickets reported....³⁵⁵
 French's men, reconnoitering....³⁵⁶

³³² Galwey, 173.

³³³ Taylor, *Four Years*, 120.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Taylor, *General Lee*, 227.

³³⁷ Taylor, *Four Years*, 121.

³³⁸ *History of the Twenty-Third Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry (1903-1904)*, 109.

³³⁹ Robert Emory Park, diary, printed in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 26, Jan.-Dec. 1898, Richmond, VA.

³⁴⁰ Report of Stephen D. Ramseur, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 886.

³⁴¹ Fisk, 171.

³⁴² Galwey, 173.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Rodes, 126.

³⁴⁵ Fisk, 171.

³⁴⁶ Walker, 374-5.

³⁴⁷ Humphreys to Commanding Officers of Corps, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 507.

³⁴⁸ Report of John Sedgwick, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 796.

³⁴⁹ Lyman, *Meade's Army*, 73.

³⁵⁰ Roe, 236.

³⁵¹ Dawes, 225.

³⁵² Roe, 130.

³⁵³ A. M. Stewart, *Camp, March, and Battle-field* (Philadelphia, PA: Jas. B. Rodgers, 1865), 365.

³⁵⁴ Warren, 696.

³⁵⁵ Newton to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 508.

Sykes made it unanimous.³⁵⁷

In short, said a II Corps historian later....³⁵⁸

"[T]he run was breast deep with water, covered with a thin ice...."³⁵⁹

"[T]he day that had been lost...."³⁶⁰

"Remained here, without fires during a drenching rain-storm...."³⁶¹

"I thought our wedding day would be celebrated by a great battle...."³⁶²

Captions:

"The road through the dense forest was muddy, narrow, and rough, and the column in marching was often broken into single files."³⁶³

Chapter Eleven: Warren's March

With his engineer's eye "as close to the enemy...."³⁶⁴

"...with the intention of making him abandon his present front."³⁶⁵

"Meade was reluctant to give up the game...."³⁶⁶

"The movement being one that might be long and fatiguing...."³⁶⁷

To expedite the march....³⁶⁸

"When we arose the next morning...."³⁶⁹

As Warren promised, the expedition set out first thing....³⁷⁰

"[T]he troops, in high spirits, were bracing themselves...."³⁷¹

"Moving out of the swampy pines into the open field...."³⁷²

"He has thrown up earth works...."³⁷³

"During the day of the 28th and the following night and day...."³⁷⁴

"The intrenchments by the morning of the 29th...."³⁷⁵

³⁵⁶ French to Humphreys, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 508.

³⁵⁷ Sykes, 795.

³⁵⁸ Walker, 376.

³⁵⁹ Dawes, 228.

³⁶⁰ Walker, 375.

³⁶¹ Report of Henry W. Cunningham, OR 29, Pt. 1, 725.

³⁶² Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters*, 54.

³⁶³ William McDonald, *A History of the Laurel Brigade*, Bushrod C. Washington, ed. (Baltimore: Sun Job Printing Office, 1907), 206

³⁶⁴ Warren, 696.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Goss, 247.

³⁶⁷ Warren, 696.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Worsham, 189.

³⁷⁰ Warren, 696.

³⁷¹ Sykes, 795.

³⁷² Joseph Keith Newell, *"Ours." Annals of 10th Regiment* (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols), 243.

³⁷³ Robert E. Lee, *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*. Clifford Dowdey and Louis Manarin, eds. (New York: De Capo, 1961), 629.

³⁷⁴ Early report, 834.

³⁷⁵ Rodes, 878.

"In the afternoon," said an Alabamian....³⁷⁶
 ..."rendering the position . . . nearly an island."³⁷⁷
 "A force of infantry crossing Mine Run...."³⁷⁸
 "Mine Run . . . for men singly on foot, was impassable...."³⁷⁹ K
 "We rested in a forest of pine the next day...."³⁸⁰
 "That something unusual was impending on that morning...."³⁸¹
 "It afterward proved to be [a] railroad embankment," Warren discovered.³⁸²
 "So unexpected and rapid was this advance...."³⁸³
 "This ridge is a prolongation of the heights...."³⁸⁴
 Relatively isolated, only 500 yards from the Confederate line....³⁸⁵
 To counter, Miles ordered a charge of his own....³⁸⁶
 Just then, word came to Warren from Gregg's cavalry....³⁸⁷
 This was, said Warren's adjutant, Frances Walker....³⁸⁸
 In the end, it amounted to a brief delay....³⁸⁹
 "[T]he country was entirely unknown to us...."³⁹⁰
 Confederate artillery harassed the Federals all the while....³⁹¹
 "The appearance of Warren's column agitated them not a little...."³⁹²
 "[S]uccess seemed to be within our grasp," Walker realized.³⁹³
 "[T]here was no stream or commanding ground between us...."³⁹⁴
 "So night came down on the turning column...."³⁹⁵
 "[M]en were coming from all directions...."³⁹⁶
 Rumor later sprang up that Warren "applied himself...."³⁹⁷
 Meade intended to attack all along the line....³⁹⁸
 "[T]here was not the slightest doubt...."³⁹⁹

³⁷⁶ Robert Emory Park, diary, printed in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 26, Jan.-Dec. 1898, Richmond, VA.

³⁷⁷ Newton, 689.

³⁷⁸ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 323-324.

³⁷⁹ Newton, 689.

³⁸⁰ Mason Whiting Tyler, *Recollections of the Civil War*, William S. Tyler, ed. (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 128.

³⁸¹ Roe, 237.

³⁸² Warren, 696.

³⁸³ Report of Nelson Miles, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 699.

³⁸⁴ Galwey, 174.

³⁸⁵ Miles, 699.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ Warren, 697.

³⁸⁸ Walker, 377.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 377-8.

³⁹⁰ Warren, 697.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Walker, 379.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Warren, 697.

³⁹⁵ Walker, 380.

³⁹⁶ Galwey, 174.

³⁹⁷ Walker, 381.

³⁹⁸ Meade, 156-9.

Brigadier General Horatio Wright, one of Sedgwick's division commanders....⁴⁰⁰
To take advantage of both potential openings....⁴⁰¹
Stripped of two of his divisions, French would hold the left....⁴⁰²
Newton, from his position on the turnpike....⁴⁰³
"No one doubted that the morrow would see a bloody sunrise," wrote Walker....⁴⁰⁴

Captions:

Warren's route from Robinson's Tavern....⁴⁰⁵
Major General Gouverneur K. Warren was someone....⁴⁰⁶
Mine Run, much smaller on this end of the battlefield....⁴⁰⁷
On the Federal right, "We were not allowed to build any fires during that night...."⁴⁰⁸
"The wind blew furiously and chilled us...."⁴⁰⁹
"At nightfall, to shield themselves from the cold wind...."⁴¹⁰

Chapter Twelve: Expecting a Carnival of Death

"Early on the morning of November 30...."⁴¹¹
"I spent all night in disposing my force...."⁴¹²
"I was thus prepared for strong and repeated assaults...."⁴¹³
"At eight a.m., at the sound of a thirty-pounder gun...."⁴¹⁴
"The General Orders . . . meant very serious, stubborn, bloody fighting...."⁴¹⁵
As the first traces of twilight colored the eastern horizon....⁴¹⁶
"Certain it was that there was a deal of fight in those six divisions...."⁴¹⁷
Daylight came, and with it a high, cold wind.⁴¹⁸
"We looked across the valley and there we could see...."⁴¹⁹
"The cold had increased steadily for hours...."⁴²⁰

³⁹⁹ Meade, 156-9.

⁴⁰⁰ Warren, 697.

⁴⁰¹ Meade report, OR XXIX, pt. 1, 17.

⁴⁰² Walker, 381.

⁴⁰³ Humphreys to Newton, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 516.

⁴⁰⁴ Walker, 381.

⁴⁰⁵ Newell, 243.

⁴⁰⁶ Walker, 377.

⁴⁰⁷ Galwey, 177.

⁴⁰⁸ Goss, 247

⁴⁰⁹ Park diary, *SHSP*.

⁴¹⁰ Roe, 131.

⁴¹¹ Galwey, 175.

⁴¹² Warren, 697.

⁴¹³ Warren, 698.

⁴¹⁴ Galwey, 175.

⁴¹⁵ Galwey, 176.

⁴¹⁶ Walker, 382.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Galwey, 175.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 176.

“Their works commanded a slope which could not have been improved....”⁴²¹
 “In front of Hays and Webb, however, the ground was open....”⁴²²
 “[A]s the sun shone upon the enemy’s line, I examined the whole front....”⁴²³
 To reach the line, Warren predicted....⁴²⁴
 “In such an eager and nipping air....”⁴²⁵
 “We knew the quality of our antagonists,” he said.⁴²⁶
 Livermore, awed, could hardly believe....⁴²⁷
 Charles Banes of the Philadelphia Brigade noted....⁴²⁸
 “Our men here saw the danger, yet were ready to face it....”⁴²⁹
 “Every man prepared himself and waited for the final command....”⁴³⁰
 “One man was securing the fastening of his shoes....”⁴³¹
 “[F]rom daylight every man thought he heard the signal gun....”⁴³²
 The men waited, he said....⁴³³
 “The boys were tired of waiting,” said Wilbur Fisk.⁴³⁴
 The men would “almost have welcomed the command....”⁴³⁵
 Like the II Corps on the left, the men of the V and VI corps spent the night....⁴³⁶
 “[W]hat are the little white patches on all these overcoats of army-blue?”⁴³⁷
 Sedgwick, “who was waiting . . . to hurl his human avalanche against the foe....”⁴³⁸
 Watching the bombardment “in full view of the rebels....”⁴³⁹
 “As I looked out upon the task proposed....”⁴⁴⁰
 “After leaving the wood the ground sloped to the run....”⁴⁴¹
 “Not a murmur escaped the lips of our boys....”⁴⁴²
 When Hill began shifting his men to the right....⁴⁴³
 “[T]hough warmly clad, I never suffered more in my life....”⁴⁴⁴

⁴²⁰ Walker, 383.

⁴²¹ Livermore, 302.

⁴²² Walker, 382.

⁴²³ Warren, 698.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Walker, 383.

⁴²⁶ Galwey, 176.

⁴²⁷ Livermore, 302.

⁴²⁸ Charles H. Banes, *History of the Philadelphia Brigade* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co, 1876), 209.

⁴²⁹ A. M. Stewart, *Camp, March, and Battle-field* (Philadelphia, PA: Jas. B. Rodgers, 1865), 365.

⁴³⁰ Lt. Col. Henry W. Cunningham, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 725.

⁴³¹ Galwey, 176,

⁴³² Small, 153.

⁴³³ Ibid, 154.

⁴³⁴ Fisk, 172.

⁴³⁵ Bowen, 240.

⁴³⁶ Hyde, 176.

⁴³⁷ Hyde, 176.

⁴³⁸ Bowen, 241.

⁴³⁹ Hyde, 177.

⁴⁴⁰ Holt, 160.

⁴⁴¹ Stearns, 238.

⁴⁴² Holt, 161.

⁴⁴³ Worsham, 190.

Like many other southerners, Worsham took what opportunity he could....⁴⁴⁵
Lee supposed the artillery bombardment....⁴⁴⁶
Although the Federal guns fired "quite heavily for a time...."⁴⁴⁷
Across Mine Run, the sound of cannon rumbled down the Federal line....⁴⁴⁸
"All now seemed to feel the magnitude of the task before them...."⁴⁴⁹

Captions:

"[T]he moon was shining brightly, the ground frozen hard as ice...."⁴⁵⁰
"It is Fredericksburg over again only worse..."⁴⁵¹
For Thomas Livermore of Warren's staff....⁴⁵²
"Our wounded would perish from cold...."⁴⁵³
"I did not hear a word spoken...."⁴⁵⁴

Chapter Thirteen: The Moral Courage of George Gordon Meade

"If I succeed to-day...."⁴⁵⁵
... "The full light of the sun shows me that I cannot succeed."⁴⁵⁶
The wind blew sharp and cold.⁴⁵⁷
... "for a mad and bloody assault that would probably fail."⁴⁵⁸
"How we shivered and shook...."⁴⁵⁹
Another Bay Stater lamented....⁴⁶⁰
"Eight o'clock came, and no gun," said Thomas Galwey.⁴⁶¹
In a letter to his wife, Warren later explained....⁴⁶²
When Meade received Warren's news....⁴⁶³

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 189.

⁴⁴⁶ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 635.

⁴⁴⁷ Early, 323.

⁴⁴⁸ McAllister, 368.

⁴⁴⁹ McAllister, 368.

⁴⁵⁰ Taylor, 94.

⁴⁵¹ "Those Slips of Paper," *National Tribune*, 12 July 1883, 3.

⁴⁵² Livermore, 302.

⁴⁵³ McAllister, 367.

⁴⁵⁴ Buckman, *National Tribune*.

⁴⁵⁵ Livermore, 301.

⁴⁵⁶ Meade, OR, 17.

⁴⁵⁷ Galwey, 176.

⁴⁵⁸ Abner R. Small, *The Road To Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Major Abner R. Small of the Sixteenth Maine Volunteers. Together with the Diary which he kept when he was a Prisoner of War*. Harold Adams Small, ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1939), 118.

⁴⁵⁹ Stearns, 238.

⁴⁶⁰ Bowen, 240.

⁴⁶¹ Galwey, 176.

⁴⁶² quoted in David M. Jordan, *"Happiness is Not My Companion": The Life of General G. K. Warren*, (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2001), 115.

⁴⁶³ Meade, 156.

"My God!" he bellowed....⁴⁶⁴
 "Disappointment was on every face," said Lyman.⁴⁶⁵
 "The two points of assault were fully five miles apart...."⁴⁶⁶
 "Just in the rear of our regiment was a slough-hole...."⁴⁶⁷
 "...the doom of ten thousand men and perhaps that of the Army of the Potomac."⁴⁶⁸
 "A line of battle was formed in the woods...."⁴⁶⁹
 "A halt was made behind a hill...."⁴⁷⁰
 Surgeon Daniel Holt, spared a day....⁴⁷¹
 After the war, Thomas Hyde admitted....⁴⁷²
 ..."looking as savage as anyone could."⁴⁷³
 ...he found it hopeless to make any attack.⁴⁷⁴
 "Our skirmishers were within a stone's throw of the enemy's...."⁴⁷⁵
 "Well, there is no use in trying to mount a wall with fire ladders...."⁴⁷⁶
 "[T]he assault was countermanded...."⁴⁷⁷
 "You have taken all my troops away from me...."⁴⁷⁸
 "If I had thought there was any reasonable degree of probability of success...."⁴⁷⁹
 "[T]here they sadly stood...."⁴⁸⁰
 "[The front] was noisy, but no longer fatal...."⁴⁸¹
 Exhausted by "the inaction and the heavy strain...."⁴⁸²
 In Rufus Dawes's 6th Wisconsin, some "yellow-headed ganders"⁴⁸³
 As one soldier elsewhere said....⁴⁸⁴
 "Tell him I was a brave soldier," Dunn pleaded....⁴⁸⁵
 "A flock of fine sheep had been let loose...."⁴⁸⁶
 Farther down the line, a member of the 20th Maine....⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁶⁴ Jordan, 114,

⁴⁶⁵ Lyman, 75.

⁴⁶⁶ Bowen, 241.

⁴⁶⁷ Small, 154.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid

⁴⁶⁹ This quote, misattributed in the text to Rufus Dawes, actually comes from Charles Davis of the 13th Massachusetts, page 288.

⁴⁷⁰ Davis, 288.

⁴⁷¹ Holt, 161.

⁴⁷² Hyde, 176.

⁴⁷³ Livermore, 303.

⁴⁷⁴ Meade, OR, 17.

⁴⁷⁵ Livermore, 302.

⁴⁷⁶ H.S. Stevens, "Those Slips of Paper," *National Tribune*, 12 July 1883, 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Lyman, 75.

⁴⁷⁸ Walker, 385.

⁴⁷⁹ Meade, 158.

⁴⁸⁰ Lyman, 75.

⁴⁸¹ Small, 119.

⁴⁸² Davis, 288.

⁴⁸³ Dawes, 228.

⁴⁸⁴ Roe, 131.

⁴⁸⁵ Dawes, 228.

⁴⁸⁶ Small, 155.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

When he hopped out to gather up his spoils....⁴⁸⁸
Elsewhere, a flock of wild turkeys got between the lines....⁴⁸⁹
Another turkey between a different section of the lines....⁴⁹⁰
“The sufferings of the men during that day and night....”⁴⁹¹
Meade cast about for options, asking his corps commanders....⁴⁹²
Newton⁴⁹³
French⁴⁹⁴
Sykes⁴⁹⁵
Sedgwick⁴⁹⁶
Sedgwick replied that he could have taken it that morning....⁴⁹⁷
In fact, at that very moment, Lee was adjusting his left....⁴⁹⁸
Warren balked.⁴⁹⁹
“Finding Lee too strongly posted and entrenched....”⁵⁰⁰
“I feel of course greatly disappointed....”⁵⁰¹

Captions:

“General Warren was a man who was at the same time....”⁵⁰²
“I have ever felt deep gratitude to the man who had the moral courage....”⁵⁰³

Chapter Fourteen: The Withdrawal

“Large fires were made and the men went to sleep about them....”⁵⁰⁴
“This was a grand old woods....”⁵⁰⁵
The men kindled “as many and as big fires as we had a mind to....”⁵⁰⁶
“As I looked out of my tent, at daylight....”⁵⁰⁷
“As there was no timber on the hill....”⁵⁰⁸

⁴⁸⁸ Davis, 289.

⁴⁸⁹ Thomas Perrett, “A Battle with Snowballs,” *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 26, 304.

⁴⁹⁰ Hurst, 113.

⁴⁹¹ Lt. Col. Henry W. Cunningham, OR 29, Pt. 1, 725.

⁴⁹² Williams to Corps Commanders, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 520.

⁴⁹³ Newton to Williams, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 520-1.

⁴⁹⁴ French to Williams, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 521.

⁴⁹⁵ Sykes to Williams, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 521. Word of Sykes disguise comes from Joel S. Stevens of the 16th Maine, “From a Soldier’s Diary,” *National Tribune*, 12 July 1883, 3.

⁴⁹⁶ Sedgwick to Williams, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 929.

⁴⁹⁷ Sedgwick to Williams, O.R. XXIX, pt. 2, 930.

⁴⁹⁸ Early, 232.

⁴⁹⁹ Warren, 698.

⁵⁰⁰ Meade, 159.

⁵⁰¹ Meade, 156-9.

⁵⁰² Livermore, 304.

⁵⁰³ Buckman

⁵⁰⁴ Bowen, 242.

⁵⁰⁵ Stearns, 239.

⁵⁰⁶ 238-9.

⁵⁰⁷ Lyman, 76.

“Meade was plainly making some movement....”⁵⁰⁹
 “Not a cannon shot fired and scarcely a report from a musket....”⁵¹⁰
 Lee’s aide, Walter Taylor, admitted....⁵¹¹
 But Lee, secure behind his powerful works....⁵¹²
 A boastful Jubal Early even characterized the wait as *calm*....⁵¹³
 ...“howled through the forest and rattled the dry leaves above our heads.”⁵¹⁴
 ...“broad dark mantle of night now spread over us.”⁵¹⁵
 ...“great quantities of fence rails”...“wags of the army indulged their wit.”⁵¹⁶
 “The battle did not occur,” Rufus Dawes reflected the next day....⁵¹⁷
 “The weather favored us,” one thankful Federal realized....⁵¹⁸
 ...“otherwise our trains and artillery would have been stuck in the mud.”⁵¹⁹
 “The roads had been very muddy and much cut up by our wagon train....”⁵²⁰
 Horsemen had it no better, Rhodes said.⁵²¹
 “[W]e had to wait for the teams to get out of the way....”⁵²²
 As a result, added Theodore Lyman....⁵²³
 “But we had to stand there and *wait, wait*....”⁵²⁴
 ...“an army which we have been told moves on its stomach.”⁵²⁵
 “[H]ow hungry the boys were....”⁵²⁶
 The army reached the Rapidan....⁵²⁷
 “As the men crossed the bridge....”⁵²⁸
 Stragglers began to catch up, arriving....⁵²⁹
 Once on the far bank....⁵³⁰
 “This made a tramp of thirty miles from the battlefield....”⁵³¹
 “The house General Lee occupied was a small frame structure....”⁵³²

⁵⁰⁸ Galwey, 177-8.

⁵⁰⁹ Robert Emory Park, diary, printed in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 26, Jan.-Dec. 1898, Richmond, VA.

⁵¹⁰ Joseph Keith Newell, “Ours.” *Annals of 10th Regiment* (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols), 244.

⁵¹¹ Taylor, *Four Years*, 121.

⁵¹² Taylor, *General Lee: His Campaigns in Virginia*, 227.

⁵¹³ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 323.

⁵¹⁴ McAllister, 369.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁶ Galwey, 178,

⁵¹⁷ Dawes, 225.

⁵¹⁸ Roe, 238.

⁵¹⁹ Sykes, 795.

⁵²⁰ Rodes, 135.

⁵²¹ Rodes, 135.

⁵²² Sterns, 239.

⁵²³ Lyman, 76.

⁵²⁴ McAllister, 370.

⁵²⁵ Roe, 131.

⁵²⁶ Sterns, 239.

⁵²⁷ Sterns, 239.

⁵²⁸ Haley, 132.

⁵²⁹ Galwey, 180.

⁵³⁰ Bowen, 242.

⁵³¹ Rodes, 135.

Having “now become impatient,” said Walter Taylor....⁵³³
“Everything was perfectly still....”⁵³⁴
“[T]he dense forest . . . prevented the efficient use of the cavalry”⁵³⁵
Lee likewise blamed the “dense forest”⁵³⁶
“Our batteries, in position on this side, converged their fire....”⁵³⁷
“Mr. Meade did very well....”⁵³⁸
“I cannot conclude without alluding to the wanton destruction....”⁵³⁹
“This attempt on their part is the most cowardly of the war....”⁵⁴⁰
Lee had believed “the enemy would not abandon....”⁵⁴¹
“I am greatly disappointed at his getting off with so little damage....”⁵⁴²
“I am too old to command this army....”⁵⁴³

Epilogue

“My army is in excellent condition....”⁵⁴⁴
“I expect your wishes will now soon be gratified....”⁵⁴⁵
“The rest of the army, like ourselves, was very much dissatisfied....”⁵⁴⁶
“Every preparation was made by General Meade....”⁵⁴⁷
“[H]ow well we sat and talked over the events of the last few days....”⁵⁴⁸
“Meade was wise not to risk a battle at that time and place....”⁵⁴⁹
“[I]f the orders to attack Lee in his entrenchments had not been countermanded....”⁵⁵⁰
The campaign “had from its inception....”⁵⁵¹
Alfred Roe offered an excellent summary⁵⁵²

⁵³² This quote and the rest of the anecdote from W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1993), 245.

⁵³³ Taylor, *Four Years*, 121.

⁵³⁴ Worsham, 190.

⁵³⁵ Taylor, *General Lee: His Campaigns in Virginia*, 228.

⁵³⁶ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 631.

⁵³⁷ Galwey, 180.

⁵³⁸ Campbell Brown, *Campbell Brown's Civil War: With Ewell and the Army of Northern Virginia*. Terry L. Jones, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 241.

⁵³⁹ Lee, *Wartime Paper*, 636.

⁵⁴⁰ Ramseuer, 178.

⁵⁴¹ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 635.

⁵⁴² Lee, *Wartime Paper*, 631.

⁵⁴³ Lee, *Recollections and Letters*, 116.

⁵⁴⁴ Meade, 156.

⁵⁴⁵ This and other quotes from Meade in this section from Meade, *Life and Letters*, 156-9.

⁵⁴⁶ Davis, 293.

⁵⁴⁷ Dawes, 225.

⁵⁴⁸ Stearns, 240.

⁵⁴⁹ Stearns, 238.

⁵⁵⁰ Tyler, 129.

⁵⁵¹ Walker, 384.

⁵⁵² Roe, 127.

"History will justify, it has already justified, the wisdom of General Meade...."⁵⁵³
 "[T]he unnecessary delay in the progress of this corps...."⁵⁵⁴
 To be sure, Warren had been the one to decide....⁵⁵⁵
 "When we come to see that [Warren's] attempted movement actually failed...."⁵⁵⁶
 ... "to hold the turnpike and occupy the enemy on the right...."⁵⁵⁷
 "Had [Meade] been free to change his base to Fredericksburg...."⁵⁵⁸
 "But for the restrictions imposed on General Meade from Washington...."⁵⁵⁹
 "It was a prophecy of that great change in the tactics...."⁵⁶⁰
 In November 1863, such fortifications "had not yet become recognized"⁵⁶¹
 "All things considered, we may be said to have canceled Bristoe Station...."⁵⁶²
 "Meade showed himself to be able and cautious, wary and lithe...."⁵⁶³
 "I do not think it probable that the enemy will attempt another advance this season...."⁵⁶⁴
 "I am somewhat at a loss to know what the silence of the authorities means...."⁵⁶⁵
 On December 7, he was "yet on the anxious bench. . . ."⁵⁶⁶
 ... "and I really believe the voice of the army will sustain me."⁵⁶⁷
 "[N]othing would suit [Sickles] better than to get you into a personal or newspaper controversy...."⁵⁶⁸
 Meade didn't "consider it good policy to permit such slanders...."⁵⁶⁹
 "It is hard that I am to suffer from the malice of such men as Sickles...."⁵⁷⁰
 The offer "gave me even a more favorable opinion of Meade...."⁵⁷¹
 Knowing that the army would do better with a commander....⁵⁷²
 "The charge was not made...."⁵⁷³

Captions:

⁵⁵³ Bowen, 243.

⁵⁵⁴ Meade, OR XXIX, vol. 1, 16.

⁵⁵⁵ Meade, 156-9.

⁵⁵⁶ Walker, 367.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, 375.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, 388.

⁵⁵⁹ Humphreys

⁵⁶⁰ Walker, 385.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Taylor, 122.

⁵⁶³ Stiles, 228.

⁵⁶⁴ Taylor, *Lee's Adjutant*, 95.

⁵⁶⁵ Meade, 159.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, 161.

⁵⁶⁸ Halleck to Meade, 20 March 1864, OR XXVII, pt. 1, 137

⁵⁶⁹ Meade to Halleck, 22 March 1864, OR XXVII, pt. 1, 138.

⁵⁷⁰ Meade, 182.

⁵⁷¹ Ulysses S. Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Library of America, 1990), 470.

⁵⁷² *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, vol. 9. John Y. Simon, editor (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press), 148.

⁵⁷³ Roe, 238.

"[I]f Meade ever did a noble act in his life...."⁵⁷⁴

"The promptness with which they marched to meet the enemy...."⁵⁷⁵

Tour of the Mine Run Battlefield

Stop 1: Germanna Ford

Of the three fords used by the Army of the Potomac to cross the Rapidan River....⁵⁷⁶
As early as 1732, a chain-drawn ferry operated on the site, later replaced by a rope-drawn ferry.⁵⁷⁷

According to historian Greg Mertz, "The earthworks at the college...."⁵⁷⁸

Stop 2: Locust Grove

"There was a colonnade with square brick columns along front and rear...."⁵⁷⁹

... "it began to rain," noted Provost Marshall Marsena Patrick....⁵⁸⁰

The building occupied its wartime position on the corner until 1994....⁵⁸¹

... "is not recognizable as the historic Robinson house."⁵⁸²

Stop 3: Payne's Farm

"The brave officers and men of this division [were] attacked...."⁵⁸³

Meanwhile, French crowed....⁵⁸⁴

He said his division "gained so decided a success that General French was relieved...."⁵⁸⁵

The battle of Payne's Farm took place on property owned by William Harrison Payne, although two Payne families lived on adjoining farms in this area....⁵⁸⁶

According to historian Patricia Hurst, when the fighting started....⁵⁸⁷

"The remote location of the battlefield and its long history of agriculture...."⁵⁸⁸

Stop 4: Confederate Works

"A strong line of pickets having been posted in front...."⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁷⁴ Holt, 160.

⁵⁷⁵ Lee, *Wartime Papers*, 636.

⁵⁷⁶ Greg Mertz, email, 9 September 2018.

⁵⁷⁷ Noel Harrison, "Germanna Ford," *Chancellorsville Battlefield Sites*.

⁵⁷⁸ Mertz email.

⁵⁷⁹ OCHS, "Robinson's Tavern" file.

⁵⁸⁰ Patrick, 315.

⁵⁸¹ Hurst, 106.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Johnson, 848,

⁵⁸⁴ French, OR XXIX,

⁵⁸⁵ Johnson, 848.

⁵⁸⁶ Anne Miller, *Antebellum Orange: Pre-Civil War Homes, Public Buildings, and Historic Sites of Orange County, Virginia*, (Orange, VA: Moss Publications, 1988), 152.

⁵⁸⁷ Hurst, 107.

⁵⁸⁸ From one of the American Battlefield Trust's Payne's Farm wayside signs in the parking lot of Zoar Church.

“Previous to this time not a spade of earth had been thrown up....”⁵⁹⁰

“The whole position was so much exposed to the enemy’s artillery....”⁵⁹¹
...“A sense of danger quickens a man’s energies.”

Park went on to say that on November 28....⁵⁹²

“[A]s soon as there was light enough....”⁵⁹³

Federal Provost Marshall Marsena Patrick, not one to exaggerate....⁵⁹⁴

Stop 5: Row’s Mill/Mine Run

...creating what Abner Small of the 16th Maine called “a widish pond”⁵⁹⁵

“Mine Run is a small streamlet, as crooked as a snake track....”⁵⁹⁶

“[T]he petty brook, Mine Run, perhaps had ranked in story and verse....”⁵⁹⁷

Historian Patrick Sullivan has joked....⁵⁹⁸

“Mine Run is a small stream about ten feet wide, but very deep....”⁵⁹⁹

Stop 6: Meade’s Headquarters

“[W]e encamped after dark,” wrote Provost Marshall Marsena Patrick....⁶⁰⁰

On the south side of the turnpike stood “a little tanyard....”⁶⁰¹

“[S]o the property was all part of the Robinson Tavern property....”⁶⁰²

“The community around it was very poor,” Early noted....⁶⁰³

“The faucets of the oil barrels were opened....”⁶⁰⁴

“[T]he smoke-house had been broken open and helpless women plundered....”⁶⁰⁵

Even then, he wasn’t finished denouncing the invaders....⁶⁰⁶

Stop 7: New Hope Church

New Hope Baptist Church was founded June 12, 1857....⁶⁰⁷

A member of the 10th New York cavalry described the scene....⁶⁰⁸

⁵⁸⁹ Early, *Memoirs*, 322.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹¹ Rodes, 878.

⁵⁹² Park, SHSP.

⁵⁹³ Report of William Monaghan, OR XXIX, Pt. 1, 842.

⁵⁹⁴ Patrick, 315.

⁵⁹⁵ Small, *Road to Richmond*, 118.

⁵⁹⁶ George Neese, *Three Years in the Confederate Horse Artillery*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 240.

⁵⁹⁷ Roe, 237.

⁵⁹⁸ Orange County Historical Society files, “Row Family.”

⁵⁹⁹ Terrill, 43-4.

⁶⁰⁰ Marsena Patrick, *Inside Lincoln’s Army*, 315.

⁶⁰¹ Early

⁶⁰² Hurst, 111.

⁶⁰³ Early, 324-5.

⁶⁰⁴ G.R. Buckman, “From a First Minnesota Man,” *National Tribune*, 26 July 1883, pg. 3.

⁶⁰⁵ Early, report, OR.

⁶⁰⁶ Early, 325.

⁶⁰⁷ New Hope Baptist Church website: <http://newhopebapt.org/>

The proprietor was “a rugged-looking man....”⁶⁰⁹

Stop 8: The Plank Road

Established in 1848, the Fredericksburg and Valley Plank Road Company....⁶¹⁰

According to historian Patricia Hurst....⁶¹¹

“We pushed on, and at the head of Mine Run....”⁶¹²

Since he could not advance any farther, he reconnoitered the area to the south....⁶¹³

“[T]he creek called Mine Run, which lay between us and the enemy....”⁶¹⁴

Stop 9: St. Just/Antioch Church

Antioch Church traces its origins back to June 1833....⁶¹⁵

“A personal reconnaissance on the 30th brought him into a position....”⁶¹⁶

Stop 10: Along the Confederate Line

No notes

Appendix A by Mike Block

He would die on this day of chronic diarrhea.⁶¹⁷

The regiment suffered two deaths during the winter....⁶¹⁸

More than 125 soldiers died as a result of combat....⁶¹⁹

Seven men died as a result of their misdeeds....⁶²⁰

Most of the food was courtesy of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions....⁶²¹

⁶⁰⁸ Noble Delance Preston, *History of the Tenth Regiment of Cavalry New York State Volunteers, August, 1861, to August, 1865* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1892), 152.

⁶⁰⁹ Quotes in this section from Galwey come from pp. 178-80.

⁶¹⁰ “The Old Plank road to Fredericksburg: Interesting Extract from Paper Published in 1852 Tells of Its Construction,” *The Orange Review*, 28 May 1931, 7.

⁶¹¹ Hurst, 114.

⁶¹² Warren, 697.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Galwey, 177.

⁶¹⁵ OCHS

⁶¹⁶ H. B. McClellan, *Campaigns of Stuarts Cavalry* (Blue and Gray Press, 1993), 398, quoted in Preston, 154.

⁶¹⁷ Information on Wheelock and all of the soldiers discussed in this paper is the result of research accomplished over the past ten years. Wheelock’s cause of death was found in his mother’s pension application, found in Fold3, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1/302772945>, accessed June 28, 2018.

⁶¹⁸ John Michael Priest, ed. *Turn Them Out to Die Like a Mule* (Leesburg, Gauley Mount Press, 1995), 313, 316-317.

⁶¹⁹ Salvatore G. Cilella, Jr., *Upton’s Regulars: The 121st New York Infantry in the Civil War*, (Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2009), 256; Alanson A. Haines, *A History of the Fifteenth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers*, (Gaithersburg, MD, Olde Soldiers Books, Inc), 133, 326; John J. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine: A Volunteer Regiment in the Civil War* (Dayton, Ohio, Morningside Books, revised addition, 1991), 175 and Engert, Roderick M, ed., *Maine to Wilderness: The Civil War Letters of Private William Lamson 20th Maine Infantry* (USA, Publishers Press Inc., 1995), 87.

⁶²⁰ Robert I. Alotta, *Civil War Justice: Union Army Executions Under Lincoln*, (Shippensburg, PA, White Mane Publishing, 1989), 89, 90, 91-92, 107-108.

Surgeon Thomas A. McParlin, medical director of the Army of the Potomac, described....⁶²²
Private John W. Haley was a guest at, as he put it, "Hotel Barbour"⁶²³
His bill of fare included "dish water soup"⁶²⁴
Hancock estimated 500 men were on the platform....⁶²⁵
"The wounded, chiefly of the 3rd Division of the 2nd Corps were brought up...."⁶²⁶
The deaths of Lt. Thomas J. Armstrong of the 23rd Pennsylvania....⁶²⁷
"I helped bury a man yesterday that died in our Regiment hospital...."⁶²⁸
What was to be named "The Overland Campaign" was about to commence....⁶²⁹

Appendix B by Ryan T. Quint

... "I suppose the result will be a pretty general sweeping out."⁶³⁰
"Approved."⁶³¹
Newton, who had commanded the I Corps since Gettysburg....⁶³²
French simply mustered out of volunteer service....⁶³³
Theodore Lyman, serving on Meade's staff, wrote....⁶³⁴
In the aftermath of Sykes's dismissal, Meade wrote to his wife....⁶³⁵
Sedgwick had "pledged himself for \$20,000 in his corps"....⁶³⁶
Between the pro-McClellan sentiments and his perceived failures in February....⁶³⁷
Sedgwick's tenure with the Army of the Potomac would continue, only to end violently....⁶³⁸

⁶²¹ Henrietta Statton Jaquette, ed. *Letters of a Civil War Nurse* (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press), 49.

⁶²² Robert E. Denny, *Civil War Medicine: Care & Comfort of the Wounded* (New York, Sterling Publishing Company, 1995), 260.

⁶²³ Eugene Scheel, *Culpeper: A Virginia County's History Through 1920* (Culpeper, Culpeper Historical Society, 1982), 178; Ruth L. Silliker, ed. *The Rebel Yell and Yankee Hurrah: The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer* (Camden, Maine, Down East Books, 1985), 135.

⁶²⁴ Silliker, 135.

⁶²⁵ Jaquette, 69.

⁶²⁶ Priest, John Michael, editor, *One Surgeon's Private War: Dr. William Potter of the 57th New York*, 92.

⁶²⁷ New York Tribune, "'Melancholy Death of a Brave Soldier,'" by JEH.

⁶²⁸ Tilton C. Reynolds letter to Juliana Smith Reynolds, March 21, 1864.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/mreynolds.011008/?sp=1>

⁶²⁹ Denny, 272.

⁶³⁰ George Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade: Vol. 1*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 185.

⁶³¹, *OR XXXIII*, Pt. 1, 638-39.

⁶³² J. Kevin Hensel, "The Good Steward: Major General George Gordon Meade And The Army of The Potomac, July 1863 to May 1864," Doctoral Dissertation, (Temple University: 2000) 686.

⁶³³ Cyrus Comstock, *The Diary of Cyrus Comstock*, ed. Merlin E. Sumner (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1987), 261.

⁶³⁴ Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters: 1863-1865*, ed. George R. Agassiz (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), 80.

⁶³⁵ Meade, 185; *OR XXXIII*, 638.

⁶³⁶ Wainwright, 284.

⁶³⁷ *OR XXXIII*, 519.

Ulysses S. Grant, recently promoted to lieutenant general of the United States Army....⁶³⁹

Another soldier wrote more poetically....⁶⁴⁰

Given replacement corps badges....⁶⁴¹

"...retaining old badges is merely a way to let them down easy."⁶⁴²

"...as if the old corps had been left as they were."⁶⁴³

⁶³⁸ Meade, 185; John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1988 edition), 209.

⁶³⁹ Meade, 185.

⁶⁴⁰ Dawes, 239; William H. Powell, *The Fifth Army Corps* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 591-592.

⁶⁴¹ John J. Hennessy, "I Dread the Spring: The Army of the Potomac Prepares for the Overland Campaign," in *The Wilderness Campaign*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1997), 85.

⁶⁴² Wainwright, 335.

⁶⁴³ Robert S. Robertson, March 29, 1864 Letter in Bound Volume 219, Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park Archives.

Chris Mackowski
Afterword by Theodore P. Savas

*The
Great Battle
Never Fought*



The Mine Run Campaign,
November 26–December 2, 1863

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