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repudiated, so far as it could be, by the popular voice. The whole subject required too much reading to be fully understood; and the masses scarcely read anything but party speeches and newspapers. Mason and Douglas had an advantage over Clayton, in adopting what is always, at first, the popular side—that which seems to stand best by the country. But when he came to reply to them on the 14th of March, he knew exactly what he had to meet, and went at his work, as he always did at any that interested him, with all the power that was in him. And, if he had lacked anything to thoroughly rouse him, it was the constant interruptions made by his antagonists. To use a very expressive, strong phrase of the present day—he “made it very hot” for them in many ways; and when he closed his speech, there was but one sentiment on the part of those who heard it—that it not only completely vindicated the treaty itself (as in fact the first speech had done), but overthrew all the reasons urged against it, as well as those who brought them forward; and such was the judgment of the country also, when the debate was published. The subject then passed from the consideration of the Senate, and was not taken up again until the December following.

On the 12th of December, 1853, the Senate passed a joint resolution calling upon the President for the correspondence, between our own and the British Government, on subjects growing out of the treaty of the 19th of April, 1850, since the mes-



sage of the President of the 30th of December, 1852; and on the 5th of the following month General Cass had moved to refer to the Committee of Foreign Relations the answer made to the Senate by the President on the 3d, communicating the information called for. To understand the matter, it is necessary to say that though the treaty was duly ratified by the British Government, yet it soon became apparent that the English felt that their interests had been seriously affected, without any compensating equivalent, or even benefit. While such rights as they held in British Honduras were not impugned by the treaty, yet they were not recognized directly or indirectly—as was consistent with Clayton's course in recalling the consul sent to the Belize. The truth is, the treaty had nothing to do with British Honduras, because it had never formed any part of Central America, politically considered, but had been part of Yucatan, a possession of Mexico. But this was not the trouble. The real difficulty was, that the protectorate of the Mosquito kingdom, which was a part of Central America (being within the limits of Nicaragua) would cease to be of any advantage to Great Britain, as neither of the parties could "occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America," nor could either use any protection that either afforded, or might afford, or any alliance that either had or might have to or with any State or people, "for the purpose of







erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising any dominion over the same." The scope of this language was not appreciated by the British Government at the time it gave its assent to the ratification.

England found herself, as we may suppose, the loser by the treaty, unless she could impress her construction of it upon the judgment of other peoples. A first step towards that end was to act, in all respects, about Central American affairs, as she had done before, and to cling to her hold there by continuing to occupy San Juan de Nicaragua—or Greytown, as she chose to call it, the more to emphasize her ownership or control of it. Now this port was exactly at the proposed eastern terminus of the ship canal most favored by the United States. Additionally, she discovered that while any protectorate she might have over the wretched Indian tribe claiming to hold the Mosquito Coast (she claimed that she had exercised the office of protector there for two centuries), was not, in terms, taken away from her by the treaty, yet that it was deprived of all value to her, and "a barren sceptre in her gripe." Something must be done, however; it must be made appear that the American interpretation of the treaty was wrong, and her own right. This was attempted in a variety of ways—by speeches, correspondence, and otherwise.

The debate which arose out of the subjects of in-



formation, communicated by the President's message (which it is unnecessary to recite here, as they are accessible to all, in the published proceedings of the Senate), develop the fact that the treaty had not only been entirely misunderstood by its assailants, at the session of 1853, but that it was, in truth, a most extraordinary achievement by our negotiator. General Cass, who had, as before related, made the attack upon it which caused his friends in Delaware to throw off party to give their fellow-citizen a chance to reply to it, in the course of a speech, delivered by him on the 11th of January, 1856, used this language: — "Nor do I see, in any view, what we can gain by a new treaty (the British had proposed one). The first is well enough, if carried out in its true spirit; and another would be no better if exposed to the same process of construction, or rather misconstruction. What Lord Clarendon expects from a new treaty, or what either party is to demand, or concede, I am at a loss to conjecture. What we want, and all we want, is that the Central American States should be let alone to manage their own affairs, in their own way, leaving to the civilized Governments, within whose territories they live, to regulate the Mosquito Indians as they may think proper, agreeably to a principle everywhere recognized and adopted since the discovery of this continent. And all this is precisely what the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty would effect, if fairly interpreted and fairly executed; and an honest compliance with its stipulation presents, in my opinion, the only scheme of



adjustment (in which we can have any agency) by which the affairs of Central America — Mosquito included — can be satisfactorily and permanently settled. And I think we owe it to our honor and position in the world to say so to England, in firm but temperate language; and, having said so, to act accordingly, be the consequences what they may." The American view, therefore was adopted by that Senator, unequivocally, and the value of the treaty to us fully shown.

In view of these remarks of General Cass, Mr. Clayton was fully justified in the speech he began on the day after, and finished on the 18th, in saying at its opening, that "about one half of the address of the Senator was of the harshest and most exceptionable character, and yet, sir, he closed with a position which seemed to be the result at which his mind had arrived, after fully investigating the whole main question, which was perfectly in accordance with my own sentiments." He then took up the whole subject again, exposing all the errors that the opponents of the treaty had fallen into, and satisfying the minds of all fair men that the convention made by him with Sir Henry Bulwer was all that was desirable for us; while the advantage of which it deprived England (if in fact she justly had any before) had been taken from her, not by any trick, deception, or device of diplomacy, but by our having for our negotiator, a man of ample knowledge of the subject treated about, patriotic heart, and proper sense of what the interests and welfare of the country required. Notwithstanding General





Cass's declaration above quoted, the debate brought forth again all, and much more, than had been before said about the British Honduras possession, and what was alleged to be the grand error, on our part, with respect to it. This required another effort on Mr. Clayton's part to compel Senators to recognize the wrong they did in persisting in the assertion that he had compromised his Government, with respect to that claim, in making the treaty—an allegation that, by explanatory letters between himself and Sir Henry Bulwer at the time of the exchange of ratification (4th of July, 1850), he had conceded what was not a fact—that British Honduras was no part of Central America—and that the Senate was in ignorance of this circumstance at the time when the treaty was approved. The old charge produced in the attack upon the treaty in 1853, with respect to the declarations reported by General Cass to have been made to him by William R. King, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, was revived, and the effect seemed to be (if I am justified in saying so) to cover the mortification occasioned by withdrawal of hostility to the treaty, by imputing dishonor to the negotiator of it. But this failed entirely; for Mr. Clayton demonstrated, conclusively, by the evidence he produced and made part of his speech, not only that General Cass had erroneously understood Col. King, but that the latter had avowed that he had never made any such declarations to General Cass as were imputed to him.

In this speech Mr. Clayton reproduced every fact





bearing upon the British claim; and, in so doing, showed that when the treaty was in progress, he was master of the whole subject, and had used his knowledge with success. Every argument set up by the British against our view of the treaty was considered and answered; and so exhaustive was the effort, that the Senate felt that nothing more could be urged with respect to the justness of the construction claimed by him; and when he had closed, ordered the subject to lie upon the table. He did not finish his speech, however, without letting his adversary feel how much better he could have served his country, than by the course he had taken.

The subject of the Central American Treaty was not allowed to rest, however. The British still persisted in their course of misunderstanding, or disrespect, of that compact. Much correspondence had taken place between our Government and that of Great Britain since the debate just mentioned; and, among other documents presented by the President to Congress at its opening in December, 1855, was a letter of Lord John Russell respecting the construction of the treaty. This letter, General Cass felt, required discussion; which, of course, involved another opening of the whole subject. The letter of Russell was, as might have been expected, in support of the British view of the treaty; and, coming from so high a source, not not only because of the author's distinguished life, but of the elevated position he held in the British councils, it was proper that it should be specially



noticed. The debate, which was then begun by General Cass, was participated in by other distinguished Senators: and, to the credit of themselves and the exalted rank they held in the councils of the country, such of them as had carped at the treaty before, and notably General Cass, came forward to resist the British pretensions — having discovered, it is to be hoped, upon calmer examination of its features, that there was nothing uncertain about it; and that, if carried out in good faith by the British, it would secure Central America against her designs in future. It was shown also to have other high qualities. In a letter of Mr. Reverdy Johnson to Mr. Clayton, dated the 30th of December, 1853, and which General Cass caused to be read at the close of a strong speech upon the general subject, there occurs this language: — “This treaty is the first instance within my knowledge in which two great nations of the earth have thus endeavored to combine peacefully for the prosecution and accomplishment of an object which, when completed, must advance the happiness and prosperity of all men; and it would be a matter of deep regret if the philanthropic and noble objects of the negotiators should now be defeated by petty cavils and special pleading, on either side of the Atlantic.” The object of using the letter was to assist the argument he had just made; but if there had been any thought in it which General Cass did not approve, he was too careful a person not to have excepted it from his general approval of the whole document. And,



as if to bestow upon the negotiation the highest praise, he declared that "*the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, if carried out in good faith, would peaceably do the work of the Monroe doctrine, and free an important portion of our continent from foreign interference.*" He said that, perhaps, one motive with some of the Senators for supporting the treaty was that it would so operate. This may, however, have been intended as an explanation of the extraordinary circumstance that he had been for three years and more speaking against a measure for which he had voted. The records of the Senate, at the time, show that the vote upon the treaty was 42 for to 10 against, and that Messrs. Cass and Mason both voted for it. It appears that Mr. Douglas's name somehow got among the yeas also; but the official statement of the vote, certified by the Secretary of the Senate, and transmitted to the President, according to a standing order of the Senate for like cases, does not contain his name. Mr. Douglas undertook to explain that the omission of his name was an error, and that he called the attention of the Senate to it at the next executive session, and that it was corrected. It is very plain, from what followed, that Mr. Clayton thought that Mr. Douglas had avoided recording his name for the treaty until he found, by the result, how strong the Senate was in its favor.

On the 17th and 19th days of the succeeding March, Mr. Clayton (who took but little part in the discussion in January, upon the Russell letter, preferring to enjoy the precious satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of





his first arguments, with all their wealth of knowledge in behalf of the treaty) addressed himself, in a set speech, to the overthrow of the British assumptions. The speech was calm, deliberate, and convincing. The subject was a grave one, on account of the magnitude of our interests involved in the establishment of the pretences set up by England; and he felt himself under a more pressing obligation than had yet been experienced by him, to make the case so plain as to end all dispute; and he did it. He took occasion to point out that one of the difficulties that had arisen about British Honduras was because of the appointment, by our own Government, of a consul there. But here is his own language: "While I was at the head of the State Department, I discovered that Mr. Polk had applied, through Mr. Bancroft, to the British Colonial office, for an *exequatur* for Christopher Hempstead, who had been appointed American consul to Belize; and, immediately anticipating the very consequences which have arisen from continuing the consul there, I withdrew Mr. Hempstead and abolished the consulate. Mr. Webster succeeded me, and he reappointed and sent Mr. Hempstead back to Belize, and renewed the consulate. This was, no doubt, very gratifying to the British minister; but the effect of it has been, as we now see, to supply Great Britain with a reason for asserting a claim which she had, on so many previous occasions, solemnly repudiated." It should be explained that the appointment of a consul to a place is recognition of the sover-





eignty of the power there, of whom the *allowance* of such consul, to perform his duties at such place, is requested; and also that Great Britain had over and over again disavowed *sovereign* rights at the Belize.

While it may not be of any great importance, now that Great Britain has abandoned all her pretensions to even a *protectorate* in Central America of the Mosquito Indians (except so far as the dictates of mere humanity or charity are concerned and there she is upon the same footing as ourselves), that the merits of this controversy between the United States and Great Britain should be fully understood by us; yet it will be found profitable to read the whole debates to which slight notice only has here been given (the reports of them being accessible to all), for the purpose of learning how heroically and successfully the subject of this memoir bore himself in the contest into which he was compelled to enter by the sharp attacks made upon his work by his so able assailants. The reader of those debates will not fail to observe that never, until he had satisfactorily vindicated Taylor's Administration and his own reputation from the stain of having compromised the interests of the country, did Clayton receive assistance from any human lips—and the newspapers, with a few conspicuous exceptions, lent him no encouragement in his defence, he having offended them mortally by refusing to have an organ, or confidants in the way of correspondents, for the Taylor Administration. The complete success that crowned his defence, was owing to two advan-



tages: *1st*, his perfect knowledge of the whole history of Central America, and of the English movements there; and, *2d*, that consummate skill in attack and defence—the test of a fine debater—which had characterized his whole legal, political, and Senatorial career. Discussion, debate, were his forte. Though gifted with a fine imagination, and a power of expression of things eloquent which is shown here and there through all his studied address, yet his aim seemed ever to be to convince by reason and argument, rather than charm by display or rhetoric. The speeches made on the Central American question, show the most thorough acquaintance with the topic in all its aspects, and a skill and dexterity, as well as fine logic, of debate, nowhere surpassed in our forensic records. On all sides it was admitted that when the long and fierce battle was ended, he was not only master of the field, but had discomfited the foes of the treaty everywhere.

### PRESIDENT PIERCE'S VETO OF THE BILL GIVING PUBLIC LANDS FOR THE INDI- GENT INSANE—CALLED MISS DIX'S BILL.

Miss Dix, an educated and refined, and also philanthropic lady, had, among the other noble thoughts which she had given to the world in behalf of the unfortunates of the human family, expressed her-



self as desirous that Congress should make a grant of the public domain to the several States for the benefit, in such form as they respectively might choose to adopt, of the indigent insane; and sympathetic people everywhere had responded to the appeal, thus made, to the nation, for relief to that unfortunate class. A bill, to carry out her beneficent proposition, was introduced into Congress, and passed both Houses. It was sent to the President for his approval; and returned with a veto, which, alas, could not be overcome by votes. But it could be discussed, and Clayton did it, exhaustively, answering the objections that were made to the bill by the supporters of the veto, and giving another exhibition of his splendid powers as an advocate. His speech breathes the warmest sympathy for stricken humanity. At the close of his long argument against the veto, he uttered the following touching expressions, which never could have come from any one not having a tender, feeling heart for humanity:

“According to the information we derive from institutions like those which this bill proposes to establish, such as have been established in Massachusetts and England, where experts and physicians have been taught to instruct the insane, and train the remnant of mind that is left, you find that at least two thirds of these miserable beings might be restored to society, and become useful members of it. But how? Not by confining them, as they are now confined, in almshouses, where there is no knowledge of





the art of reclaiming them; not by sending them to jails and prisons, where

‘Moody madness laughs and hugs the chain it clanks,’

nor by relying on private charity. Individuals cannot build lunatic and insane asylums in the United States. But, if what those persons who are accustomed to investigate the subject tell us, be true, more than twenty thousand of the American people now insane, might be restored to reason and become useful members of society; and you tell me you have no power to do it! Suppose at this moment more than twenty thousand of the American people were floating in ships like the ill-fated San Francisco, in storm and shipwreck, would you not seek immediate relief for them? Would you hesitate to send out your ships for them, and expend millions to save them? Suppose they were given in captivity to a foreign power, they and their utmost hopes, would not a hundred thousand swords leap from their scabbards to redeem them from that captivity? Sir, they are in an infinitely worse state of captivity and suffering, than if they were bondmen to the Turk, or if they were suffering the distresses of shipwreck upon the ocean. It is not possible to conceive of a greater depth of human misery than that which results from the loss of reason. In them you see the human form

—‘Erect, divine!

This heaven-assumed, majestic robe of earth

He deigned to wear who hung its vast expanse

With azure bright, and clothed the sun with gold:’

but, sir, although the form is there, though indeed the casket remains, yet the jewel is gone, the intellect has vanished; or, if reason still linger on her throne,





she sits trembling and distracted upon it. Still, there is the image of Him who made man and died to save him. And are we men, have we not abandoned all that belongs to our common manhood, if we do not feel for these miserable beings? Shall we strain a point of the Constitution against them? They cannot argue in their own behalf. If we do not protect and defend them, they have no defenders. If we are not their guardians and advocates, they can find none. Sir, I am exhausted, but I have not exhausted the argument, and am not capable of doing it. I must leave it to other and abler men who will follow me in the debate; but if I had strength, I would stand here and plead for these indigent insane so long as a Senator would hear me. I cannot but think, when about to take leave of the subject, of that day when we must appear before the great Judge of all the earth, and the accusation may be against us that we did not visit those who were sick and in prison; and, oh, when we have answered that, may none of us receive the awful denunciation, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

## THE KANSAS - NEBRASKA DEBATE.

With respect to what may be said, in this narrative, about the subject which gave rise to the Kansas-Nebraska debate, and the part taken by others than Clayton, and by him, also, in the heated discussions of the questions raised, I ask that no one will suppose that I have the slightest desire to reflect upon any who participated in the discussion, or to question their



motives. If I were writing with a view of contrasting the patriotism and unpartisanship which governed Clayton's whole action as a Senator with that of some of the most prominent of his brother Senators, I might select instances, and a notable one in this memorable event, when I thought *they* had yielded to the supposed behests of mere party, while *he* had never done so. If this were a life of Clayton written at my own prompting, and for my own use alone, and were not a narrative for this Society, free from all attachments, prejudices, or biases for men as well as measures, as it is known to be, such a course would be not reprehensible; but it would be unwarrantable for me to follow it, now, if I had the inclination to do so. I shall therefore speak of the actors in this discussion about the Kansas-Nebraska measure, and the measure itself, as I think this Society will not disapprove.

Before our life as colonies of Great Britain and a confederacy of independent States had ended, and before our efforts toward the majesty of nationality had, by means of the Constitution of 1787, been crowned with complete success, the subject of the rightfulness of slavery had engaged the attention of important men throughout the country. Although slavery — that is the subjection of one man, with all his powers of body and of mind (so far as the exercise of will is concerned) to another — had always existed, as shown by the evidence of all antiquity in sacred and profane history, yet there was still a feeling inspired by the teachings of our Savior, that was considered hostile to its continu-



ance. The injunction, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, was felt to pertain as well to the lowest as to the highest; and how, if you held them subject to *your* will, that of mere man, with all his passions and impulses, could you obey that law? To the minds of those who asked this question, slavery was a great sin, to be extirpated, sooner or later. They would have insisted, no doubt, upon a provision in the Constitution for that purpose; but, knowing that the interests of the major portion of her colonies forbade it, they were fain to consent, indirectly, to the continuance of the African slave trade until the year 1808. Very many, now, of those representing anti-slavery sentiment, would feel disposed to condemn, and would reprove, the course of those who consented to that provision; but such have not been subjected to the strain of doing the best they can to attain nationality, with a doubtful chance of maintaining it, and therefore do not know what trials they might have had to meet. The achievement of freedom from British control; the further gain of local individuality, which means the right, within defined limits, of a people to conduct their public local affairs in their own way; were the controlling motives of the men who held these sentiments with respect to slavery. And let none condemn their apparent consent to what they thought a wrong. Are any so courageous morally, that *they never* submit to what they cannot approve, in order to attain an end which, when reached, may enable them to retrieve their apparently lost virtue? If there be such,





let them condemn, as they may think proper to do, the grand old patriots of '76. Freedom from the arbitrary and wholly unjustifiable tyranny of Great Britain; the ability to exercise the right of independent government; the immunity from all the exactions upon and repressions of colonial life, weak though such life was, impelled the men of '87 to submit to anything here, to be freed from government elsewhere. Imagine yourself in the hands of an enemy from whom there is the most pressing necessity to be freed; would you not submit to some present suffering to be released from all afterwards! Certainly you would; then contemplate the oppressions of the colonists by the mother country, and say whether to form an alliance that would forever protect you against them, or danger from any foreign quarter, you could not consent to the continuance of some things you might feel to be wrong. And then, suppose the wrong against which your spirit rebelled, though not wrought by your own act, had yet been created or shared in by your ancestry, would you have hesitated between risk to your political freedom and consent to this ancestral wrong for a few years more? I do not think you would. You would have done precisely what your predecessors did—submitted temporarily to what you thought an evil, to accomplish what you believed would prove to be a benefit outweighing all others—the right to choose the agents of your own will, and discharge them at pleasure; in other words—the right of self-government, to choose the executors of your own laws and dis-



miss them at will. Moralists have ever deemed that a stigma rested upon the people whose consciences were against slavery, and who, yet, consented to the repletion of its ranks by the clause allowing the importation of slaves until 1808; but their condemnation has been against the instincts of humanity which prompt to submission to almost anything to attain a great end, especially where such attainment will enable those who yield, to be in a situation to do the proper penance at the proper time. There is nothing easier than to criticise the acts of men, however placed; for there are none of them, hardly, that will bear the test of examination by a casuist. *Humanum est errare*, is a maxim approved by the universal experience of mankind. We are all liable to make mistakes; and we should be charitable towards those whom we think guilty of them. Besides, the anti-slavery patriots may have looked back into the revelations of history, and found that the relation of master and slave, in some form, had always existed, and treated the subject as chiefly one of interest, as their ancestors had unquestionably done. Let us not, therefore, cast the stone of reproach at those who consented to that part of the 9th section of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes importation of slaves into the country up to the year 1808. No doubt, it would have been a fine thing to have stood upon the high ground of conscience, and, in defence of sentiment, held out against the temporal blessings of national autonomy, with local indepen-



dency; and those who had done it, and sacrificed so great a blessing upon the altar of principle, would have been held up to the view of posterity as persons worthy of the best homage of the heroic days; but the prophets of the future would then have regarded them, as with our experience we should now, as men wanting in a proper estimate of the ultimate benefit of submission. While none should by any means consent to the doing of evil that good may come of it, yet one may submit long to a sense of wrong in order to avail himself at the favorable time of the advantage such submission may ultimately give to right himself. It is in a sense, wrong, to submit to laws that we feel to be harsh and unjust; and yet the most exemplary of all our religious sects, regarding the whole of them in a moral point of view only, do it, and without any wounding of their conscience—recognizing that the benefit of quiet, orderly society, though tainted with some bad rules of government, outweighs the evil of such taint—and resting also upon the faith, which has ever distinguished them, that, sooner or later, all the wrongs of humanity will be righted. “Time, at last, makes all things even,” though an expression of a profane poet, has nevertheless a truth within it which they all recognize.

Nor, in considering this subject, should we harshly condemn those who insisted upon that particular clause in the Constitution. All their interests seemed to be bound up in the slavery system. The wrong, if wrong there were in it, was not of their creation, and appeared

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to them to be a means of their own prosperity. The relation between their bondmen and themselves was, as they viewed the matter, a close model of that of the patriarchal days, and at least quite as beneficent as that was to the slave. In his native wilds, the African was a mere savage, the subject of chiefs who knew no law but their own will, and that will controlling life and death; without any sort of knowledge but the most obvious that mere nature could teach; with feeble instincts, even of kindred, and none of the moral relations between the sexes; and, what was infinitely worse, with no idea of a Creator and Preserver, but only of a wicked spirit whose malevolent deeds could alone be escaped by sacrifices of human victims upon bloody altars of propitiation. It did not seem to those people that there could be any great wrong in a temporal bondage which was in fact a rescue of the soul from a state of ignorance, degradation, and moral unenlightenment that precluded all hope of elevation of the base man above the rank of the mere animals that surrounded him. In fact, it seemed a blessing to the savage, as undoubtedly, through the providence of the Almighty, it has proved to be—he being now a civilized man, with ideas of his responsibility to his Creator, and his relations to society, infinitely beyond those of his race anywhere on his native continent.

Nothing occurred to disturb the quiet that existed upon the subject of slavery until thirty years after the Constitution was made; the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in all the territory north-west of



the Ohio, by almost unanimous consent—that of the South being given because of the inadaptation of the region to the employment of slave labor. In 1820, however, there arose a controversy which was the first step towards disregard of the solemn warning of the Farewell Address of Washington, against the formation of parties on geographical distinctions—a warning which, if heeded, would have effectually prevented our late civil war, the evil consequences of which, as a strife between man and man to the shedding of blood, we are still realizing. That part of the territory we had acquired with the purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, which now forms the State of Missouri, was in a condition to be admitted into the Union as a State, in the year 1817, and application was then made for that purpose, to Congress. There was, at this time, a population of 60,000 people there, and St. Louis was a place of 5000 inhabitants. There was no objection, therefore, on the score of numbers; but the people hostile to slavery determined to prevent, if they could, the Territory from coming in to the national family as a slave State. Like all persons of conscientious convictions, they made a strong effort to prevent what they deemed a wrong, which was met by determined opposition on the other side; and then commenced that great struggle, which never ended until slavery was abolished, to prevent its extension into new States to be carved out of the public domain. In this contest, the question was disposed of by the admission of Missouri as a slave State, but



with the establishment of a line to the north of which it was determined that no States should come into the Union as slave States—which line was the parallel of latitude of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , called afterwards the *Missouri Compromise Line*. This digression is a necessary introduction to what is now about to be considered.

At the session of Congress of 1854, the Committee on Territories in the Senate reported a bill for the establishment of Territorial Governments in Nebraska and Kansas—the whole region of both of which unformed masses lay north of the compromise line,—in fact, above the parallel of thirty-seven degrees. Stephen A. Douglas was, at that time, the chairman of that committee; its other members being as follows: Samuel Houston of Texas, Robert W. Johnson of Arkansas, John Bell of Tennessee, George W. Jones of Iowa, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. That bill, to the amazement and alarm of the masses of the people, while providing the usual machinery and stipulations with respect to a Territorial Government, went much farther, and proposed to concede to the inhabitants the right, as it was termed, to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way—that is, to have slavery there or not, as the people there chose. This was at once seen to be a means of repealing, indirectly, the compromise arrangement of 1820, and produced a degree of inflammation in the public breast which had never been felt before. The opponents of the measure felt themselves justified in uniting with the enemies of the chairman of the Territorial Committee, in charging







the paternity of the measure to him, and he was not unwilling to be deemed its author. The reason they gave was, that he was endeavoring to render himself serviceable to the slave-holding interest, and thus, with the aid of such strength as would still adhere to him in the North, secure the prize of the Presidency — for which he had been longing for some time past. He and his friends defended him and his offspring upon the ground that the Missouri arrangement was unfair to the slave-holding interest, that it was unrepugnant, in undertaking to restrain a part of the people in the regulation of their own affairs in their own way, that the line itself was hostile to the spirit of the Farewell Address, in that it recognized sectionality, and further that Congress had, by it, undertaken to prohibit slave-holders from occupying, with their property, the common territory, which could not, they said, be done constitutionally, and which, if submitted to, would be a practical deprivation of interest as to them, their means of prosperity being slave labor. To all which it was replied that, whether constitutional or not, the line was a compromise of principle on the part of the North, was accepted and treated as such by the South, had remained as a covenant for near thirty-five years, and had thus all the force of a fundamental provision; that the people of the North hostile to slavery as an alleged moral wrong, would view the measure in the light of a determination to subject all the unorganized territory to the influence of Southern interests; and that Southern people were as free to



settle the Territories as those of the North were, and that when those Territories were admitted as States, they would be upon the same footing as other States, having power at any time to establish slavery if they chose. But these replies had no effect with those who supported the scheme.

On the 1st and 2d of March, of 1854, Mr. Clayton addressed the Senate upon the bill reported by the committee, and in pursuance of the method he always pursued in treating public questions, went into the subject thoroughly. In his very lengthened and able argument, he treated the question presented by the bill with that breadth of view and minuteness also of detail of feature, which characterized all his Senatorial arguments. He discussed also the policy of the prior Administration with respect to the Territories, showing that it was the correct view to take of their relation to the States, and that the institution of slavery should be a matter of their own selection or rejection, after they had been allowed by Congress admission into the Union as States. He further discussed the subject of the Missouri compromise, and took the ground (which, no doubt was correct) that Congress had no power to decree any portion of the public domain to be perpetually free, or subject to slavery; and assigned the all-sufficient reason that a State could at any time, in the exercise of her sovereignty, establish slavery, if her people so wished. He fortified himself in his position about the Missouri compromise with the argument of Nicholas Vandyke in the Senate



and Louis McLane in the House of Representatives, during the debate of 1820. He thoroughly exposed the scheme at the bottom of the bill reported by the committee, and brought the measure itself into just ridicule by disclosing the fact that there was not a single white man lawfully in the region except the licensed traders with the Indians. He took the opportunity presented by the bill to renew his objection to the acquisition of territory, speaking as follows with respect to the subject, the Union, and his own course at the close of his argument:

“Mr. President, several Senators who have participated in this discussion, have said, that they desire still further acquisitions and annexation of territory. I know very well the strength of that sentiment in the country. As these opinions have been advanced in debate, I beg leave, with all deference to those who have expressed them, to announce my dissent from them. I desire the acquisition of no more territory, to be formed into States. We have now, I believe, twelve hundred millions of acres of land unsurveyed—enough, besides the vast amount of surveys, to give an acre and a half to every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth. Why, then, should we be anxious for further acquisitions? If our manifest destiny drives us on, so that we cannot resist it—if we must, inevitably, acquire more territory, if restraint be impossible, as some assert,—though I have always entertained the opinion, that the possession of provinces to be ruled by Governors ought to be no part of our policy—yet, as a choice of evils, I would





infinitely prefer that the new acquisitions should be held as colonies, or provinces, and not as States. In colonies we rule; in States they may rule us, or elect our rulers, without regard to our interests, or wishes. I know very well that many gentlemen express the opinion that the acquisition of more States to the Confederation gives new strength to it. On the contrary, I do most sincerely believe that if this Union is destined to be wrecked, its ruin will be accomplished by means of this constant tendency to expansion. By continually increasing the number of States of the Union, you multiply the chances of resistance to the laws of the general Government.

"Sir, we know well that the States of this Union are not retained within their spheres by physical force. It is impossible that they can be so retained. No chains can bind them; no ligaments but the silken cords of affection can hold them together; but those cords will lose their strength, whenever the people of the United States shall cease to be homogeneous. The interests, feelings, and sympathies of different races, will, necessarily, become different. I deplore the existence in the country, of a sentiment, which seems to be spreading, for the extension of our Confederation to those who, as they have ever proved incapable of governing themselves, can never prove capable of aiding to govern us. As an American, I am anxious for the aggrandizement and honor of my country; but, sir, if the day should ever come when we shall annex Mexico, as is desired by others, I see no hope for the Republic; when that era arrives, its history will soon be closed. We have territory enough now to form one hundred States. In sixty years you will have one hundred millions of people,



according to the ratio which has hitherto governed our progress. One hundred years hence, you will have one hundred and fifty millions. Let them, then, rule themselves wisely and well, and they will have accomplished more than even the most sanguine of the fathers of the Republic anticipated.

“I said, sir, that you could control the people of the States of this Union only by their affections. Not many years have elapsed since we were threatened with a conflict between the general Government and a State—there was no actual collision, there was no direct application of force on the one side against force on the other; but South Carolina and the United States could hear each other’s drums beat; and the moment before that great measure of peace, the compromise of 1833, we were daily in peril of an encounter between the citizens of a State and the troops of this Government. If, sir, blood had been shed, who can tell what would have been the result?

“In my judgment, there was more danger of disunion then than has ever existed since. Suppose that a State, such as Pennsylvania, should resolve to resist the laws of the Union; could you retain her in the Union by force? Does any man imagine it? The first collision between her and the troops of this Government, would enlist the sympathies of her sister States around her; and a dissolution would be inevitable. Seeing that these things are so, does it not occur to you, as it does to me, that there is danger from this constant annexation of States? The inhabitants of new Territories are not like the men who formed the old thirteen colonies, who concurred in all the principles of civil government which had been taught them before they formed their Confederation.



Yet, reckless of all such considerations, we are every year aiming at the extension of our territory, and the statesmen of the nation, pandering to the passion of the multitude for more land, forgetting the blessings which we now enjoy, and which are endangered by this insane delusion, lead the popular impulse in contempt of all the lessons of history, and all the admonitions of experience.

"I will now take leave of this discussion, with the expression of my regret that on some of the topics embraced in it, I have found my own sentiments at variance with those of many of my most valued personal friends. Had I been willing to conceal my opinions to escape the censure of others, I might have easily given my vote against the bill, without disclosing my views of the Missouri compromise. But I have preferred a frank avowal of my convictions, as alike due to the country, to the Senate, and to my own self-respect. I am not the man to shun any responsibility which justly attaches to my position; and I choose to meet it firmly, but not offensively, having learned through a long public life, that Truth, the daughter of Time, will at last vindicate against all misconstruction and injurious clamor, that man who, in the public service, disregards all personal consequences, and discards all considerations tending to overrule his own just sense of duty."

We all know, to our sorrow, how the country was excited over this measure—the anti-slavery men viewing it as a scheme of enslavement of free territory, and the slave-holders and their friends, as but a measure of justice to them, which the former de-





sired still to withhold, and the politicians of both sides fanning the flames of discord, created by the introduction of the measure, until the whole country may be said to have been in a blaze of excitement. The measure was passed, but the scheme of creating more slave States was effectually baffled by the emigration from the free States, of persons to become settlers; and so great was the flow of the tide, that it soon became apparent that the States to arise from the Territories would be secured to freedom. I forbear to go further with this subject; and it is beside the purpose of this memoir to do so. It is a view of the history of the private and public life of John M. Clayton, that is to be presented, and not a review of political parties.

## TACKING MEASURES TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

When the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill was sent to the Senate at the close of the session of 1854-5, it contained four sections which the House had inserted, revising the tariff. Mr. Clayton moved to strike out these sections; and said it was the first time, in the whole course of his legislative experience, that an attempt was ever made to put a tariff bill upon the general civil and diplomatic appropriation bill. His speech shows a great deal of indignation on his part at the attempt made, in this mode, to



change the tariff, and at the tacking of a measure so incongruous to such a bill—the effort being apparent to force the Senate to vote for the sections, or incur the blame of stopping the wheels of government. He exposed to the Senate the great danger of sanctioning such a practice—making illustrations of a striking kind to enlist the opposition of Senators. The debate necessarily led to a discussion of the tariff subject, and incidentally to the reciprocity treaty, then lately concluded with England with respect to the British possessions in North America, by which there had been established reciprocal free trade between them, so far as all agricultural productions were concerned. After delivering his views in opposition to the sections in question, not only as a dangerous precedent for the future, but for their intrinsic evil to the welfare of the country, as he regarded the subject, he discussed at length the treaty of reciprocity, clearly showing that the advantage was on the side of the Canadians, and that certain portions of our agricultural industry had grossly suffered from its negotiation. This part of his speech was listened to with great attention by a large number of agriculturists who had come to Washington to attend a convention held in their interest at the seat of government. So gratified were they with the remarks about the tariff subject, that many members of their body waited upon Mr. Clayton the next day, and thanked him heartily, for the sentiments expressed by him; and also congratulated him upon the success which his motion to strike out received—a vote



having been taken at the close of the speech, which resulted in twenty-four for the motion, and twenty-one against it. The speech was published (that is, the part of it relating to the tariff), by direction of the Agricultural Convention, and produced so strong an impression upon those who read or heard it, that when that bill went back to the House for concurrence in the Senate's amendment, that body gave its consent to the action of the Senate by a majority of six votes. Referring to the tacking feature of the bill as such, it is not perhaps too much to say, that but for the effort of Clayton to defeat it as a bad precedent, and the exposure of the mischief that might be done in the future if it were allowed, we should have had engrafted upon our legislative forms, as legitimate features, totally incongruous provisions, and obnoxious measures forced upon the country, through the contrivance of amendments to bills without the passage of which, at every session, the business of the country cannot be carried on.

### THE NAVAL RETIRING BOARD.

On the 29th day of February, 1856, Mr. Iverson, a Senator from Georgia, submitted to the Senate the following resolutions:

*"Resolved,* That a committee of—— Senators be appointed by the chair, with power to send for persons and papers; and that said committee be and





are hereby authorized and instructed to summon before it, the members of the late Naval Retiring Board, or such of them as may be conveniently brought before the committee, and examine them upon oath, as to the facts and evidence, grounds and reasons, upon which the action of the said board was founded in each case of the officers recommended to be put on the retired list, or dropped from the service; and that said committee be further instructed to inquire and obtain any other facts which, in their opinion, may bear upon the cases aforesaid, and report the same to the Senate.

*"And be it further resolved.* That said committee be authorized and instructed to advise and consult with the President of the United States in relation to retired and dropped officers with the view of correcting any error or injustice, which may have been committed by the action of said Retiring Board, by the reappointment, or restoration by the President, of such officers as may have been unjustly, or improperly, retired or dropped."

Years before this, complaints had been made all over the country of inefficiency, or incompetency, among officers of the navy; and, for at least twenty years, the various Secretaries had proclaimed the necessity of reform. It was said that many of those officers were grossly intemperate. So general was the belief that the *personnel* of the navy was by no means what it ought to be, that Congress at last passed a law, approved February 28th, 1855, to promote the efficiency of that branch of our service, by the creation



of a Retiring Board—the duties of which were to examine into the case of officers and recommend their retention in active service, their retirement on leave pay, or from the navy altogether. As this was a very important and delicate service, the Secretary of the Navy, to whom that duty pertained by the law, selected the board, composed by the statute of five captains, five commanders, and five lieutenants, from the more distinguished officers qualified for it, and who, themselves, could not, in any respect, be considered subjects of its operation. Their names are as follows: Captains, W. B. Shubrick, M. C. Perry, C. S. McCauley, C. K. Stribling, C. A. Bigelow; Commanders, G. J. Pendergrast, F. Buchanan, S. F. duPont, Samuel Barron, A. H. Foote; Lieutenants, J. S. Missroon, R. L. Page, S. W. Godon, W. L. Maury, James Biddle.

Every one can understand that the duty devolved upon this body of officers was of a very unpleasant nature. They had to deal with at least four classes of cases, and no matter what they might conclude, they would be sure of censure, at least, not only from the parties most immediately affected, the officers, but also from all their relations and such of their friends also as would prefer rather to espouse their side than to be just to the Board. These classes were, old age, physical unfitness from wounds or otherwise, hopeless ignorance, and incompetency from the habit of drunkenness. To the credit of the corps, no member of it could be honestly accused of coward-



ice. It was at once realized that if the Board were fearless in the discharge of their duty, and had it alone in view, the consequence must be a report recommending the retirement, partial or total, of a large number of officers, some of them of great distinction as fighting captains. It may be said that the law was unpopular in the navy—for no man could tell whether the report of the board might not embrace his own case as one to be dealt with; but upon one point, there was no difference of opinion—that the persons chosen by the Secretary to aid him in executing it, were thoroughly well suited for the examination contemplated. Although nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the board made its report to the Secretary, yet it is well remembered how it was received when made public. The board had acted with great diligence, and so entirely to the satisfaction of the Secretary, that he approved the report of those composing it, without any exception, or qualification—the highest compliment he could bestow upon those officers, and the surest evidence (as the event proved) that their findings were right. I have said, it is well remembered how the report was received when it was made public. It encountered a storm of opposition and denunciation by people and newspapers from one end of the land to the other; for no section but had some officer that was recommended to be retired, or dismissed; and none of them but had large family connexions, or circles of friends, to take up the weapons of offence and oppo-





sition in his behalf. Some of those recommended to be retired from active service on leave pay, were veterans and heroes whose conspicuous valor, on memorable occasions, had given to our navy a character of heroism which reflected its lustre upon our national escutcheon; some others were renowned as men of great scientific attainments; and the mass of the rest, with rare exceptions, were brave and able, and competent, but for the fatal addiction to intemperance. All being brave, and inspiring in the breasts of all people of emotion, intense admiration for that semi-reckless courage which sailors are known to possess in a superlative degree, the first sentiment of almost every one was that the board had acted unjustly, not to say cruelly. In this condition of feeling, a great many lent a "greedy ear" to all suggestions of unworthy purpose—so prone is mankind to believe the worst, where hostile feelings are aroused. The Board was accused of paving the way for their own promotion, of jealousy, of enmity, and of every other unworthy motive that could be imagined as influencing its action.

This state of feeling was communicated to and shared in by members of Congress—some among whom are always ready to lay hold upon and make the most of any and every thing which causes popular excitement, or is the occasion of popular disturbance. Besides, the aggrieved were some of them of their own people, and Congressmen felt under a sort of obligation to espouse their cause. This latter influ-



ence led to the introduction into the Senate of Mr. Iverson's resolution. It is not to be supposed, however, that the feeling was all on one side. There were plenty of persons all over the country, some of them distinguished members of Congress, who were inclined to treat the board with fairness, and not to condemn without an impartial hearing and examination; and others, who never had any doubt at all about the matter, knowing that the popular discontent with the state of the navy, respecting the efficiency of its corps of officers, was justifiable, and believing, from their knowledge of the individuals composing the board, that its recommendations were as just as they were unselfish. Among this latter class was the subject of this memoir, and one who shared this confidence with him — his colleague, James A. Bayard.

It was not long after the discussion of the resolutions began in the Senate, before it became apparent, that while the Naval Board was the main target of attack, there was a member of it who had been singled out for the deadliest aim of every shaft, and he was Samuel F. duPont. He was a man of distinction in the navy, for his character, acquirements, and ability; and was assumed by the sufferers, and their advocates, to be the master spirit of the commission. Although he had not, in any sense, made himself prominent in any action of the board — it was not consistent with his nature to thrust himself forward unless the occasion demanded it — it somehow came to be felt, apparently, that he had a controlling in-



fluence with his fellow members; and as war must be made on somebody for the board's action, it was determined that its punishment should fall upon him. This was just the kind of thing to rouse John M. Clayton's energies, which were then becoming weakened by the shadow of that coming event, his illness, which caused his death in eight months afterwards.

As I have before said, among the influences that operated upon the feelings of Mr. Clayton, and constituted characteristics of his life, were those of State pride, or love for his native State, and all that was distinguished in her career; and his devotion to friends. To assail a Delawarean who had conferred honor upon Delaware, or to make an unjust assault upon a personal friend, were certain to call forth from Clayton such a defence as made his adversary to beware of him: for where the attack had the appearance of wantonness, he did not content himself with bare defence, however complete that might seem to be, but literally *carried the war into Africa*, and became the assailant in his turn — acting upon the sagacious theory, that defence, to be complete, in case of assaults upon individuals, or on a community, must have also the effect of punishing for the wrong done, or intended. In that way, alone, can you be secure from future aggressions. He felt that if it should pass unchallenged that duPont had done wrong, the State, whose honor was involved in his, as a public man and officer, would suffer; she would lose the prestige of having never had a public son who had cast a stain upon





her fair shield. In addition to this strong incentive to action, duPont was his friend, though several years his junior, and was one of the sons of a gentleman with whom he had been associated in his very early life, when Clerk of the Legislature—Victor duPont, a distinguished member of that body, who had manifested for the then struggling young lawyer a strong sense of appreciation and friendship. Here, then, were two motives to influence Clayton, and put him upon his mettle as an antagonist; either, however, strong enough to educe an effort worthy of his reputation as a master in debate.

In the discussion of the subject in hand, Mr. Clayton made two speeches, which are exhaustive of the whole subject—and the latter of them something more. The first was delivered in executive session on the 11th of March, 1856, and afterwards came to light by the removal of the injunction of secrecy from the proceedings, and the other on the last day of that month and the first of the month following. The first speech may be treated as a defence of Captain duPont, who had been savagely attacked, up to that time, chiefly out of Congress, by those and their friends who felt aggrieved by the action of the Board. Among other things, it had been imputed to him, that he lacked the courage which a naval officer required, and that he and others had so conducted themselves on board ship, under the command of the old hero, Commodore Hull, while in the Mediterranean on a cruise, as to require him to report them to the



Secretary of the Navy, who had directed their public reprimand by reading his letter to that effect; and that they had been ordered home by the Commodore, that their cases might be examined by the Secretary. I need not say to most of my hearers, how complete was the vindication by this speech, in executive session, against both these charges—the first of which was shown to be without the slightest foundation by a memorable event recited, and the last by the adduction of all the facts constituting the case of duPont's assailants. It was one of Clayton's characteristic qualities to leave nothing undone or unsaid when he undertook a defence, anywhere. He took care to supply himself with all the available means within reach, and then used them with complete efficiency. He brought forward, in answer to the first imputation, the report made by Lieutenant Heywood, to his commander-in-chief. This officer had been stationed, by the commodore commanding the Pacific squadron (there was no land force at that time in California), with four passed midshipmen and mariners, in the mission-house of San Jose, to prevent the execution of a threat of Colonel Pineda, that he would come to that place and put to death all friendly to the flag of the United States. DuPont was at that time at La Paz, in command of the *Cyane*, and hearing of the peril of Heywood, sailed at once for his relief. The next morning, at daylight, he landed his force of one hundred and twenty-two officers and men, the most of them sailors only, took command of them



in person, and succeeded, after a perilous march, being invested by the enemy on all sides, in reaching the post, and rendering the desired succor; but this was done only at the expense of hard fighting, with a foe greatly superior in numbers, well mounted and completely armed. In fact, this small battle was, under all the circumstances, one of the most brilliant engagements of the war, and will ever form a bright page in our country's history—from its phenomenal character, a battle between sailors ashore, and a mounted enemy of the best of the Mexican Cavaliers, splendidly armed, accoutred, and mounted. It could never have been won but for the determined courage of duPont, supported by the gallantry of his devoted force. The history of this enterprise and its result, the report of Lieutenant Heywood to Commodore W. Branford Shubrick, and his to John Y. Mason, the Secretary of War, are all given in this speech in executive session, and effectually disposed of the most serious of the charges made against him, by duPont's enemies; serious only, however, because it had been constituted part of the material for a public attack. With respect to the second of the charges, Clayton showed that when the Secretary of the Navy came to hear the case of duPont, and that of his companions in trouble, Pendergrast, Misroon, and Godon, and had examined their proofs, he fully exculpated those officers, ordered them back to their places on board the Ohio, and sent another dispatch to Commodore Hull, exempting them from all censure; and,





further, using the language of the speaker, "so strongly was the Secretary convinced of the injustice that had been done them, that he directed the commodore to cause this dispatch to be read publicly in the presence of all the officers who had heard his previous letter of censure."

The second speech was a defence of the law to promote the efficiency of the navy, and of the action of the board appointed under it. In vindicating them he was compelled to consider one case of alleged injustice, and, as it appeared to the country until the facts were brought out, of actual wrong. Among those who were recommended to be retired upon pay was Lieutenant Maury, an officer of great distinction not only on account of his fine qualities as a sailor, but of his conspicuous acquirements in the sciences of hydrography and meteorology. He had written and published upon the subject of both, and it was generally conceded that his contributions to that peculiar knowledge, most valuable to sea-going men, were of more value than those of all other persons. His "Physical Geography of the Sea" not only showed the cause but the effects also of the Gulf Stream, characterized by him as the *great river in the ocean*, and also gave the most valuable information with respect to the aerial currents, the periodicity, force, and direction of some of them, and the value to the mariner of knowledge of the whole of them. This man was recommended to be placed on the retired list; and here seemed to be a monstrous outrage upon the person himself, and



an insult to the intelligence and sense of justice of the country. How could such a man be unfit for duty as an officer?

It must be explained, that the report of the board had been made to the Secretary, his approval given, the necessary orders of retirement on pay, or absolutely, issued; and yet none of the evidence upon which the board acted, had been published. Indeed, there was no record kept by the board, and all their examinations had been in secret. It was impossible, therefore, for the public to understand how one so distinguished as Lieutenant Maury should have been included by the board in its list of those to be retired from active service. Not to mention other cases, this one was selected as that with which the strongest attack could be made upon the board; and General Houston, of Texas, took it up and used it with great success. He had, it seems, recommended Maury as an applicant, years before, for a midshipman's warrant; and obtained it for him. He was, therefore, bound, as he felt, to stand by his protégé; and besides, being a gallant man, he naturally espoused the cause of one he thought oppressed. It did look as if the board had, in this case at least, been guilty of the charges preferred against it. In addition to this, the law authorizing the creation of the board was assailed with great fervor; it was denounced as unrepugnant in spirit; and all that the wisdom or wit of men could find to say against it or the board, was said, and freely. The right to remove an officer of the navy was seri-



ously questioned, and this by men who had never questioned such Executive power before. All this excited in Clayton that spirit of defence which I have described as partaking in turn of aggression. He was thoroughly aroused to what he regarded a duty to defend the law he voted for, the action generally of the board of which a distinguished Delaware officer was a member, and its particular recommendation in the case of Lieutenant Maury. He felt also rejoiced at the opportunity of exposing the assailants of the board in their new position with respect to the power of removal.

This speech was opened by a consideration of the last topic mentioned, and its author went back to the famous Foot's Resolution debate of 1830, to show what had been said upon the subject generally then, and that the party of which his chief adversaries now were members or supporters had sustained the power, and that the country had ultimately adopted the view taken of the subject by the supporters of the Administration of General Jackson. He then claimed that an officer of the navy was no more exempt from the operation of this law of the Executive office than any other officer, except the judges; that General Jackson had summarily struck from the rolls of the navy the names of Lieutenant Hunter and his associates in a duel, and that his right to do so was not questioned. In the midst of this Senator Butler, of South Carolina, rose and said:





"I desire to propound a question to my friend from Delaware, for I have great respect for his opinions and investigations. He assumes, what I suppose is now the practice, that the President has the right to dismiss any civil officer at his mere will and pleasure, because he may dislike him, or be politically opposed to him. Will my friend also assume the broad ground that the President, at his mere pleasure, has a right to dismiss a military or naval commander, however eminent he may be, because he may have a personal dislike towards him, or may be opposed to him in politics?"

To which the following reply was instantly made:

"I will answer my friend with great pleasure. I have had the same question proposed to me before. The question is, Has the President the right to remove any naval officer, at his pleasure? I answer that the commission of every officer, naval, military, or civil, bears, on its face, the true tenure of his office. He is, by the terms of it, to hold his office 'during the pleasure of the President,' unless he be a judicial officer. That answers the question of my friend from South Carolina. If he means to inquire of me whether I think it right, *in foro conscientiæ*, for the President of the United States to remove an officer of the army or navy, arbitrarily, without reference to the public interest, which alone should control in all removals, I tell him, as I have always told others, that removals so made are gross abuses of Executive power. But when the President removes, how can you inquire into the grounds of his action? You cannot reach him. The effort was made in the



Senate again and again, a quarter of a century ago, to ascertain the reasons for Executive removals, and it always failed. No President has permitted any Senate, and no President, I venture to say, ever will permit any Senate to take him to task as to the grounds on which he has made his removals. The result of all such experiments is, that the President has the power, and is responsible only to God and the country for its exercise."

It was said, also, that the removals under the law were contrary to republican liberty. Clayton replied, "We are told that the removals of naval officers, under the operation of this law, are contrary to the principles of republican liberty; and the Legislature of Virginia has ventured, in substance, to affirm this. Sir, what have the principles of republican liberty to do with the government and organization of the army and navy? How are you to control a navy or an army—to govern crews and soldiers—upon your principles of republican liberty? The government of a navy, to a great extent, must necessarily be a military despotism, where supreme power is vested in the commander, and absolute submission required from the men and inferior officers. The moment this state of things ceases on board ship, the crew and commander are worthless; they cannot fight with effect in defence of the country." He then argued that the power of removal by the President having been conceded to exist without supervision by Congress, there was no distinction between one class of public officers and



another—all being subject to the operation of the same principle.

Having exhausted the the subject of Executive power, and answered with success the argument of his friend Crittenden, that the Presidential power was derived from the statute creating the Naval Board, he suspended any further remarks until the next day, when he entered upon the consideration of the case of Lieutenant Maury—the strongest point that had been made against its action. It was not necessary to devote any more time to the special defence of of Captain duPont; for though he had been attacked, he said, with more virulence than any other member of the Naval Board, yet he had been defended by his colleague (James A. Bayard) “so ably and fully, that he was lifted beyond the reach of any vindication to which my humble efforts could aspire.”

On that day he finished his argument in defence of the law and the board, before he addressed himself to Maury's case. When he had done with the latter, it was too plain for question that it was really no case at all, notwithstanding General Houston had made so much of it. Now, in all this discussion, Mr. Clayton, and those who took the same views that he did, labored at great disadvantage, for two good reasons—the first of which was, that it would have been cruel to have defended the board by recital of the facts upon which they acted in individual cases; the exposure would have wounded the feelings of all connected with those officers, where bad habits or want







of qualification was the cause of recommendation for retirement; and the second that the officers had enlisted a strong influence in their behalf from sympathy or other reason, and had secured the good offices, not only of newspapers, but of hosts of friends also. Thus the battle for the Naval Board had to be fought at great odds against those who led in it. There was, as Clayton and those supporting him knew, a powerful reserve force, in the facts of the different cases before the board; but they could not use them—like a general with an all-sufficient reserve corps in his rear, but which for some cause he is unable to avail himself of, in the time of peril. The defence, therefore, had for the most part to be confined to a mere support of the law, and the repulse of attacks made upon the characters of members of the board—which were assailed on grounds of personal hostility, jealousy, and otherwise, as has been before observed. And in defence of the law itself, Clayton had not the valuable aid of his colleague, who was hostile to it as a measure. In fact, taking the defence as a whole, it was hardly made by any but him—others aiding in making part of it only. Emboldened by the state of feeling, as evinced by the newspapers, the fact that there was hardly any Senator who was not in some way connected with a retired officer, and believing that the success of the attack upon the board might be risked upon the case of so conspicuous a veteran as Lieutenant Maury, those hostile to the law brought it prominently forward, and General Houston dwelt



upon it at great length, and with extremely ingenious treatment—for the old hero of San Jacinto was well skilled in attack in debate as well as war of arms, and enjoyed much consideration by his brother Senators from his urbane manners, exhibition of personal respect for them, and that simpleness in social intercourse which marked him as a man of good feelings and endeared him to all with whom he was upon terms of acquaintance. It is most probable that he did not know the facts of the case of the Lieutenant; or, knowing them, trusted that they were not understood by Clayton—a fatal mistake, which men often make who underrate their adversaries' resources; and which was always made when Clayton was the adversary, for he invariably contrived in some way to be master of all the facts of every case he dealt with. And he proved so to be in this case. While conceding cheerfully all that had been urged with respect to the eminent abilities of Lieutenant Maury as an officer and scientist, he yet proved beyond the possibility of refutation, from the public records, that owing to an unfortunate accident years before in Ohio, when upon Government duty, he had become physically disqualified to perform active service at sea in case of emergency, and, in fact, had at his own application been not only placed upon the pension list, but had secured a change of his pay by proving that his injury was of a grade rendering him less able than he had been before reported to be. In addition to all this he cited the fact that he was then, and for years



had been, in charge of the National Observatory at Washington, with a salary far beyond that to which he would have been entitled, if retained, and had not been to sea in twenty years. And he went farther; in order to strip of all its force this case, of which so much had been made by the opponents of the board, he quoted from one of several letters which Lieutenant Maury had written and published in the National Intelligencer, in the form of epistles to his son, but intended for the people of the United States. Referring to the example of De Witt Clinton as that of a man who had achieved his fame by other than political preferments or success, Maury closed this letter as follows: "Thus you see, my son, that one can become a great man — can win the blessings of posterity, receive the praise of the good, and be crowned with honors — without being a great general or sea-captain, or any thing else in the gift of 'Uncle Sam.' I hope you will never seek his service. I consider that I committed the great mistake of my life when I accepted a midshipman's warrant in the Navy." — "This passage," said Clayton, "has dwelt in my memory, because I recollect well, that when I read it, I felt somewhat surprised that a gentleman standing high in the navy of the United States, as I had always supposed he did, should so far seek to disparage the American service, in that branch of our defence, which has gained the name of our country's right arm, as to say, that the great mistake of his life was in receiving a midshipman's warrant and







entering into the navy. If that was the great mistake of his life — if he would have been a much greater or more successful man, in case he had never entered the service of his country, why is it he is now so determined and fixed in his purpose to remain in that service? Why should he so much care about remaining in the service, if he can advise all the youth of the country never to enter service? This sentiment struck me — I submit to the Senate whether I was right in my apprehension, or not — as unpatriotic. I trust this is not the lesson which an American father is to teach his son. *Devotion to his country; readiness to enter its service at all times when required for its honor or its welfare; readiness to sacrifice himself in its defence, if necessary — these are the precepts which I think it becomes an American father to teach his child.*" I have emphasized this last sentence as containing the very essence of all patriotism. Of course, after this latter exposure, the case of Lieutenant Maury lost all its consequence. The quick sense of loyalty to the country which noticed every unworthy expression of a public man, took offence at the language of Maury; and Clayton's faultless memory enabled him to recall the fatal letter in the hour of his need of it. The action of the board in that particular, could no longer, now, be reflected upon; and this was, if possible, all the more evident, when it appeared, in what was said afterwards, that one of the members of the board was the Lieutenant's own *cousin*.

All the efforts made to disparage the law, and the



action of the board, and to effect the reinstatement of the retired officers, failed in the end; and I hazard nothing in asserting that this so much traduced law has proved to be one of the most valuable on the statute book. But what a task the defence of the naval board imposed upon one suffering, then, from a rapid decline which was ere long to terminate in death! He knew it would tax to the utmost his feeble physical powers; but he was impelled to the performance of the work, by what he felt due to one who had, by his bravery, shed lustre upon his native State, and by a sense also of the injustice attempted against a board of officers of the best ability in the navy. The honor of Delaware, too, was involved; for the misdeeds of a public man are charged to the account of his State.

With this contest in the Senate, ended the last of the discussions in Congress, in which Clayton took any active part; and here may be said to have ended a career as a statesman which every Delawarean can look back upon with pride. It was neither marred by mistakes, nor blemished by misdeeds. Throughout it all, no man, however reckless of truth, or wicked of heart, ever imputed to him, by word or innuendo, anything of an unworthy nature. So scrupulous was his conscience, that he never would accept the slightest gift or favor of any kind that could be referred to his public position as the motive that prompted the offer of it. His hands were absolutely clean—his motto being, that a public



man should be as Cæsar's wife, not only pure, but above suspicion.

## CONCLUSION.

Having treated the subject of a memoir of John M. Clayton so as to present to the Historical Society the most important acts of his life, it only remains to offer a summary of the whole. This is not actually necessary; as this paper is not so long that any part of it should be forgotten where it possesses interest. But, by and by, when all here are dead, and there are none left in the State who remember aught that I have recalled to your memory, students of the history of the public men of the State may arise, who, in the multitude of engagements demanded of them by the increasing tide of events, may not have the time, or having it, may not choose to read this memoir to learn all about Clayton; and, for want of a compendium of it, with respect to his personalities (if I may use such a word), may content themselves with some other publication, and thus run the risk (as we all incur if we are not careful to find out true facts), of being misled by ignorant persons, or those perversely, or fatuitously, bent upon establishing the truth of some theory, or dogma, without any support except such as it finds in their obtuse or perverted brain. There is another reason for making it; that in a condensed form will be presented the gen-





eral features of this distinguished man's life, in all its phases, or aspects.

It is not always, by any means, that the boy gives promise of the man; though "just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined," is as true to-day as it was more than a century ago, when the thought found expression. We have all of us known many who, in youth, gave the highest assurance of a future eminent career in the senate, at the bar, or in the field of literature, but in the end, disappointed the hopes of those interested in them, and settled down, as we say, into the places of very ordinary persons. I have known many such myself, and rarely one of them who ever became distinguished in after life. The quality of mind which fits one for the mere achievement of knowledge, or to make display of it upon ordinary occasions, is by no means evidence that the distinction it secures at school will be followed by an equal superiority in after life. On the other hand also, we are not to treat dullness, or obtuseness of intellect, in the young, however it may depress us when observed in the case of those near to us, or otherwise, as an inevitable sign that the possessor of it will continue to be so distinguished when he reaches mature life. In the case of both classes, there are disappointments; in the first of them grievous, and in the latter most agreeable. While bright boys, of remarkable powers of acquisition and expression, have signally failed in the battle of life; those of heavy minds have, on the contrary, from the attri-



tion of the struggle, proved to have the best qualities for the attainment of solid distinction. There are gems that flash their brilliancy to the gaze as they lie in their native beds; but the finest of all are so encrusted, that the art of the polisher is required to bring forth their beauties and perfection. The rubbing which the struggle for existence, or the necessity of defence, gives, cleanses, in a sense, the strong intellect from the crust that encases it, and makes it to shine with the lustre of the diamond, before whose splendor other jewels fade into inferiority. Clayton possessed a mind made up of the brilliancy of the precocious, and the strength of the solid, intellect. But he had not enough of the former to disqualify him for the severe labor he employed in his studies: and that was why he became so distinguished in every walk of life which he trod. It was this blending of genius, if I may so speak, with the necessity for study to secure solid attainments, that made him the industrious scholar that he was; that enabled him to graduate with the highest honors of his class; that nerved him to give his whole attention to a science so dull as that of the law is supposed to be; to make the one thousand pages of notes of his student labors that he left behind him; to master, as no man in the State, as I verily believe, ever had done up to his day, the science of special pleading in the preparation of causes; and to make him capable of entering at the early age of thirty-three upon a Senatorial life so distinguished that it certainly surpassed that of most men



in this country. It was this mingling of the ornamental with the solid, the foam with the body, that gave him such unexampled power over juries, and made his addresses to the court upon the law so very attractive: and no man who has lived among us had greater weight with either. I know it has been said that he had equals in understanding and discussing questions of pure law, though entire superiority was always conceded to him with juries; but such is not my opinion of him. While there were other men in the State, in his day, on and off the bench, who were splendid lawyers; yet they were, I think, with one exception, more men of books than of genius, and sustained their high character by the knowledge of decisions rather than by the appreciation of the philosophic truth, or principle, that lay at the bottom of them. Besides, his was a ready, off-hand knowledge that his fine memory, which, as I have said, never lost anything, enabled him to use promptly, and without the refreshing that re-reading required of others. His memory was cultivated too; he had never forgotten the phrase he learnt at school—*"memoria augetur excolendo,"*—the memory is improved by exercising it,—and practised it with the best success. He took no regular notes of argument or testimony, in his trial of causes, but where a word, phrase, or expression required to be commented on; and then, more for the effect such note would make, as evidence of the importance given by him to it, than for any other reason. For himself, personally, he had no need to







make notes; but for his cause, or the occasion, he sometimes wrote them. His mind was so intent upon appropriating all that was necessary for the presentation of his case, that it was quite full by the time he had to make his speech; or, if he had to reply, his adversary's argument was sure to furnish him with all the material he needed. If the adaptation of means to ends be what is claimed for it—the highest evidence of the excellence of human intellect—then he possessed it in an extraordinary degree. Whenever he engaged in any effort, at the bar, in the Senate, or in the field of diplomacy, when success was attainable, he achieved it. At school, it was to excel; he excelled. In studying law, it was to master the science; he mastered it. At the bar, it was to serve his client to the utmost that knowledge and skill could; he accomplished it. On the bench, it was to deliver the law, as he took it to be, without partiality, fear or favor; and he did it. In the Senate, it was to master the principles and details of every subject that he treated in argument, or was required to vote upon; and he never acted without doing so. As a diplomatist, he aimed at his country's honor and interest, which alone influenced his negotiations. Yet, with all these qualifications of mind, study, and experience, which he possessed, he never really wanted any public place, except upon the occasion in 1853, to which I have before referred, when the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was attacked in the Senate. And when, soon after the attainment of his sixtieth year, he came to Dover with



the expression of Woolsey upon his lips, "An old man, broken with the storms of state, is come to lay his bones among you," he made no complaint that he was prevented from reaping more honors; and only expressed the desire that justice should be done him when he had gone. Knowing the propensity of the world to be unjust to public men, living or dead, he only craved that his official acts should not be deprived of the meed to which they were entitled.

With all the greatness, the manliness, the robustness of character, which, no less than appearance of form and face, distinguished Clayton above almost all other men, he had, in private life, the gentleness and tenderness of heart, ease and frankness of manner, and depth and sincerity of affection, that belonged to his paternal ancestry. Surely I am not mistaken, in saying that these traits in him, so like the same which distinguish the Quakers, came to him from his forefathers, the companions of Penn in his voyage to possess his dominions beyond the sea.

On the 9th day of November, in the year 1856, on the Lord's day, and while his chamber was yet illumined by the glowing light of the just departed sun, John M. Clayton passed, without pain or sign, from this world into that other, whose realities he neither doubted nor feared—having a faith, never shaken, in the truth and necessity of the Christian religion, and its assurance to the repentant; and blessed furthermore with that inestimable treasure of morality—"mens conscia recti."



## OBITUARY ADDRESSES.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, WEDNESDAY,  
DECEMBER 3, 1856.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, rose and addressed the Senate as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—No more painful duty can devolve upon a member of this body than the annunciation of the death of a colleague; and the duty becomes yet more painful when that colleague has sustained an elevated position in the country, and our personal relations to him have been those of kindness and friendship.

It has become my mournful duty to announce to the Senate the death of my distinguished colleague and friend, the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON. He died during the recess, on the 9th of November last, at his residence in Dover, in his sixty-first year; and though his health had been uncertain and precarious for some years past, his death was unexpected, and has been the source of sincere and deep sorrow both to his friends and fellow-citizens.

This, sir, is neither the time nor the place for an analysis of his great mental and moral endowments, or a critical examination of the political opinions he entertained, or general measures he advocated so ably during his long period of public service. A brief





sketch of his career, and the expression of my sincere appreciation of his many virtues, in asking for the tribute to his memory of those honors—vain though they be—which custom has rendered sacred, and to which his high endowments and eminent public services so well entitle it, seem more appropriate to the occasion.

JOHN MIDDLETON CLAYTON was born in the county of Sussex and State of Delaware, on the 24th of July, A. D. 1796. His father, James Clayton, a man of unquestioned integrity and active business habits, was a member of one of the oldest families in the State, his ancestor having come to America with William Penn. His mother was a native of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

His father's means were those of competency, not of affluence, though his affairs became embarrassed about the time that his son's education was completed; but, with wise forecast, he had previously given that son more than fortune, in giving him the advantages of a liberal education; and well did my friend avail himself of those advantages. He entered Yale College in July, 1811, and, devoting himself most assiduously and laboriously to his studies, graduated in that venerable institution in September, 1815, with the highest honors of his class and the confidence and attachment of his instructors.

Immediately after leaving college, he commenced the study of the law under the late Chief Justice Thomas Clayton, one of the ablest lawyers of the State, and



subsequently pursued it with him, and also for one or two years at the Litchfield Law School, and was admitted to the bar in his native county in the year 1818. From his high grade of intellect and extraordinary capacity for labor, he came to the bar with a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence seldom acquired till after years of practice; and his success at the bar of Kent county, where he located himself, was so rapid and brilliant, that in a few years he stood in the foremost rank of his profession, with able and distinguished lawyers as his competitors. He devoted himself to his profession, and took no very active part in political struggles previous to the year 1827, though he was elected a member of the Legislature in the year 1824, and subsequently filled the office of Secretary of State of the State of Delaware.

In the division of political opinions which ultimately led, in the interval between the election of Mr. Adams and that of General Jackson, to the organization of two great parties throughout the country, he adopted the principles and became identified with the fortunes of the Whig party, which being in the ascendant in the State of Delaware, he was elected a Senator of the United States in January, 1829, and took his seat in this body in December following. His public services in the Senate require no comment, for his history here is written in his country's annals. It is no slight evidence, however, of the highest order of merit, that a young man, coming into public life as the representative of one of the smallest States



in the Union, at a time when such men as Calhoun, Clay, and Webster were in the zenith of their power and influence, should rapidly acquire a national reputation, and become one of the acknowledged leaders of the great party to which he was attached. Mr. Clayton was re-elected to the Senate on the expiration of his first term in 1835; but, becoming weary of political life, he resigned his place in December, 1836. The confidence of the Executive bestowed upon him in January, 1837, with the general approbation of the bar and the people of Delaware, the office of Chief Justice of the State, which he also resigned in August, 1839; having in that, as in all the public situations which he filled, demonstrated his high capacity for the performance of its duties.

He remained in private life during the ensuing six years, but was again elected to the Senate in March, 1842; and on the accession of General Taylor to the Presidency in 1849, the office of Secretary of State was tendered to him, as the consequence of his national reputation, and accepted. The death of President Taylor in July, 1850, again placed him in private life.

During the period which he held the position of Secretary of State, he negotiated, in April, 1850, the treaty with Great Britain commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. That treaty was ratified by more than three-fourths of the Senate; and I may be permitted to say that, had it been carried out according to the plain and obvious import of its language, would





have effected all which this country should desire in relation to the territory of Central America and the safety and security of an interoceanic communication; and if difficulties have since arisen, either from the aggressions of the power with which it was contracted, or a failure on our part to insist in the first instance on its due execution, the fault, if any, rests not with him, as no action of that power contravening its proper construction occurred during the short time which he retained the office of Secretary of State after the ratification of the treaty.

He remained in private life until 1853, when the confidence of his State again returned him to the Senate.

It would be useless, if not idle, for me to dilate upon his commanding powers in debate, which most of those around me have so often witnessed.

He may have differed with many of us in opinion, but none can deny the eminent courtesy and ability which he displayed in sustaining his views, or the broad nationality of his sentiments. Indeed, one of his most striking characteristics was the intense nationality of his feelings; and numerous instances might be cited from his public life in which, where the honor or the interests of his country or the integrity of the Union was involved, he broke those fetters with which the spirit of party but too often trammels the minds of even the most distinguished public men.

As a statesman he was the pride of his State, and a cherished leader of one of the great political



parties of the country whilst its national organization was maintained.

As a lawyer he was necessarily less known to those around me, as the sphere of his forensic action, with few exceptions, was within the limits of his own State. It has been my fortune, however, to have frequently witnessed and felt his powers, both as an associate and opponent; and though I have heard very many of the most distinguished lawyers of our country in cases calling for the highest exercise of their capacity, and may have thought a few possessed greater powers of discrimination and others a more playful fancy, in the combination of all his faculties I have yet to meet his superior, if, indeed, I have met his equal, as an advocate before a jury. I will not pause now to analyze the peculiar powers which rendered him so effective, formidable, and successful in his forensic pursuits. It is sufficient that he was successful in a profession in which merit alone can command success.

To his great mental qualities he added a host of virtues. Affectionate as a son, devoted as a husband, almost too indulgent as a father, he was a kind and generous friend. Of exceeding liberality, his purse was open to those he loved and esteemed with an almost careless confidence. Little conversant with, and somewhat heedless of the mere conventionalities of society, there was a charm in the cordiality of his manner which endeared him to his friends and attracted and fascinated even his ordinary acquaintances. But, Mr.



President, successful as was my friend in all his pursuits, there were shadows cast upon the pathway of his life, and he had more than an equal share of the sorrows and disappointments inevitable to the lot of man. He achieved fame and acquired fortune, and his checks in the pursuit of either were few and transient. This is the bright side of the picture. The reverse presents the afflictions to which, in the dispensation of an all-wise Providence, he was subjected in his domestic relations.

In September, 1822, he married the daughter of Dr. James Fisher, of Delaware, an accomplished lady, and the object of his first affections. After a little more than two years of domestic happiness, she died in February, 1825, leaving him two sons, and to him her loss was a life-long sorrow. He cherished her memory with an almost romantic devotion, and, though unusually demonstrative as to his ordinary emotions and feelings, with his deeper affections it was otherwise. His was a grief which spoke not, and even the observant eye of friendship could only see, from momentary glimpses, how immedicable was the wound which had been inflicted. Of the two children which she left him, the youngest, who was of great promise, both intellectually and morally, died in January, 1849, in his twenty-fourth year, and the other two years afterwards. On the death of his youngest and favorite child, there was a desolation of the heart which, though it vainly courted relief in the excitement of public life, could scarcely be realized by those who





have not suffered under the pressure of a similar sorrow. Perhaps it is best pictured in the melancholy reflections of Wallenstein :

"I shall grieve down this blow; of that I am conscious.

What does not man grieve down?

From the highest,

As from the vilest thing of every day

He learns to wean himself; for the strong hours

Conquer him. Yet I feel what I have lost

In him. The bloom is vanished from my life.

For, O! he stood beside me like my youth,

Transformed for me the real to a dream,

Clothing the palpable and the familiar

With golden exhalations of the dawn.

Whatever fortunes wait my future toils,

The *beautiful* is vanished, and returns not."

Such, Mr. President, was my colleague's career, and such his sorrows. He stood isolated in the world; for, though there remained affectionate relatives and kind friends, they could not satisfy the longing of the heart for those nearer and dearer who had passed away. I cannot doubt that the corroding effect of this great grief, and the indisposition to physical exertion which it naturally produced, undermined a very vigorous constitution, and foreshortened his life, at an age when ripened experience and undecayed mental powers would have rendered his services most valuable to his country.

Among the graves of the last century, Mr. President, in an old churchyard at New Castle, there is an epitaph upon the tombstone of a Mr. Curtis, who



died in 1753, after having filled many public offices in the then colony of the "Three Lower Counties upon Delaware," attributed, I believe correctly, to the pen of Benjamin Franklin. It might, with a change of name, be most appropriately inscribed upon the tomb of my lamented friend:

"If to be prudent in council,  
Upright in judgment,  
Faithful in trust,  
Give value to the public man;  
If to be sincere in friendship,  
Affectionate to relations,  
And kind to all around him,  
Make the private man amiable,  
Thy death, O Clayton,  
As a general loss,  
Long shall be lamented."

I will but further add, as the last and crowning act of my colleague's life, that he died in the faith and with the hopes of a Christian.

Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions:

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the members of the Senate, from the sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, late a Senator from the State of Delaware, will go into mourning, by wearing crape on the left arm for thirty days.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That as an additional mark of respect for the memory of the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CRITTENDEN, of Kentucky:—

MR. PRESIDENT:—I rise for the purpose of seconding



the motion that has been made for the adoption of the resolutions just offered.

I would not willingly disturb, by a single word, the sad and solemn silence which has been impressed upon the Senate by the announcement that has just been made of the death of Mr. CLAYTON; but I feel that it is due to this occasion, and to our long and cherished friendship, that I should offer to the memory of my departed friend the humble tribute of my respect and affection.

He is so freshly remembered here that I can hardly realize to myself that we are to see him in this chamber no more; that I am no more to see him take his seat by my side, where he was so long accustomed to sit; no more to receive that cheerful, happy, cordial salutation with which he greeted us every morning as we met in this chamber.

But, Mr. President, I must restrain these recollections and the feelings to which they give rise.

I will not attempt any delineation of the character of Mr. CLAYTON, or any enumeration of his public services. These belong to history. But we who were his associates, who saw, and knew, and heard him, can bear witness that he was a *great man* and a *great statesman*, of unsullied and unquestioned patriotism and integrity, and that in the Senate and in the cabinet he rendered great service to his country. If history be just to him, she will gather up all these materials, and out of them she will mould for him such a crown





as she awards to great and virtuous statesmen who serve their country faithfully and well.

The death of Mr. CLAYTON is indeed a public loss, a national misfortune; and to his native State, which he so long and honorably represented in this body, a bereavement at which she may well mourn, as the mother mourneth over a favorite child. He loved and served her with all his might and all his heart, and acquired for his noble little Delaware fresh titles to respect and distinction in the Union. She can no longer command his services; but the memory of him will remain to her as a rich treasure; and his name, bright with recorded honors, will ascend to take its place with the names of her Bayards, her Rodneys, and her other illustrious dead, and with them, like so many stars, will shine upon her with all their benign influence.

It must be pleasing to us all to learn from the honorable Senator from Delaware (Mr. BAYARD) that Mr. CLAYTON died a *Christian*. So he should have died. Such a death gives to humanity its proper dignity. Full of the world's honor, he died full of the more precious hopes that lie beyond the grave. Of him who so dies we may well exclaim, "O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?"

Mr. CASS, of Michigan:—

MR. PRESIDENT:—Once more are our duties to the living suspended by the last sad tribute of regard to the memory of the dead. Another of our associates has passed from this scene of his labors to that dread



responsibility which equally awaits the representative and the constituent, the ruler and the ruled. All human distinctions are levelled before the destroyer, and in the narrow house to which we are hastening the mighty and the lowly lie side by side together. There our departed friend has preceded us. When we separated, but a few days since, he was a bright and shining light among his countrymen. Returning to resume our functions, we find that light extinguished in the darkness of the tomb. Well may we exclaim, in the impressive language of the Psalmist, man's days are as a shadow that passeth away.

His character and services have been portrayed with equal power and fidelity by the Senators who have preceded me, one of them his respected colleague, and the other his personal and political friend, and both of them entitled by long acquaintance to speak as they have spoken of him; and their words of eloquence have found a responsive feeling in the hearts of their auditors.

I cannot lay claim to the same relations, but I knew him during many years, and his high qualities have left their impress upon my mind, and I rise to add my feeble testimonial of regret that he has been taken from among us.

The deceased Senator from Delaware was long identified with the political history of the country. Sent here by the confidence of his native State thirty years ago, he brought with him eminent qualifications for the position, and which led to the high distinction



he acquired. To a vigorous and powerful intellect, improved by early training, he added varied and extensive acquirements, the fruit of ripe study and of acute observation; and he possessed a profound knowledge, rare indeed, of the principles of our Constitution, and of those great questions connected with our peculiar political institutions which so often present themselves for solution, and sometimes under circumstances of perilous agitation. He was a prompt and able debater, as we all know, and touched no subject upon which he did not leave marks of thorough investigation. In whatever situation he was placed he met the public expectation by the ability he displayed, and by his devotion to the honor and interest of his country.

In looking back upon our communication with this lamented statesman, every member of this body will bear testimony to the kindness of his feelings, and to the comity and courtesy which marked his social intercourse. He was a happy example of that union of decision of opinion and firmness of purpose, in public life, with the amenity of disposition which constitutes one of the great charms of private life—a union the more commendable as it is rarely found in the exciting scenes of political controversy. His was a most genial nature, and we cannot recall him without recalling this trait of his character.

It is a source of consolation to all his friends that when the last change came it found him prepared to meet it. He entered the dark valley of the shadow of death with a firm conviction of the truth





of the mission of Jesus Christ, and with an unshaken reliance upon the mercy of the Saviour. He added another to the long list of eminent men who have examined the evidences of revealed religion, and who have found it the will and the word of God; and he died in the triumphant hope of a blessed immortality, which the Gospel holds out to every true and humble believer.

Mr. SEWARD, of New York:—

Mr. PRESIDENT: I consult rather my feelings than my judgment in rising to address the Senate on this melancholy and affecting occasion. While it seems to me that I have few nearer friends remaining to me than JOHN M. CLAYTON was, I remember, nevertheless, that he was by a long distance my senior in the Federal councils, and that, although we were many years members of one political party, yet we differed so often and so widely that we could scarcely be called fellow-actors seeking common political objects and maintaining common political principles. But it has been truly said of him that he was a man of most genial nature. The kindness which he showed to me so early and continued to show to me so long, removed all the constraints which circumstances created, and I never failed to seek his counsel when it was needed, and his co-operation when I felt that I had a right to claim it.

Mr. President, I think no one is surprised by this painful announcement. His health and strength were



obviously so much impaired by frequent visitations of disease during the last regular session of Congress, that when I parted with him in September last I was oppressed with the conviction that I should meet him no more on earth. The remembrances of kindness and affection he then expressed to me will remain with me until I shall meet him, as I trust, in a better and a happier world.

Mr. President, I have fallen into these funereal ceremonies, without any prepared, or even meditated, discourse. Perhaps if I shall let my heart pour forth its own feelings, I may render to the illustrious dead a tribute not less just than that which I could have prepared, had I applied myself to the records of our country, and brought into one group the achievements of his life.

This I must say, that JOHN M. CLAYTON seemed to me peculiarly fortunate in achieving just what he proposed to himself to achieve, and in attaining fully all that he desired. His respected and distinguished colleague has given testimony which was germane, though hardly so necessary as he thought, to the fact that Mr. Clayton was eminent in his profession as a lawyer and an advocate. He began life with the purpose of attaining that professional eminence. We who are here his survivors knew him in other spheres. His ambition led him at different periods into two different departments of public service—the one that of a Senator, the other that of a minister or diplomatist.

Fame is attained in the Senate by pursuing either



one of two quite divergent courses, namely, either by the practice of delivering the prepared, elaborate, and exhausting oration, which can be done only unfrequently, and always on transcendent occasions, or by skill, power, and dignity in the daily and desultory debates, on all questions of public interest, as they happen to arise.

I happen to know, or to have good reason to think, that Mr. CLAYTON'S ambition preferred this last-mentioned line of Senatorial effort. He kindly became my counsellor when I entered this chamber as a representative of my State, and his well-remembered advice was couched nearly in these words: "Do not seek great occasions on which to make great speeches—one in a session of Congress—but perform your duty to your constituents and your country by debating all important subjects of administration as they occur." Senators all around me will remember how constantly and indefatigably he himself pursued the line which he had thus marked out for me.

Those who shall now read, as I am sure posterity will read, the recorded debates of the Senate for the period embraced within the last twenty-five years, will find that, although surrounded by mighty men in argument and speech, JOHN M. CLAYTON was one among the few effective statesmen who determined or influenced the administration of the government of this great country.

His other department of public service was diplomacy. Never have I seen a man more admirably





qualified by astuteness, comprehensiveness, and vigor, for that arduous and responsible branch of public life. He excelled not merely by reason of these qualifications, but also, and eminently so, by reason of his frankness of character and conduct. He was frank, open, direct, and manly. He showed his purposes in outspoken and direct communications. Perhaps we owe to him as much as to any other of our many able diplomatists, the achievement of the United States in instructing the nations of Europe that diplomacy is best conducted when it leads through open, fair, and direct courses.

Mr. CLAYTON was, as has been truly claimed for him, a patriot—a lover of all the parts and of the whole of our common country. The peculiar location and character of the State which he represented—lying midway between the North and the South—probably had the effect to confirm his natural tendency of temper, and render him conservative, careful, cautious, and conciliatory. I respond to the claims made in his behalf by his colleague and by his venerable friend and compatriot, the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. CRITTENDEN), in this respect, when I say that I regarded his presence in these halls as a link of union between the generation which has passed away and that generation on which the responsibilities of national conduct have devolved, and his influence necessary for the happy solution of those great questions involving cherished interests of the North and of the South, which press upon us with so great urgency. Such



was the character he maintained here as a Senator and a legislator—an umpire between conflicting interests, a moderator between contending parties. How natural, then, that he should be eminently national, eminently comprehensive in his action as a minister and a diplomatist!

A very distinguished French savan (Mons. Ampère) begins his journal as a traveller with an account of his visit at the World's Fair, held, I think, in 1852, in London; and he pronounces that great exhibition of the industry of so many nations as the first universal fact in the history of the human race. He egregiously erred. That great event was neither the most important, nor was it the first, of the universal facts which have transpired in our own day. The first universal fact—a fact indicating an ultimate union of the nations—was the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, that treaty which provided for the opening of passages of communication and connexion across the Central American isthmus, to the growing civilization of the western and modern, and the declining civilization of the eastern and ancient world. It was the felicitous good fortune of JOHN M. CLAYTON, not more than his genius and ability, that enabled him to link his own fame with that great and stupendous transaction, and so to win for himself the eternal gratitude of future generations, not only in his own country, but throughout the great divisions of the earth. Whatever difficulties have hitherto attended the execution of that great treaty, whatever future difficulties may attend it,



the treaty itself is the bow of promise of peace, harmony, and concord to all nations, as it is an imperishable monument to the fame of him whose worth we celebrate, and whose loss we deplore.

The resolutions were agreed to, and the Senate adjourned.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WEDNESDAY,  
DECEMBER 3, 1856.

A message was received from the Senate, by ASBURY DICKENS, their Secretary, announcing to the House information of the death of the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, late Senator from Delaware, and the proceedings of the Senate thereon.

The resolutions of the Senate having been read,—  
Mr. CULLEN, of Delaware, rose and addressed the House as follows:

I rise, Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of performing, to me, a most painful duty: it is to announce to this House, and to the nation, the death of one of the most distinguished citizens of the State of Delaware.

I need not portray to this House the character of the deceased. It was known to us all, and to the nation. His reputation is spread throughout the length and breadth of this land; but I cannot let this occasion pass without making some remarks which may show to this House and the country the light in







which I would invite them to regard the career of of our deceased Senator and statesman.

He was a man of great research and great intellect, of profound learning and uncommon quickness. He has occupied a place in the history of this nation for a period of thirty years, as one of the most distinguished citizens of this country. He was born in the village of Dagsborough, in the county of Sussex, and State of Delaware, on the 24th day of July, 1796. He entered Yale College, and graduated in 1815, with the first honors of his class. Upon his return to the State of Delaware, he commenced the study of the law with his relative, the Hon. Thomas Clayton, a distinguished member of the bar of that State, and for many years a member of this House, and afterwards one of our Senators; he was a very distinguished jurist, and stood at the head of his profession. With him he studied one year, and then removed to the Litchfield Law School, then under the charge of two distinguished professors, Judges Gould and Reeves. He there pursued his studies, with great diligence and industry, for the period required by the rules of our courts, previous to his admission to the bar of the Superior Courts of Delaware, to which he was admitted in 1818, in the county of his birth. His splendid examination gave early promise of his future eminence and success.

He soon became distinguished in that position. It has been my fortune to be engaged with him in the argument of many causes, both as his colleague and



as his opponent; and I must say to this House, and to the nation, that never have I witnessed the display of such quickness of apprehension, such memory, such a grasping intellect, such learning, such zeal and ingenuity, as were displayed by the deceased on every occasion in which he found it necessary to exert his great mind in the progress of a cause. As a lawyer, he was profound and industrious, of untiring patience. He viewed his cases in every point of light in which they could be seen, and could see every point in them at a glance. But he was not satisfied with a glance. He investigated every position, and was prepared for every question which could arise in the case. I have seen gentlemen whose legal minds, I thought, were equal to his; but when he prepared himself, never has there been known in the State of Delaware a man who could be said to be his equal. It is confidently everywhere asserted that he never saw his equal, especially as an advocate before a jury.

As an advocate, he excelled any member of the bar whose career has been witnessed by any person now living. I have known him to be successful in cases which any other lawyer would have despaired of; and so keen was his perception of the ludicrous, that if the case of his opponent presented any features of which advantage could be taken by turning them into ridicule, he was sure to succeed. I have known him to gain causes certainly against law, and the evidence, and the facts of the case, by his superior ingenuity, and his deep knowledge of human nature.



As a special pleader, he was not surpassed by any gentleman at that profession. His talents as a lawyer, even when he had been but a few years at the bar in the practice of his profession, soon became known throughout his native State; and before he had been at the bar three years he was sought after and engaged in every important cause in the State. Every litigant was anxious to procure his services, thinking his aid sufficient to secure certain success.

But he was not long to enjoy the quiet of his profession. He soon became the leader of the Whig party in the State of Delaware. Though quite young, he was known to possess more extensive and commanding influence than any other gentleman in that party, of which there were many of great talent, learning, and distinction. In the year 1824 he was selected by Governor Paynter as the Secretary of State of the State of Delaware. That was the first instance in which an office of so much importance and responsibility was ever conferred upon a man so young and of so little experience. He performed the duties of that office, as well as of all others which he held, with skill, integrity, and great ability, and left it with great popularity. I should state that the first public employment in which he was engaged was that of a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Delaware, and soon after that of Auditor of Accounts—an office which, I believe, is peculiar to the States of Delaware and New York. When he entered upon the duties of the office of Auditor of







Accounts, everything was in confusion there, and though but a young man, he soon reduced the chaotic mass into a perfect system. He left upon the records of Auditor the impress of his own great mind; and the business of that station has ever since been conducted upon his own great model and system, which it is believed can never be improved.

He was next elected to the Senate of the United States in A. D. 1829, when he was barely of the age which the Constitution requires for that station. He was re-elected in January, 1835. He resigned that office before the expiration of his term, and was appointed Chief Justice of the State of Delaware in 1837. That station, like all others which he filled, he adorned by his learning, by his great ability, and by his spotless integrity. No man, perhaps, ever left that office with so high a reputation as a judge, as did the Hon. John M. Clayton; and I may be permitted to say upon this occasion, that in the many causes which he decided, it is not in the recollection of any member of the bar that there was ever a writ of error or an appeal taken from any decision which he made. He always gave such authorities and reasons for the decisions which he made, so full and satisfactory, that no counsel ever advised his client to undergo or risk the chance of a reversal of the judgment given by the court of which he was the Chief Justice. He was afterwards elected by the people as a member of the convention to amend the Constitution of the State of Delaware. In that convention he was



the leading member, which gave the amendments of our Constitution to the people of Delaware, thus leaving upon that Constitution the marks and footprints of that high and mighty intellect which he was known to possess and command. The judiciary system of Delaware, planned and produced by him, has ever since been looked upon and held as a masterpiece of intellect, foresight, and wisdom, which has never been surpassed.

He resigned the office of Chief Justice in 1830, and was again elected in 1845 to the United States Senate for the full term of six years. He resigned his office as Senator, and was appointed Secretary of State of the United States in 1849. He was again elected Senator in 1853.

The deceased died at Dover, the place of his residence, November 9, 1856. It has fallen, Mr. Speaker, to the lot of few men to hold and enjoy that deep-rooted and hearty popularity which our deceased friend possessed from his first admission to the bar to the day of his death. He engaged, won, and held the affections of all with whom he was associated and connected. Perhaps there is no man, certainly none of his eminence and distinction, who had fewer enemies. It is a remarkable fact that he never bore malice towards any human being. In the many contests in which he was engaged, as must be expected, there was some ill-feeling and strife engendered. I have known those who have expressed ill-feelings towards him, and towards whom, perhaps, he entertained



no very kind feelings; but whenever he was approached with kindness, even by an open enemy, his better feelings instantly gained the ascendant, and in a moment he was fully reconciled. Every passionate feeling went from him, and he received those who had been his enemies with all the kindness of a friend, void of every bitter feeling. His reconciliation was perfect and sincere. He fully pardoned and forgave, and the past was wholly forgotten by him. He was one of the warmest and kindest-hearted men that ever lived. As a husband and father he never was surpassed. As a friend he was sincere, and was beloved by all with whom he was associated. I need not say to this House that he had the confidence of all with whom he was associated and had connexion, and never was that confidence betrayed or misplaced.

The State of Delaware now mourns the death of her most distinguished son, statesman, and patriot. We mourn his death at this time more particularly, because, from the principles which he held, his life would have been most useful. He was a conservative man. He loved his country, and the Constitution of the country. He loved the Union and every part of it. There was nothing like disunion in him. He held to the Union to the last, and called upon his friends and relatives to stand by it. Though not connected with any of the parties which engaged in the late Presidential contest, yet he did not fail to make it known to all with whom he was connected, that he stood by the principles which he had always advocated,







and to call upon them to remember their country and the Union as above all price.

I feel, sir, that this is a mournful occasion. A man of great distinction, of known influence, and of the highest attainments in our country, has been swept from us suddenly and unexpectedly. The State of Delaware mourns the loss of her most distinguished son. His death is a loss to the nation. Ever since he has been in the Senate, even from his first session there, he has taken an active participation in all important debates which have occurred in that body. His speeches and state papers will make a work of four or five volumes. They will be consulted by future statesmen as models of oratory, as models of good sense, and as models of patriotism and of wisdom. His mind was powerful; his memory most extraordinary and retentive; his habits were exceedingly regular. It has often been asserted, and never, to my knowledge, contradicted, that, during the four years he was a student and member of Yale College, he never missed a single recitation; never once absented himself from prayers, morning or evening; never, during the whole four years, was once absent from church; and never, upon any occasion, violated a single rule or law of the college. His constitution enabled him to endure almost any amount of laborious investigation. I have known him to be engaged two, and even three successive nights, without sleep, in the investigation of a single case. But that constitution, strong and powerful as it was, had at last to yield to the



fell destroyer. Disease enfeebled and broke him down, and we now mourn his loss.

I rejoice to say that he died a Christian. From his youth he ever had the most profound respect and reverence for the Christian religion. He fully believed in the truth of Divine revelation before his death; he made an open profession of the religion of the Saviour; was formally admitted into the Presbyterian church at Dover, where he died; and his whole deportment and conversation, from the time of his profession up to time of his death, showed the full sincerity of his profession—that he was a sincere Christian. He greatly rejoiced in the evidence of his acceptance as an humble believer. “He died the death of the righteous, and his latter end was like his.” He died in the full assurance of faith and of hope.

I hold in my hands some resolutions which I propose to offer to the House for its adoption.

The resolutions were read, and are as follows:

*Resolved*, That this House deeply laments the recent death of the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, a Senator of the United States from the State of Delaware; and that as a testimonial of respect for his memory, the members of the House will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

*Resolved*, That the clerk communicate a copy of the foregoing resolution to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved* (as a further mark of respect), That the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were agreed to; and thereupon the House adjourned.



PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

V.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
FIRST REGIMENT,  
DELAWARE VOLUNTEERS,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE "THREE MONTHS' SERVICE"  
TO THE FINAL MUSTER-OUT AT THE CLOSE  
OF THE REBELLION.

BY

WILLIAM P. SEVILLE,  
CAPTAIN COMPANY "E," FIRST REGIMENT DELAWARE VOLUNTEERS.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.  
WILMINGTON:

1884.





On the 22d of April, 1873, the colors of the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Delaware Regiments, which served in the War of the Rebellion, were turned over to the Historical Society of Delaware for safe custody. The colors were presented by Major-General Hancock, on behalf of the regiments, and were received by William C. Spruance, Esq., as the representative of the Society, in the presence of a large assembly in the Opera-House in the city of Wilmington.

On the 29th of January, 1884, the colors carried by the First Delaware Regiment during the last three eventful years of the war, were deposited in the Rooms of the Society, subject to the orders of the Regimental Association. The ceremony of delivery was informal, and, in consequence of inclement weather and defective notice, very few persons were present on the occasion. At a subsequent meeting of the Society, on motion of Dr. L. P. Bush, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Council of the First Delaware Regiment Association be requested to prepare a brief history of the regiment for the use of the Society. Captain W. P. Seville was selected by his comrades for the performance of this duty, and on May 19, 1884, that gentleman read the material portions of the following paper before the survivors of the regiment, the members of the Society and invited guests.



Captain Seville was well qualified for the task assigned to him from the fact that he took a prominent part in organizing the First Delaware Regiment for three months' service, and also in its reorganization for three years. He was adjutant of both regiments, was afterwards appointed captain of Company E, and from the spring of 1862 served on the staffs of General T. A. Smyth and Colonel Allbright until his discharge, October 30, 1864.

A complete Muster-Roll of the First Regiment, made under the supervision of General J. Parke Postles, was also deposited with the colors.



# HISTORY OF THE FIRST REGIMENT, DELAWARE VOLUNTEERS.

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## THE THREE MONTHS' CAMPAIGN.

IN the spring of 1861, when the forebodings of the people that the political differences of the nation would culminate in civil strife had settled into a hopeless conviction, the citizens of Delaware were enjoying a reasonable share of prosperity, and, if we except the excitement of party issues, were comparatively tranquil.

The question of slavery, the rock on which our ship of state had struck, was, however, one of too great magnitude, and was too deeply rooted in its principles, not to affect very seriously the feelings and interests of the people of Delaware. Its citizens were closely united in habits, sympathies, and interests with that portion of our people dwelling in the gulf and cotton-raising States. Delaware itself was, in fact, a slave State at this time, and nearly all of the customs appertaining to this "peculiar institution" still exercised potent sway, although the signs of the times during the twenty





years then closing clearly indicated that the slave-holding system had fallen into a rapid decline, and, at no very distant day, would be completely eradicated through the operation of natural causes alone.

The first census taken in Delaware, in 1790, showed the number of slaves in the State to be 8887. This number gradually diminished, and the census of 1860 disclosed the fact that the entire State then owned but 1798 slaves. Of these, 1341 were held in Sussex County, 254 in New Castle County, and 203 in Kent County, showing that the favorite institution of the South had a much firmer hold in Sussex than it had in either of the other counties. And thus it was that Sussex County exercised a powerful and almost controlling influence in the politics of the State; so that when the momentous questions involved in the fierce sectional quarrel obtruded themselves on the attention of the people in 1860, and reason abdicated its throne in despair of reaching either a satisfactory settlement or an honorable compromise,—when the tumultuous passions which reigned supreme abandoned the forum and sought the sanguinary field, the State of Delaware, though the best interests of its citizens were identified with the free principles which obtained throughout the North, was influenced to some extent by the positive utterances and defiant conduct of a few men whose hopes of gain and preferment were bound up in the fate of the South, and fears were entertained that disloyalty would raise its head in the halls of the Legislature and an act of secession be passed.

It was in these troublous times, when loyalty seemed to pervade the hearts of the people, and all eyes were



strained to welcome the men who should step forth and disclose the requisite boldness and ability to resist the undercurrent that was drifting the State towards certain destruction, that the much-needed patriots appeared. Several among the more prominent citizens in all parts of the State, but more particularly in New Castle County, ventured to discuss the vital question in a public manner, setting clearly before the people at public assemblages, and through the mediumship of the press, the undeniable advantages that would accrue to the State by continuing true in its allegiance to the established government, appealing to the patriotism of the people, and depicting in faithful colors the horrors and suffering that would overtake the citizens of Delaware if the State should attempt to leave the Union, and be made the battle-ground of the contending armies.

These manifestations of loyalty began to take form in the efforts made in April, 1861, to organize a regiment for the defence of the Union. For some weeks there had been a growing conviction that the great national trouble, then nearing a crisis, would scarcely be dispelled without some effusion of blood in the duty of suppressing insurrection; but the most extreme among the prophets of evil hardly ventured to predict such madness on the part of the secession leaders as would drive them to indulge in any act of opposition to the general government of a more serious nature than that of *threatening* disruption of the Union by force of arms. Such demonstrations were regarded as mere *brutum fulmen*, the intemperate vaporings of a disappointed political clique; but when State after State adopted



ordinances of secession ; when armed bodies were organized and drilled ; when the note of hostile preparation rose on every hand in the rebellious States ; and, finally, when a furious force set itself in battle array before Fort Sumter, and the dreadful overture to civil war was begun on the morning of Friday, April 12, 1861, by the opening of the rebel guns on that work and the revered national flag, all doubts were instantly dissipated.

The patriots of Delaware, with those of the other loyal States, accepted the wager of battle thus thrown down by the infatuated foe. Burning with indignation at the outrage committed upon the national government and a desire to avenge that disgrace, they rallied to their country's defence.

Throughout the Northern States the initiative in organizing troops was taken promptly and effectively by their respective State governments, which at once provided officers to organize the volunteers, and made the necessary arrangements for furnishing them with arms, provisions, and clothing. This timely action resulted in placing in the field a respectable force within a fortnight after the call of the President for volunteers, on the 15th of April, 1861, and by this means the patriotic earnestness of the people was quickly utilized, and the first quota of troops was concentrating at the national capital on the 18th, just three days from the date of the proclamation.

The loyal men of Delaware, however, had not the assistance of the State government in preparing to defend the country. With an intense desire to be among the first to plant their standard before the defiant foe, they were prevented from the accomplishment of this patriotic purpose







through want of the requisite aid in the work of organization. To men actuated by the liveliest patriotism and the most indomitable zeal, the lack of official aid could not long prove an obstacle to success. Measures having once been taken to form a regiment for national defence, many warm-hearted and loyal men and women came forward to assist in the laudable work; and, while men engaged themselves in the labor of finding means of supplying subsistence through the liberality of the patriotic citizens, the ladies were equally earnest and successful in furnishing clothing and other necessary stores for the support of the volunteers.

The laws of Delaware contained no provision for maintaining militia organizations, and when the Governor was called on by the Secretary of War to furnish one regiment as the quota of the State, the following proclamation was issued by Governor Burton, April 23, 1861, viz.:

"Whereas, a requisition has been made upon the undersigned, as Executive of the said State of Delaware, by the Secretary of War, for one regiment, consisting of seven hundred and eighty men, to be immediately detached from the militia of this State, to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged; and, whereas, the laws of this State do not confer upon the Executive any authority enabling him to comply with said requisition, there being no organized militia, nor any law requiring such organization; and, whereas, it is the duty of all good and law-abiding citizens to preserve the peace and sustain the laws and government under which we live and by which our citizens are protected:—Therefore, I, William Burton, Governor of the said State of Delaware, recommend the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the lives and property of the people of this State against violence of any sort to which they may be exposed. For these purposes, such companies, when formed, will be under the control of the State authorities, though not subject to be ordered by the Executive into the United States service,—the law not vesting in him such authority.



They will, however, have the option of offering their services to the general government, for the defence of its capital and the support of the Constitution and laws of the country.

“WILLIAM BURTON.”

In response to this call three companies were immediately enrolled, and, as a large number of men were ready to volunteer, who were prevented from organizing only through the lack of qualified and capable leaders, the more thoughtful and energetic of those who had been intrusted with the direction of affairs addressed themselves to the duty of seeking for men possessed of sufficient military knowledge to form these volunteers into companies and organize the regiment; their efforts were at length successful, and by the end of April four companies were formed in Wilmington and New Castle, and several others had begun the work of enrollment.

The Governor, having been informed that the required regiment could be speedily obtained, issued the subjoined order, viz. :

“DOVER, DELAWARE, May 1, 1861.

“The undersigned, the constitutional commander of the forces of the State of Delaware, directs that those volunteer companies of the State that desire to be mustered into the service of the United States, under the call of the President, will rendezvous to the city of Washington with the least possible delay, where they will be mustered into the service of the United States by Major Ruff, who has been detailed by the War Department for that purpose, and who has reported himself to me and received my instructions. The regiment will consist of ten companies, to serve for the period of three months.

“WILLIAM BURTON,

“Governor and Commander-in-Chief.”



## THE WORK OF ORGANIZATION.

During the political campaign of 1860 party spirit, as before remarked, ran very high. The most determined efforts were used by popular leaders to spur every man up to the performance of his duty. One of the prominent features of the campaign was the formation of clubs, familiarly known as "Wide Awakes," "Bell Men," and "Minute Men." These bodies, besides being distinguished by peculiar uniforms, were thoroughly exercised in tactics similar to those used in military service. From these bands sprang the enrollment of the first companies of volunteers in the city of Wilmington, and thus the First Regiment of Delaware Volunteers had its birth.

One of these Bell and Everett clubs was commanded by Robert S. La Motte, and another by Charles E. La Motte. When the call of the President was published, on the 19th of April, these gentlemen promptly responded, and at once commenced to raise companies from among the members of the before-mentioned clubs. Two companies were speedily filled to their maximum strength, and were designated as Companies A and B, the former commanded by Robert S. La Motte, and the latter by his brother Charles.

Through the exertions of the Messrs. La Motte, and other patriotic citizens of Wilmington, the "Institute Building," on Market Street, was secured as an armory and quarters for the troops. Here the duty of drilling and disciplining the men was at once entered upon, which, owing to the want of arms, was necessarily confined to the movements and evolutions of the squad and company.







About the same time the formation of these companies was begun the nucleus of another company was formed in Wilmington by Joseph M. Barr, which, having soon after reached its full strength, was assigned as Company C in the regimental line. Several other companies were in course of formation in the lower counties, the commanding officers of which were eagerly inquiring at Dover and Wilmington in what manner they were to proceed to Washington with their companies.

The State of Delaware was in the district commanded by General Robert Patterson, whose headquarters were in Philadelphia, Pa. This officer having been apprised of the formation of three or four companies at Wilmington, issued an order placing Captain R. S. La Motte in command of the battalion, and directing him to proceed with all possible diligence to organize the regiment. At this time, the work of consolidation was retarded by the want of some person having a knowledge of army organization to combine the several companies into a regimental body, and the friends of Captain Alfred J. Pleasonton, of Delaware (an officer in the United States Army, who was the choice of many officers for colonel), were endeavoring to obtain the consent of the War Department to his acceptance of the command of the regiment. Captain Pleasonton, who was extremely desirous of obtaining the command of the first regiment from Delaware, was in Philadelphia in the latter part of April seeking to further the object in view, and hasten to Wilmington to engage in the work of organization.

It was at this time that Captain Pleasonton made the acquaintance of Captain William P. Seville, who com-



manded a company in Philadelphia then waiting to be mustered in. As Mr. Seville had received a military education in the army, and was fresh from West Point, where he had been attached to the Engineer Corps, Captain Pleasonton induced him to resign his command in Philadelphia and cast his fortunes in with the Delaware troops, and furnished him with a letter of introduction to acting Major R. S. La Motte, at the same time informing Mr. Seville that he hoped and expected to command the regiment.

Mr. Seville proceeded to Wilmington on the 2d of May, and was received with great cordiality by acting Major La Motte, who at once issued an order announcing his appointment as acting adjutant of the battalion. For two weeks the drills and instruction of Companies A and B at the Institute were carried on with unflagging zeal, and the "Fair Grounds" in the suburbs of the city having been secured for a camp-ground, and named Camp Brandywine, on the 22d of May three companies, A, B, and C, were marched out and quartered in tents and some sheds that had been hurriedly erected for their accommodation. On the same day, the officers assembled and held an election for field-officers. It having been authoritatively announced that Captain Pleasonton could not secure the permission of the Secretary of War to take the command, the election resulted in the choice of Henry H. Lockwood, then a Professor of Mathematics, and Instructor of Infantry Tactics in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md., as Colonel; John W. Andrews, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Henry A. Du Pont, Major.

On the 23d of May all the other companies came to the



camp but Company D, which did not report until the next day. The task of drilling, pitching tents, military arrangement of camp, and instruction in guard duty was immediately begun, and the men, profoundly impressed with the novelty of their new life and the difficulties of studying an entirely new profession, took an ardent interest in their duties and made rapid progress in the school of the soldier.

The night of the 23d of May was made memorable by one of those panics which are so liable to seize bodies of newly-instructed troops. A great commotion was created by some wags outside of the inclosure throwing stones into the camp. By the time the officers reached the scene of confusion several hundred men were rushing toward the spot from which the missiles came, guns in hand, fully determined to wreak dire vengeance on the disturbers of their peace and dignity. A few words sufficed to induce them to return to their quarters and intrust the duty of discovering and punishing the offenders to their officers.

Sunday, May 26th, the regiment attempted its first full dress-parade before an immense concourse of the citizens of Wilmington, and the nervousness of many of the officers to acquit themselves with credit in front of such a dangerous battery of fair eyes as then confronted them is, doubtless, an experience that will long linger in their memory. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews arrived in camp on the 27th and assumed the command.

The regiment being now completed, excepting the staff, the following list comprises its officers as they were at that date:







Colonel, Henry H. Lockwood.

Lieutenant-Colonel, John W. Andrews.

Major, Henry A. Du Pont.

*Company A.*—Captain, Robert S. La Motte; First Lieutenant, Evan S. Watson; Second Lieutenant, Franklin Houseman.

*Company B.*—Captain, Charles E. La Motte; First Lieutenant, James Plunkett; Second Lieutenant, Alfred Vandever.

*Company C.*—Captain, Joseph M. Barr; First Lieutenant, W. C. McKaig; Second Lieutenant, R. J. Holt.

*Company D.*—Captain, James Green; First Lieutenant, Enoch J. Smithers; Second Lieutenant, Samuel Simpson.

*Company E.*—Captain, Robert Milligan; First Lieutenant, Benjamin Nields; Second Lieutenant, Leonard E. Wales.

*Company F.*—Captain, Thomas Crossley; First Lieutenant, Richard Duncan; Second Lieutenant, William Plunkett.

*Company G.*—Captain, C. Rodney Layton; First Lieutenant, David W. Maull; Second Lieutenant, William Y. Swiggett.

*Company H.*—Captain, Samuel H. Jenkins; First Lieutenant, John H. Knight; Second Lieutenant, Daniel Woodall.

*Company I.*—Captain, James Leonard; First Lieutenant, John Daugherty; Second Lieutenant, Daniel Langdon.

*Company K.*—Captain, George F. Smith; First Lieutenant, Charles Bird; Second Lieutenant, W. H. Cleaden.

On May 28th we were thrown into a high fever of excitement by the receipt of marching orders for a portion of



the command. The instructions were to station two companies at Aberdeen and two at Bush River, on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, to relieve companies of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Jarratt. For this service Companies A, B, E, and D were selected, and marched through the city to the depot on the same afternoon, conducted by acting Adjutant Seville. Companies A and B were stationed at Aberdeen, and D and E at Bush River. The latter detachment did not reach their destination until quite late; the Pennsylvania men had retired for the night in the only building that would afford shelter, and our newly-fledged soldiers were compelled to roll themselves in their blankets and take to the ground, much to their surprise and disgust.

The following day the Pennsylvania troops departed and vacated the quarters, and the day was spent in issuing rations and instructing the men and officers in guard duty. Great pains had been taken to have them fully understand the necessity of repeating the call for the sergeant of the guard by another sentinel, adding the number of the post. In the dead of the night a most deafening uproar arose, bringing every man out of bed in an instant. The sentries were firing at will and yelling like demons, while the men were tumbling out of the barracks in the direst confusion, each calling for some article of clothing or equipment that could not be found in the dark. When they rushed out of the building in wild excitement and found their officers standing there perfectly calm and collected, quietly directing them to fall into the ranks and finish dressing, they too sobered down, but showed in every action that they would



give their knapsacks to know what, in the name of "old Nick," was going on. By the time the ranks were formed the racket among the sentries had been quieted down, and their officers, Captains Milligan and Green, availed themselves of the opportunity to deliver a lecture on discipline and self-possession, assuring them that, thereafter, they should bear in mind that no matter how vigorously the sentries called, it was the sergeant of the guard who was wanted, and not them. It was then explained to them that one of the sentries on the bridge had ordered a negro in a boat to stop, which he neglected to do, and so excited the sentinel that he fired at him and fairly howled for the officer of the guard, all the others repeating the alarm as well as they could hear it.

In the mean time Colonel Lockwood had reached the camp at Wilmington, and on the 31st of May appointed the staff, commissioned and non-commissioned. These were as follows, viz.:

Adjutant, William P. Seville.

Quartermaster, W. Hill Alderdice.

Surgeon, Robert P. Johnson.

Assistant Surgeon, James Knight.

Chaplain, Rev. George M. Condron.

Sergeant-Major, John G. Saville.

#### DEPARTURE FOR THE FRONT.

June 7th and 8th arms and accoutrements were issued to the companies last to arrive, and the remaining companies were inspected. The regiment left camp on the 9th, and marched through Wilmington to the depot, where it took







the cars at 3 P.M. for its post of occupation along the railroad through Maryland. Company G, Captain Layton, was dropped at Elkton; Company K, Captain Smith, was left at North East; and Companies C and H, Captains Barr and Jenkins, were dropped at Perryville. The other companies, F and I, continued to Havre de Grace, and went into camp and barracks.

From day to day the companies stationed nearest to Havre de Grace (which became headquarters) were brought in for battalion drill. One day an enterprising quartette, consisting of Captain R. S. La Motte, Chaplain Condron, Sergeant-Major Saville, and the adjutant, went on a forced march three miles down the railroad, surrounded the house of a farmer and captured a flag, which proved to be a home-made banner lacking the proper number of stars and stripes. The farmer explained that it was intended for the United States flag, and it was, if his daughter knew how to make one. The assailing party concluded that it looked enough like a secession flag to do duty for one, and so brought it along as a trophy.

June 11th it was announced to the regiment that Major Du Pont, who was an officer in the regular army, would not be allowed to accept the commission to which he was elected, whereupon an election was held, and Captain R. S. La Motte was promoted to fill the vacancy. Lieutenant E. S. Watson became captain of Company A, and Sergeant Ezekiel C. Alexander was elected first lieutenant.

A band was organized on the 18th of June, for which Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews purchased the instruments, and this musical attachment did more to subdue the dis-



loyal stubbornness of the dwellers in Havre de Grace than all the bayonets of the command. About this time a small steamboat was placed at the order of Colonel Lockwood, to facilitate the sending of expeditions to points along the shores of the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay; and the first use made of it was to set out on a reconnoissance up the river to Port Deposit, the force consisting of a dozen officers and the band. As no rebel works were encountered during the trip, a serenade was given to Mr. Tomes, residing there, who was evidently taken by surprise, for, on responding to his invitation to enter, a large table bountifully spread with choice refreshments, both edible and potable, was presented to view.

The next expedition steamed down the bay, and did not stop short of Annapolis, where a sumptuous supper was enjoyed at the house of Mr. Sprogle; after which a visit was paid to the executive mansion, and having, as usual, been introduced by the band, the expeditionary force was cordially invited in, heard from Governor Hicks his very interesting account of the exciting times when the secessionists of the State tried to run away with it, and drank success and prosperity to him, and plenty of it.

All the companies at Havre de Grace left on June 24th and went to Harewood, between Gunpowder River and Stemmer's Run; Companies B and K were stationed at Back River, and the others, F, H, C, and I, pitched their camp in a dense wood. Headquarters continued at Havre de Grace, and the band was carried up and down the road, spending a day with each of the detachments, to help mitigate the rigors of camp-life. On one visit it made to



Bush River, a sloop was obtained by the officers, and a military expedition was planned to scout up the river, accompanied by the band; as no enemy was met with prepared to do battle, they went ashore at a mansion, which proved to be the house of a Mr. Wainright, and fired away (uselessly, as it turned out) several of their very best tunes; for neither Mr. Wainright nor any of his family appeared to have any soul for music,—that is, the music of the Union.

The first loss to the regiment occurred on the 11th of July: Major La Motte received an appointment as captain in the regular army, and left us for his new field of duty. We felt his loss deeply, for his genial and soldierly qualities had endeared him to all his comrades, both officers and privates. An election resulted in the promotion of Captain C. Rodney Layton to fill the vacancy.

For a week or two at this time the monotony of camp duty and drill was relieved by a succession of exciting events. On the 19th the Sixth Maine Regiment passed through Havre de Grace on its way to the front. Some of them conceived that a German baker, named Harpst, wanted to poison them with the bread he sold them, and we had much difficulty to save the poor frightened Teuton from instant destruction. Then one of the members of the Maine regiment was accidentally shot, and was left at the hotel, where he died next day, and was buried with all the honors by our regiment. On the 22d of July we heard the news of the disaster at Bull Run, which sadly depressed our spirits, and greatly elated the majority of the dwellers in Havre de Grace. The animated discussions over this







sad reverse to our arms invariably resulted in a vehement expression of opinion that we had no business to be left idling our time away guarding a railroad track when we were so badly needed in the field. Colonel Lockwood did make an eloquent and urgent appeal to the War Department, beseeching that the First Delaware might be ordered into action before the expiration of our time, and was informed in reply that the duty the regiment was performing was quite as valuable to the country, and fully as honorable to the men engaged in it, as any that could be rendered elsewhere. As a climax to these sensations, one of another character was furnished by Company I on the 23d of July. That company having had a short interview with the paymaster, found nothing of any value to them in the vicinity to purchase excepting an article which was commonly known among them as "eye-water;" and, to judge from the quantity of this medicine they laid in, one would have thought their barracks was a blind asylum, for, to tell the truth, many of them were "blind" before the day closed. As is usual with men of the nationality which furnished most of the membership of Company I, a jolly time would lose half of its enjoyment without a fight, and they had one,—a regular family row. This was summarily suppressed by the guard, and the cellar of the building, which was used by the field and staff as a mess-hall, was turned into a guard-house, and well filled with these roystering boys. A day or two after, when their money was all gone, the colonel sent Company I to Back River, and brought Companies B and K to headquarters.

The time of service of Companies A, B, C, D, and E



expired on August 2d, and the men were seized with an intense desire to go home. They requested the colonel to relieve them and permit them to return to Delaware at once; but he endeavored to persuade them that it would have a far better appearance if they would tarry two weeks longer and march home with the entire regimental organization; they persisting, however, the colonel surrendered the point, and, on the following day, these five companies left the tented field and hastened home; not to relapse into inglorious ease, and participate in the great national struggle for human liberty and free government, only by reading the accounts of battles in the newspapers,—not they: but to enter again into the work of recruiting companies for another bout with the enemy, where they could give and take hard blows, instead of mounting guard over a lot of switches and round-houses.

The time of Company F expired on the 8th of August, and they also turned their faces homeward. The regiment was honored at this time by the appointment of Colonel Lockwood to be brigadier-general of volunteers. The officers, as well as the rank and file, felt a just pride in furnishing from the regiment a general officer after but three months' service; and, being full of enthusiasm and military ardor, they doubtless thought that if generals were to spring from the Delaware troops in future every three months, there was a wide field for ambition, and an additional incentive to re-entering the service for three years.

Colonel Lockwood, however, had won his promotion by able and faithful service. A highly-educated and refined gentleman, of dignified mien and commanding presence, the



few months during which he commanded the regiment were sufficient to reveal his efficiency as a military leader, and to demonstrate the wisdom of selecting him for the exercise of more important commands. As the first citizen of Delaware to reach the distinction of brigadier-general, the State naturally felt proud of him. His subsequent service in the field showed him to be a brave officer, and his administrative ability gained him the honor of commanding the Middle Military Department.

Reports having been received at headquarters from one of those prolific sources of startling intelligence which came to be so well known during that period of the war ("a reliable gentleman") that a large collection of arms and ammunition was concealed in the vicinity of the Sassafra River near the bay, it was determined to send a force to scour that neighborhood, and, if the military stores could be found, to capture them. Accordingly, seventy men, principally volunteers, with the proper quota of officers, embarked on the steamboat in the middle of the night of the 11th of August (this time without the band), steamed quietly down the bay, and approached their point of destination in the gray dawn. The officers and men were kept concealed, and none were visible but the pilot and two or three men attired in the peaceful uniform of roustabouts. The force landed and marched three or four miles into the enemy's country, but no battery, arms, ammunition, nor enemy of any description were discovered, and the expedition returned to camp to relate what would have been done had any opposition been encountered.

At last the day arrived which witnessed the close of our







bloodless though active campaign. On August 13th the Fourth New York (Scott Life Guard) came to relieve us, and the men at once began preparations for marching on Wilmington and once more rush to arms,—the arms of loved ones at home.

The following day, August 14, 1861, saw the battalion paraded for the last roll-call, with clean uniforms, brightened arms, polished ornaments, and gleeful faces. The distance by railroad from the place of regimental rendezvous was but a few miles, consequently the command soon reached the city of Wilmington, and found their late comrades and a vast concourse of admiring friends assembled to give them a welcome and to listen "with bated breath" to their tales "of moving accidents by flood and field."

Thus ended the first term of service of the First Delaware Regiment; and if we brought not back with us decimated ranks and honorable scars, we were, at least, the proud recipients of warm commendations from officers of the government, who spoke in praise of the faithfulness with which the duty imposed upon the regiment had been performed; and one official of which, then high in command, had said, when the regiment was forming, "I would rather have one regiment from Delaware at this time than two from any other State."

#### REORGANIZATION.

As before intimated, recruiting-stations for the formation of companies for three years, unless sooner discharged, sprang up on every hand, opened by some of the commissioned officers of the three months' organization, and by



several non-commissioned officers who aspired to the dignity of epaulets.

Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, whose patriotism and whose martial proclivities led him to take a predominating interest in the labor of getting another regiment into the field from Delaware, was untiring in his efforts, and ever ready, with his knowledge of military affairs, to assist in completing the companies. Towards him, therefore, the eyes of the prospective line-officers naturally turned for a commanding officer. Colonel Andrews gratefully acknowledged the preference so generally expressed, accepted the responsibility, and entered zealously into the work before him. It was the unanimous wish of those who had served three months that the new organization should bear the old title, "First Delaware." This desire was inspired by the fact that more companies were in the field than could be embraced in one regiment; and it soon became evident that there would be two or more regiments ready for muster nearly about the same time, all of the competing companies having, among their officers or in their ranks, many members of the organization so recently disbanded.

At this juncture of affairs, Colonel Andrews applied to the War Department for authority to reorganize the First Regiment for the long term, which was promptly granted.

A regimental camping-ground was then secured at Hare's Corner, which was forthwith named Camp Andrews. To this pleasant grove each company proceeded as it reached the maximum, tents were pitched, and squad-drills commenced. On the last day of September all the companies had reported in camp, and an election was held for field-



officers, all of whom were chosen excepting the lieutenant-colonel, which position, it was agreed, should be left vacant for a few days. After the field-officers had been selected the colonel appointed his staff and the non-commissioned staff. The officers of the regiment were then as follows, viz.:

Colonel, John W. Andrews.

Lieutenant-Colonel, ———.

Major, Thomas A. Smyth.

Adjutant, William P. Seville.

Quartermaster, Thomas Y. England.

Surgeon, David W. Maull.

Assistant Surgeon, Samuel D. Marshall.

Chaplain, Thomas G. Murphey.

Sergeant-Major, James Lewis.

Quartermaster-Sergeant, Frank Wilson.

Commissary-Sergeant, Charles S. Schaeffer.

Hospital Steward, Archibald D. O'Mera.

Drum-Major, Patrick Dooley.

Principal Musician, John B. Ritchie.

*Company A.*—Captain, Evan S. Watson; First Lieutenant, James Parke Postles; Second Lieutenant, Franklin Houseman.

*Company B.*—Captain, James Leonard; First Lieutenant, James A. Oates; Second Lieutenant, James Rickards.

*Company C.*—Captain, Neal Ward; First Lieutenant, Frank McCloskey; Second Lieutenant, Hugh Sweeney.

*Company D.*—Captain, Enoch J. Smithers; First Lieutenant, David S. Yardley; Second Lieutenant, William F. Smith.







*Company E.*—Captain, Edward P. Harris; First Lieutenant, William Y. Swiggett; Second Lieutenant, Albert S. Phillips.

*Company F.*—Captain, Daniel Woodall; First Lieutenant, Benjamin E. Adams; Second Lieutenant, John W. Williams.

*Company G.*—Captain, Allen Shortledge; First Lieutenant, Alfred Gawthrop; Second Lieutenant, John L. Sparks.

*Company H.*—Captain, John B. Tanner; First Lieutenant, John R. Vanloan; Second Lieutenant, Ezekiel C. Alexander.

*Company I.*—Captain, Charles Lespés; First Lieutenant, Thomas B. Hizar; Second Lieutenant, Isaac Van Trump.

*Company K.*—Captain, Thomas Crossley; First Lieutenant, William C. Inhoff; Second Lieutenant, Henry H. Burton.

On the evening of October 8th the regiment had its first parade in undress uniforms, arms and equipments not having yet arrived, and next day orders were received to report to General John E. Wool, at Fort Monroe, on the earliest day practicable. Arms and accoutrements were received sufficient to equip eight companies on the 12th of October, and drilling at the manual of arms was begun. Inspection on company parade-grounds was held on the 13th, and a color-guard was selected. October 15th an election for lieutenant-colonel was held, and Mr. Oliver P. Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, Pa., was elected. Arms were furnished for the remaining companies, and the entire time was occupied in drill and camp duties until the 20th, on



which day it had been determined by the colonel that the command should leave for the front. The 19th was a day of great activity and excitement in and around Camp Andrews, for not only was the regiment packing up for the move, but a host of self-constituted sutlers, who had spread their canvas and located their sheds outside of the camp limits, were also making preparations to remove their stocks of goods to safer and more profitable neighborhoods than Hare's Corner was likely to be in future. The camp was filled all day and the following night with crowds of inconsolable friends, who seemed determined to see the very last of each loved one who was about to depart, perhaps never to return.

At sunrise on the 20th tents were struck, camp-equipage was stowed in the wagons, knapsacks were packed,—and most of them were plethoric with a sort of luggage not countenanced in army regulations,—the assembly was beaten, the regiment formed, and the line of march taken up through deep mud for the town of Newport, where a train was in waiting to convey it to Baltimore. At Baltimore the regiment took the steamboat "Louisiana" for Old Point Comfort, and spent a jovial night on the waters of Chesapeake Bay.

The morning of October 21, 1861, when the command disembarked at Fort Monroe, was chilly and rendered dismal by a fine drizzle of rain (which sort of weather, by the way, continued for several days thereafter), and the regiment stood upon the wharf while Colonel Andrews went to report to General Wool. Very soon an aide was sent to conduct us to our camping-ground at Camp Ham-



ilton, about a mile from the fort, whither we soon arrived, and all hands set to work to lay out the ground and pitch tents. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, dress-parade was gone through with, much to the surprise of other regiments situated near us.

We found ourselves to be a portion of General Mansfield's brigade of General Wool's division, and were associated with the following-named regiments, viz.: Twentieth New York (German Turners), Colonel Max Weber; Sixteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Wyman; Ninety-ninth New York (Union Coast Guard), Colonel Wardrop; and Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, Colonel Nagle.

#### THE FIRST WINTER CAMP.

The camp-ground was low, and the long-continued rains had turned it into a marsh; but one day's work sufficed to cure the evil by draining, ditching, and elevating company tent floors and parades.

For several months following the regiment was enabled to profit by the constant exercise of every kind of field duty, guard, picket and camp, and daily drill by company, battalion, brigade, and skirmishing. During this period, also, the officers were instructed in the perplexities of morning reports, monthly and quartermaster's returns, muster-rolls, clothing-rolls, descriptive lists, etc. Strict discipline, combined with judicious instruction, through these months of preparatory schooling, made our regiment one of the best volunteer organizations in the service, and inspired each man with a just pride in it that proved a most excellent *esprit de corps* throughout its succeeding severe







campaigns of marching and fighting. Colonel Andrews had secured brass shoulder-scales and white gloves for the men, required the officers to provide themselves with epaulets and the regulation felt hat and plumes, and had furnished Drum-Major Dooley with the tallest and most gorgeous of shakos, with trimmings to match. Our dress-parades had become a fine military pageant to the other regiments of the brigade, some of which changed the time for their own evening parade to a later hour that they might have the opportunity to witness ours. Frequently among the spectators that honored our parades were seen Generals Wool and Mansfield, with their staff-officers, and these commanders paid us many compliments on the appearance and discipline of the regiment and the fine military bearing of officers and men.

One day we learned that President Lincoln was at the fort and would inspect us at dress-parade. It is needless to say that every man exerted himself to make as imposing a martial appearance as possible. The adjutant's call sounded, and the companies formed for parade, the men noting with observant eyes the unusually great concourse that surrounded our regimental parade-ground. As the band was "beating off," the President, accompanied by a very large escort, all mounted, arrived upon the ground and, turning his horse's head to the right, followed directly behind the band, with his entire escort, mostly civilians, following after; but when the band had reached the left of the regimental line and had turned to the right-about to march back to its position, and Drum-Major Dooley, with his glittering staff presented at an



angle of forty-five degrees from his manly breast, had advanced with martial stride through the midst of the musicians, he suddenly came face to face with the President, and all were brought to a dead halt. The situation was growing serious. There sat the President, looking somewhat embarrassed, and there stood Dooley, firm as the rock of Gibraltar; the equestrian brigade supporting the President, and the band resolutely backing up the drum-major, "marking time" and playing away with their best energy. After a few moments of hesitation, which provoked a hearty peal of laughter from all, the President finally realized that he was in the enemy's country, where martial law was supreme, and that, therefore, the civil branch of the government should give way to the military; and, doubtless, recognizing the drum-major's determination to do his duty or die in his tracks, turned out of the way with all his followers, and opened the road for Dooley and the band out of their dilemma.

The usual monotony of a winter camp did not manifest itself to any great extent in our regiment, for the energy of the men was as conspicuous in devising methods of passing the time profitably and agreeably as it was in perfecting themselves in their duties. The religious element (and it seemed to be quite large) soon organized a Soldiers' Christian Association, under the direction of Chaplain Murphey, the frequent meetings of which were numerous attended, and were conducted with spirit and fervor. This society existed in the regiment until its muster-out. For those who were more mirthfully inclined the requisite talent was found for the emergency; and to those enter-



prising spirits the entire division was greatly indebted for many pleasant hours. A number of the officers, under the lead of Lieutenant Oates and Lieutenant Rickards, obtained the colonel's permission to employ detachments of volunteers in cutting and hauling logs and building a theatre. In the course of a few weeks a building was completed large enough to seat four hundred persons, provided with a roomy stage, shifting scenery, a drop-curtain, appropriately painted, an orchestra inclosure, chandeliers equipped with tin sconces for candles, foot-lights, and dressing-rooms.

About the time this building was ready for occupation the Army of the Potomac had landed and gone up the Peninsula to Yorktown. The opening entertainment was a ball, given by the regiment to the officers of the fort and the camp and their wives. For this occasion the theatre was beautifully decorated with flags and evergreens, and a brilliant and distinguished company enjoyed the dancing until a late hour. Among the guests were the officers of a French war-vessel and several of General McClellan's staff-officers. Refreshments were liberally provided in the officers' mess-tent, and Lieutenant Oates distinguished himself in dispensing the hospitality of the regiment by plying the Duke de Chartres with too much eggnog.

Some of the wags amused themselves by nailing to a tree outside the picket-line a paper containing an invitation to General Magruder and staff to attend this ball; which, they said, was a polite recognition of General Magruder's attentions to us, by sending in a flag of truce regularly







once a week summoning us to surrender Fort Monroe forthwith or remain in it at our peril.

A dramatic company was formed also, and the first performance was given early in the spring, all the costumes having been sent for to Baltimore, and some of the scenes obtained from the Bootherian Dramatic Association of Wilmington. The first programme presented "*La Tour de Nesle*," in which Lieutenant Oates played Captain Burridan, Corporal Norris P. Eccleston personated Queen Marguerite, and Adjutant Seville took the part of Count Savoisy; Lieutenant James Rickards as Gaultier d'Alnay, Lieutenant E. C. Alexander as Sierre Roual, Lieutenant T. B. Hizar as Enguerrand de Marigny, Lieutenant J. P. Postles as Orsini, Captain D. S. Yardley as Jehan, Sergeant John L. Brady as Philip d'Alnay, and Private A. Lockwood as Landri. This was followed by a farce entitled "*B. B., or the Benicia Boy*;" and between the pieces Sergeants C. S. Shaeffer and Allen Tatem sang a duet, called "*Eighty Years Ago*."

The audience which assembled to honor this first representation was, to use the well-worn phraseology of the newspapers, a large, fashionable, and intelligent one, embracing as it did all the officers of the fort and camp not on duty, with many ladies; and loud and earnest were the plaudits bestowed on the enterprising members of the Delaware Regiment for such a valuable contribution to the amusements of camp-life. Lieutenant James Rickards won for himself quite an enviable reputation as a comedian in the part of Diggory in the "*Spectre Bridegroom*," and in the comic rôles of other pieces. The theatre proved quite an efficient means for the preservation of discipline



and strict attention to duty among those men who need some extraneous aid to conscience to enable them to properly acquit themselves in that respect; for, as there was not room for more than a hundred of the non-commissioned officers and privates in the space allotted to them, ten tickets for admission were daily placed at the disposal of each company commander, to be given to those men who stood highest for obedience of orders and were cleanest on and off parade.

On the 1st of November it fell to the lot of Captain Tanner and his company to go out on a scout to Fox Hill Station, the extreme outpost, and to receive a flag of truce accompanied by seven rebel officers,—they had brought the usual summons from General Magruder “to get out.” This meeting with rebel officers proved a lively theme for conversation among the men, and the members of Company H were desirable acquisitions to all circles for some days thereafter, having beheld and talked with genuine “Johnny Rebs.”

It was quite evident that the main object of this strong delegation of rebel officers was to gain information, for they desired to go into Hampton on the pretext of wanting to find a colored woman; but Captain Tanner detained them at the outpost and sent word to General Mansfield, who was at the time near the picket-line. The general came to meet the flag of truce, sent the rebel officers back, and commended Captain Tanner for his discretion.

Permission having been obtained from General Wool to bring to camp boards and scantling from the burnt houses in Hampton, details were sent out daily for this purpose,



and the quarters of officers and men were much improved in comfort. A neat frame building was erected for the adjutant's office, which, as it was also the regimental post-office, soon became the favorite lounging-place of the officers, and many a humorous story was told and many a hearty laugh was heard around the sheet-iron stove that then was the centre of attraction.

A pioneer corps was formed on the 7th of November, and for several weeks much attention was given to teaching the men the bayonet exercise and drilling them in skirmishing, which instruction rendered the regiment so efficient in this kind of service as to make it nearly certain to be called on for that duty in the later days of active campaigning.

Quite a furore of excitement was raised on the 21st of November by the arrival in camp of a messenger from Captain Watson, who had been sent out with his company scouting. It appeared that the enemy had been of the same mind, and had also despatched a scouting-party, or, rather, a reconnoissance in force, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and two guns. This was the force that Company A encountered, and at once availing themselves of their lately-acquired knowledge of skirmishing, deployed, and kept the enemy amused at long range for several hours, until word was brought to camp, and reinforcements in the shape of three companies of the Twentieth New York, under the command of no less a personage than General Mansfield himself, with about forty staff-officers, volunteers from the other regiments, came to their relief, and the enemy was bluffed.







The canvas bag for receiving the mail hung outside of Major Smyth's tent, and was under his care. For a few days, in the latter part of November, letters had been abstracted and their valuable contents, principally money, were stolen. Major Smyth set himself to discover the thief, so arranging his plans that any person coming from the outside to dishonestly tamper with the mail must inevitably be detected. A close watch was kept up for several days and no discovery made, though other letters were missed from the pouch. At length the major solved the mystery by finding that the pilferer was his own colored servant, whom he promptly sent into durance vile.

Through December and January a great deal of sickness prevailed in the camp, in the nature of fevers and diarrhœa, and Surgeon Maull took active and efficient measures to meet the emergency. A large stone mansion close to the camp was turned into a hospital and comfortably fitted up with beds and other needful furniture, and a supply of medicines was secured. The hospital was soon filled with patients, and although the sick numbered upwards of a hundred, not more than nine members of the regiment died of disease prior to the 1st of May.

About the 23d of March, Captain Neal Ward, of Company C, was missed from camp, and as he did not appear within the next day or two, it was feared that he had wandered beyond the lines and had been captured; but all suspense was set at rest on the 26th, when the body of a man was found in the water not far from the camp and identified as the remains of Captain Ward. A day or two afterwards his



body was sent home to Delaware in charge of an escort from his company.

Previous to this time several changes had already occurred among the officers of the line. Lieutenant Francis McCloskey, of Company C, resigned November 1, 1861, and on December 20th Captain Enoch J. Smithers, of Company D, tendered his resignation. On the same date First Lieutenant David S. Yardley was promoted to be captain of the latter company, Second Lieutenant William F. Smith was advanced to be first lieutenant, and Sergeant-Major James Lewis was promoted to be second lieutenant. Sergeant Joseph C. Nicholls, of Company E, was appointed sergeant-major on the same day. Second Lieutenant Ezekiel C. Alexander, of Company H, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company C December 27th, and Sergeant-Major Nicholls to second lieutenant of Company H. Sergeant Charles B. Tanner, of Company H, was also made sergeant-major. March 31, 1862, First Lieutenant John R. Vanloan, of Company H, resigned.

On the 8th of March we were witnesses for the first time of an engagement with the enemy. On this occasion the battle was a naval one, in which the enemy possessed such an overwhelming advantage that, deeply interested as we were in the issue, we could not fail to be greatly depressed in spirit and wofully discouraged as to the results. About mid-day a mysterious-looking craft that resembled a huge roof came from the direction of Norfolk, and proceeded towards the "Cumberland" and "Congress," two war-vessels, which were anchored near together off Newport News. This, we were soon informed, was the wonderful



ironclad that we had so often heard the rebels were building at Portsmouth, and with which they threatened to crush our men-of-war like egg-shells and capture all our seaports, finishing with the Federal capital. It was, in truth, the redoubtable "Merrimac." Crowding the roofs of the houses along the shore, and other eligible points of observation, we witnessed this marine monster ram to destruction those two noble vessels, the "Cumberland" and the "Congress," treating with utter contempt the shower of heavy shot that was poured against her iron ribs. This completed the havoc of that day, for the "Minnesota" had grounded in water too shallow to permit the "Merrimac" to approach her with safety, so she steamed back to Norfolk triumphantly, as the shades of evening were falling on the burning wreck of the "Congress" and the shattered spars of the "Cumberland" projecting but a few feet above the surface of the water, with the stars and stripes still floating from the mast.

The night of anxiety that followed brought no rest to the occupants of the fort and camp. It was known that a large force was co-operating by land under the command of General Magruder, and, as it was certain that the narrow and flat peninsula we occupied would be utterly untenable under the fire the enemy could bring to bear upon it from Hampton Roads, our only alternative was to cut our way through any force the foe might oppose to us beyond Hampton. During the night a detachment was sent to Newport News, under the command of Major Smyth, with ammunition for the troops there. Towards morning our hopes were revived by a rumor that an ironclad called the







"Monitor" had arrived to encounter the dreaded "Merrimac." At the first streak of dawn thousands of anxious eyes swept the broad expanse of water in search of the promised succor, but to our grievous disappointment nothing that bore the slightest resemblance to an ironclad capable of trying conclusions with the "Merrimac" could be descried.

About nine o'clock the "Merrimac" was seen coming down the Elizabeth River, and in due time she appeared, accompanied by the rebel sloop "Jamestown" and a steamboat loaded with excursionists from Norfolk to see the fun. The ram steered at once for the "Minnesota," which was still aground on the bar. Then we heard a muffled report, and observed a puff of white smoke afar off in the direction of Pig Point, and, on levelling our glasses upon the spot, we could make out a dark streak on the water surmounted by what seemed to be a black bandbox. The rebel ram paused in its onward rush, appeared to reconnoitre the singular craft that had the impudence and temerity to send so defiant a challenge, then opened on it vigorously, at the same time altering her course, in order to close with her mysterious antagonist. This strange specimen of naval construction at length approached near enough to enable us to observe its shape and size, and one of the facetious boys of Company F pronounced it "a cheese-box on a raft." At length the battle grew hot and furious, the "Merrimac" rushed at the "Monitor" to ram it, and her long prow passed over the "Monitor's" low deck, doing no injury; but before the ram could disengage itself from its agile foe several shots were fired under the



roof of rolled iron, doing fatal execution, and one or two directly into its port-holes. When, at last, the "Merrimac" succeeded in escaping from her perilous situation, much of her appetite for gore seemed to be appeased, and she drifted away apparently, not firing a shot, while the plucky little "Monitor" followed, firing with regularity and precision. Finally, as it appeared, the monster had decided what to do, and turned her bow towards Norfolk, making off with all the speed at her command.

This action put an effectual stop to the destructive exploits of the "Merrimac" (or the "Virginia," as the rebels had named her), for as often as she appeared she ventured out no farther than was sufficient to get sight of the "Monitor," at which she would return to safe harbor.

Second Lieutenant James Rickards, of Company B, was promoted to be captain of Company C on April 1st; Second Lieutenant J. C. Nicholls, of Company H, was transferred to Company B; Sergeant-Major Charles B. Tanner was promoted to second lieutenant of Company H; First Lieutenant E. C. Alexander, of Company C, was transferred to Company H; and Sergeant David W. Gemmill, of Company I, was appointed sergeant-major.

#### ACTIVE OPERATIONS.

At length the time arrived when we were to have our share in active operations. Early in May, 1862, President Lincoln came to Fort Monroe, and, in conjunction with General Wool, planned an attack on Norfolk. On the 9th we received marching orders, and made preparations by cooking rations and issuing ammunition. During the night



we marched quietly to the fort and embarked on steamboats and barges; and at daylight on the 10th we crossed the channel and landed at Ocean View, took up the line of march over dusty roads for Norfolk, distant seventeen miles. This proved to be a severe trial to the men, encumbered with heavy knapsacks, blankets, overcoats, and cartridge-boxes, sweltering with the heat and stifled with dust, and a large number of overcoats and blankets were left scattered by the way. A slight opposition to our progress at Tanner's Creek by the enemy was a welcome relief to the weary men, who enjoyed an hour's rest in the shade while the rebel battery that disputed our crossing was being persuaded to retire. We reached the suburbs of Norfolk in the evening, inside the formidable and well-constructed earth-works built by the enemy for the defence of the city, where Mayor Lamb and a deputation of citizens were in waiting to surrender the city.

That night our tents were pitched upon the terreplein of the rebel fortifications, our pickets were set and our camp-guard posted, and all retired to much-needed rest; but about midnight everybody was suddenly aroused by a loud explosion. The camp soon became thronged with men eager to learn the cause of the terrible report, the violence of which shook the earth. All the information that could be gathered was from the sentries on post, who said that when the explosion was heard a tall column of fire shot into the air in the direction of Craney Island. After sunrise we learned that our dreaded enemy, the "Merrimac," had been blown up by the rebels, and her once almost invulnerable hull now lay at the bottom of the roadstead.







Near noon on that day the army marched into Norfolk, and the First Delaware was selected to act as provost-guard in the city. The companies were quartered in several buildings, and headquarters were established in the offices of the jail. The citizens kept themselves secluded for a few days, and acted spitefully for a time, but gradually they appeared in the streets and opened their houses as they found that their fears of the Yankees were groundless, and that the hated foe were nothing of a more formidable character than well-behaved and tolerably handsome soldier boys. The practice of holding dress-parades in the public square, which was commenced about a week after the occupation, entirely broke the shyness and reserve of the citizens, who gathered in great numbers, a majority of whom were ladies, to witness our military displays and listen to the excellent music our band always furnished. Indeed, before the regiment was relieved from provost duty in Norfolk the men had grown to be great favorites with many of the citizens, and when they departed they left many sore hearts and sad faces behind them, and not a few matrimonial engagements.

During the month of July Major Smyth was provost-marshal of Portsmouth, and won many warm and substantial friends among the citizens by his manly and courteous behavior.

On the 25th of June Lieutenant Van Trump, of Company I, resigned, and Commissary-Sergeant Charles S. Schaeffer was promoted to fill the vacancy.

Colonel Andrews became quite anxious concerning the health and discipline of the regiment after several weeks' sojourn in the city. He often remarked that six months of



that kind of duty would forever ruin the organization, morally as well as physically, and begged to be sent into the field. This petition General Viele and Provost-Marshals Lamson were loath to grant, as the men were orderly and obedient, the officers zealous and capable, and the citizens desired them to remain; but early in July the colonel's wishes were gratified, and the regiment was ordered to Suffolk, a small village on the Nansemond River, about twenty-five miles from Norfolk. Here we went into camp, and drilling and other hardening exercises were resumed, and the men speedily regained their former efficiency. As the location of the camp was on the border of the great Dismal Swamp, it was not long until malarial diseases began to manifest themselves among the men, and the hospital was full to overflowing throughout the following month of August. Fully three-fourths of the regiment suffered with fevers in some form or another, and this evil became so distressing that the colonel was more anxious to escape the miasma of the swamp than he was to break loose from the demoralizing effects of Norfolk.

During our stay at Suffolk a great many changes took place among the officers. On the 17th of July Second Lieutenant James Lewis, of Company D, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company C, Sergeant-Major David W. Gemmill to second lieutenant of Company K (Lieutenant Burton having gone to the Signal Corps), and Sergeant Andrew Walls, of Company C, was made sergeant-major. On the 21st Captain Charles Lespés, of Company I, resigned, and on the 23d Second Lieutenant Hugh Sweeney, of Company C, also resigned. These vacancies brought more



promotions, and on the 24th First Lieutenant Thomas B. Hizar was advanced to the command of Company I, and Second Lieutenant Albert S. Phillips, of Company E, to be first lieutenant of Company I. Then Sergeant-Major Walls was promoted to be second lieutenant of Company C, and Sergeant John T. Dent, of Company G, was made sergeant-major. On August 5th Second Lieutenant Joseph C. Nicholls, of Company B, was promoted to be first lieutenant, *vice* First Lieutenant James A. Oates resigned. August 18th the regiment met with a lamentable loss in the discharge of our excellent band. In compliance with an economizing order from the War Department, we were compelled to part with Principal Musician John B. Ritchie and the following-named musicians of our band, viz.: Philip Cahill, Albert T. Hyatt, William A. Parker, John Worth, Augustus M. L. Groff, Henry Haddock, Charles H. Henderson, John Parker, James B. Walls, Charles E. Condon, Holton Yarnall, Matthew Croft, Thomas M. Hoyle, John P. Coverdale, Levi Sylvester, James T. Haddock, Richard H. B. Wisdom, John T. Yates, John H. Walls, and Joshua Hoyle. The departure of these well-beloved comrades was quickly followed by another serious loss, in the death, on the 30th of August, of First Lieutenant Benjamin E. Adams, of Company F, who had been sick for a long time in Norfolk.

Doubtless the surviving comrades of our regiment will remember the excitement in the camp at Suffolk when the news was received relative to the threatened proclamation of emancipation and the project of organizing black regiments. Some of the Hotspurs became quite in-







dignant, and indulged in a little intemperate language ; but, to the credit of the First Delaware, it can be said that no overt act of insubordination occurred, though some were heard of in other regiments. Our men assembled together and discussed the proposition with much calmness and good sense, and reached the conclusion that the slaves ought to be freed at all events as a war measure, and that if they were, they were as good food for rebel bullets as white men, and then contentedly turned their attention to their duties.

#### THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

The hot month of August at Suffolk was a sore trial to the men of the regiment, principally on account of the interminable succession of drills and inspections, and the monotony grew to be almost intolerable to the men who carried the muskets. Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson would take the command through a lively battalion drill in the morning, his favorite exercises being movements "left in front," and Major Smyth would take the regiment out for another airing in the afternoon, and give it a season of skirmish-drill or the firings, with blank and ball cartridges, and Colonel Andrews would perform his share by parading the companies for inspection. This round of duties became so wearisome to the men that they sighed for a little excitement of some kind for a variety. The excitement so much desired was not long coming. On the 6th of September General Max Weber, who commanded the brigade, received orders to proceed with his command to Washington and join the Army of the Potomac, then on its way into Maryland to repel Lee's invasion. All was bustle and



activity in the camp thenceforth, and never did soldiers pack their knapsacks for a march to meet the enemy with lighter hearts or more genuine enthusiasm than did the men of the First Delaware on this occasion.

Camp was broken on the morning of the 8th of September, the command marched to the railroad and took the cars for Norfolk, where they embarked on the transport "State of Maine," and steamed up Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River to Washington, where we arrived on the evening of the 9th, and, for want of suitable quarters, were compelled to make our beds in the streets of the city. Notwithstanding the rudeness of our couches and the lack of comforts and conveniences for making our toilets, the regiment presented a fine and imposing appearance on the morning of the 10th as it marched along Pennsylvania Avenue with full ranks, company front. We passed through Georgetown, and went into bivouac at night near the village of Rockville, Md. The line of march was resumed next morning, and for several days it continued through Urbana, Poolesville, and Frederick, arriving at Middletown on the afternoon of the 15th, having overtaken the army that led the advance. On the 16th we passed through Turner's Gap, crossing the field on which the battle was fought on the 14th, where burial-parties were still engaged in burying the dead, and passing through Boonsborough and Keedysville, we halted for the night on the west side of Antietam Creek. Here we were assigned to the Third Division, Second Corps, commanded by General W. H. French, the corps being under the command of General E. V. Sumner. The enemy lay quite



close, and a lively artillery fight was going on, but, in spite of this, the commissary-train proceeded to the front and issued rations, which came none too soon for our men, who had been marching away from the supply-train for the past two days, and whose haversacks were sadly collapsed. This duty was entered upon by the men with hearty zeal, and for a time withdrew their attention entirely from the artillery practice. At this time, among the provisions taken from the wagons was a barrel of beans, upon which one of the men of our regiment took a seat. A few minutes later a shot from the enemy struck the barrel, scattering the beans, as well as the occupant of the barrel. Gathering himself up, he remarked, "If that is the way rations are issued here, I don't want any. I am not at all hungry, thank you." While this artillery duel was raging, Lieutenant James Lewis, who was acting as adjutant (Adjutant Seville having been left at Fort Monroe sick with bilious fever), while lying on the hill-side a short distance in front of the lines, was struck in the foot by a piece of shell and carried to the rear. Thus Lieutenant Lewis was the first man in the regiment who shed his blood in the war of the Rebellion.

Early on the morning of the 17th of September the troops were under arms, and brigades and regiments were moving to different parts of the field. Our regiment, with its brigade and division, crossed the creek by fording and marched about a mile, when it was halted and faced to the left. Then was heard the command, "Fix bayonets!" and every man knew that at last he was about to meet the enemy in a deadly encounter.







The line of battle pressed forward through a cornfield, under a brisk fire of batteries and small-arms, no skirmishers having been advanced. On emerging from the cornfield the line was thrown into some confusion by scaling a post-and-rail fence on the edge of the field, and being under a galling fire, was hurriedly formed while moving rapidly forward. The enemy's position was but a few rods away, and his line ran obliquely to ours, so that in the charge the right of our regiment was much nearer the enemy than the left. One line of rebels was posted in a sunken road, while across the road, on rising ground, was a second line and their batteries. The fire the enemy was thus able to bring to bear on our single line was so destructive that even veteran troops would have been repulsed. As it was, the right of the division, which approached nearest the sunken road, was staggered and recoiled, and the right of our regiment was forced back to the edge of the cornfield, while the remainder could make no farther advance. At this moment the supporting troops behind us, instead of charging through our line upon the enemy, halted in the cornfield and fired on us from the rear, thereby forcing the command to retire a few yards to avoid the fire from our supports. Here our regiment rallied and returned the enemy's fire with telling effect. On the ground, a few yards in advance, where the line was first arrested, lay a large number of our men, killed or wounded, and among them lay the colors of the regiment, one of which was held by Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, who was wounded. Major Smyth, Captain Rickards, Lieutenants Postles, Tanner, and Nicholls, Sergeants Dunn and



McAllister, with several other non-commissioned officers, rallied a large number of the men for the purpose of returning to the original line, recovering the colors, and holding the position, if possible.

They sallied gallantly to the front under a terrible tornado of shot, and held the position for a considerable time, in connection with a company of the Fifth Maryland Volunteers, commanded by Captain Faehtz. While holding this front line Captain Rickards was killed. A rebel soldier was seen approaching with a limping gait, and using his musket as a support. Sergeant Dunn raised his musket, saying, "I'll drop that fellow," but before he could fire, his piece was struck down by Captain Rickards, who exclaimed, "You wouldn't shoot a wounded man!" At that instant the advancing rebel levelled his gun and shot Captain Rickards, who died a few minutes afterwards. The dastard rebel fell in his tracks, riddled with bullets.

When the regiment retired from the field both colors were brought with it, one by Lieutenant C. B. Tanner and the other by Sergeant Allen Tatem, one of the color-guard.

The bravery and self-possession of the officers and men who thus represented the First Delaware on this front line excited the admiration of the regiment, and thenceforth they were held in the highest esteem as soldiers.

When Lieutenant Lewis was wounded, Lieutenant J. P. Postles was appointed acting adjutant, and performed the duties of that position with much credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of the colonel. Lieutenant Postles, during the battle, rode "Calico," the piebald horse belonging to Chaplain Murphey, which rendered him a conspicu-



ous target for rebel bullets, and, though the horse was wounded, Lieutenant Postles escaped to render other distinguished services on later fields as a gallant and dashing staff-officer.

As it is important, in a sketch as brief as this must necessarily be, to preserve the official reports, which set forth the movements and events with great accuracy, the part taken by the regiment in this sanguinary action shall be told in the report of Colonel Andrews, which is as follows, viz.:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DELAWARE INFANTRY,  
THIRD BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION, SECOND CORPS,  
NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD.

CAPTAIN BURLEIGH, A.A.G., ON THE STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL  
MAX WEBER.

CAPTAIN,—The first Delaware Infantry, forming the right of Brigadier-General Max Weber's brigade, after fording Antietam Creek, marched in column for a mile, then facing to the left, advanced in line of battle, forming the first line of General French's division. The enemy's batteries now opened a severe fire. Having advanced steadily through woods and cornfields, driving all before us, we met the enemy in two lines of battle posted in a road, or ravine, four feet below the surface of the adjoining field, with a third line in a cornfield in the rear, the ground gradually rising, so that they were able to fire over the heads of those in the ravine; our right was also exposed to the sudden and terrible fire from the troops who succeeded in breaking the centre division of the line of battle. We were at this time about twenty paces off the enemy, and returned their fire for some time with much coolness and effect. A charge was then ordered and attempted, but our second line, composed of new levies, instead of supporting our advance, fired into our rear. We had now lost one-third of our men, and eight officers commanding companies were either killed or wounded. Under these circumstances, we fell back gradually to a stronger position, until relieved by our third line, composed of veterans, under General Kimball. This was our first battle, and I cannot speak in too high praise of the conduct of the officers and men.







The following officers, all commanding companies, were killed or wounded : Killed, Captains Watson, Leonard, and Rickards. Wounded, Captains Yardley, Woodall, and Shortledge, and Lieutenants Swiggett and Tanner. In fact, but few escaped. The color-guard were all killed or wounded; the field-officers' horses killed.

The command exhibited a degree of gallantry, efficiency, and personal bravery seldom equalled. I must also particularly mention the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, Major Smyth, and acting Adjutant Postles, who behaved with exemplary coolness and bravery.

JOHN W. ANDREWS,  
*Colonel First Delaware Infantry.*

September 18, 1862.

Of the six hundred and fifty men that entered this engagement with the regiment, two hundred and eighty-six were either killed or wounded. The colonel's horse, "Spot," was killed, and some of the men used his body as a breast-work.

The names of the non-commissioned officers and privates who were killed in this action, or who died of the wounds received therein, are as follows :

*Company A.*—Killed, Corporal John Brierly, and Privates Thomas Haskins, Joshua Kelly, Benjamin F. Lee, John Lindsey, John McGarrity, Edward Mosely, and Eli Shepherd. Died of wounds, Privates John Crow and William Lock.

*Company B.*—Killed, Corporal Nelson Wood, and Privates Samuel Laughlin, William Shaw, and Bayard M. Wilson.

*Company C.*—Killed, Privates Manus Boyle, Sr., Hugh Connor, Daniel Duffy, Charles Igiams, Jonathan Jerels, David Lawrence, and John O'Neal. Died of wounds, Private Patrick O'Brian.



*Company D.*—Killed, Privates John Carlan, Hugh Connor, John George, William Lewis, and Edward Quinn. Died of wounds, Private Major G. Blades.

*Company E.*—Killed, Privates Minos J. Melson, John H. Smith, and Nicholas R. Watson. Died of wounds, Privates Joseph P. McColley and Samuel Mumford.

*Company F.*—Killed, Corporal James H. Lucas, and Privates John H. Johnson, Eben Scott, and James Simpson. Died of wounds, Privates James P. Dickson, Barnard McGeehan, and Thomas A. Simpson.

*Company G.*—Killed, Private Thomas Senn. Died of wounds, Sergeant Philip R. Spicer, and Privates William Seville, Thomas M. Sweeney, and Charles H. Robelen.

*Company H.*—Killed, Privates Alexander Baxter, Wilson Meally, and John J. Walker. Died of wounds, Privates Philip Gregory and Jehu Porter.

*Company I.*—Killed, Private William Guthrie.

*Company K.*—Killed, Privates George Jerrell and Thomas Likens.

When the command was ordered to the Army of the Potomac Captain Evan S. Watson was absent on duty in Wilmington, but hastened to reach his company, and led them into action. He fell while gallantly encouraging his men in the advance. Captain James Leonard was instantly killed in the close contest near the enemy's line.

The entire color-guard were shot down, either killed or wounded, and the colors were so torn and tattered that they were never carried into another fight. With the losses in this engagement, and with seventy-three men on the sick-list, the noble regiment that made such a fine dis-



play a few days previously while passing through Washington was reduced in size to not more than four full companies.

On the 19th the regiment marched with the entire army to Harper's Ferry, and went into camp on Bolivar Heights, where the work of recuperation was begun, and where the army waited to supply deficiencies in men and material.

General Weber having been wounded, Colonel Andrews succeeded to the command of the brigade, and devoted himself zealously to repairing the losses and restoring the morale of the command.

Dr. Joseph W. McCullough was appointed assistant surgeon August 25, 1862, and on the 6th of September Second Lieutenant John W. Williams, of Company F, was promoted to be first lieutenant. On the 16th, First Lieutenant Alfred Gawthrop, of Company G, whose health had given way, resigned on surgeon's certificate of disability. Second Lieutenant John L. Sparks was advanced to first lieutenant, and Sergeant-Major John T. Dent was appointed second lieutenant of that company. At the same time, Sergeant Henry H. Darlington, of Company K, was promoted to be sergeant-major. On the 18th, First Lieutenant Nicholls was made captain of Company B, and Sergeant Henry Curry was promoted to first lieutenant, First Lieutenant Postles was advanced to the command of Company A, and Second Lieutenant Houseman raised to first lieutenant of that company. On the 21st, First Lieutenant William F. Smith, of Company D, was made captain of Company C.

The remainder of September and nearly the whole month







of October were passed in camp at Harper's Ferry, replenishing stores, recruiting the army, and improving its efficiency. On the 11th of October Adjutant Seville returned to duty, and was appointed acting assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Colonel Andrews. During all this time the picket-line of the enemy was kept in close proximity to our own, and the two armies watched each other with the utmost vigilance. At length General McClellan felt himself in a condition to resume the offensive, and on the 26th of October camp was once more broken, and the army moved into Virginia to seek another engagement with the foe. Lee retreated before us, or, rather, kept on the western side of the mountain-range, and marched parallel with us, thus causing frequent skirmishes at the several passes between Harper's Ferry and the Rappahannock.

Throughout this march the First Delaware had a liberal share of flanking and skirmishing, owing to its efficiency in that sort of service.

When the army arrived at Warrenton a halt of two days was made, for the apparent purpose of exchanging commanding generals, for, after a review of the entire army by General McClellan, he was relieved from the command on November 7th, and General Ambrose E. Burnside succeeded him. The line of march southwardly was then resumed, and terminated at Falmouth, opposite the town of Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock River. It had been General Burnside's intention to at once attack the enemy at this point, south of the river, but the tardiness in the arrival of the bridge-trains prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and before the army was ready to make the crossing



the enemy had thrown up formidable intrenchments on a naturally strong site for defensive operations. The delay necessary to develop some other plan of campaign, and the approach of winter, gave the army a long rest in camp, and tents of all shapes and sizes, log shanties, and mud mansions sprang up in a few days, covering the country from above Falmouth for a distance of three miles along the road to Belle Plain.

On October 1st Second Lieutenant Charles B. Tanner, of Company H, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company D; on the 24th, Second Lieutenant William Ellison, of Company D, resigned; next day, Sergeant-Major Henry H. Darlington was promoted to fill the vacancy, and Sergeant John W. Eckles, of Company F, was appointed sergeant-major.

During November and part of December the army was kept constantly exercised in brigade and division drills, interspersed with frequent corps reviews, in addition to the usual picket and guard duties.

#### FREDERICKSBURG.

The monotony of camp-life in winter quarters was interrupted on the evening of the 10th of December, when orders were issued commanding a movement on the enemy, to commence early next morning. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, we strapped on our knapsacks again, and moving very slowly, with frequent halts, night found the army massed in the valley and woods bordering on the river, opposite the town of Fredericksburg. The delay in crossing was occasioned by the sharpshooters of the



enemy, concealed in the buildings of Fredericksburg along the shore, opposing the construction of the bridge. A heavy cannonade was opened on these houses, and volunteers crossed the river in boats and gallantly drove the enemy from their covert, after which the engineers laid the bridge late in the afternoon. During the night, working-parties cut down the bluff near the Lacey House, to allow of the entrance to the bridge of the artillery and wagons. About sunrise on the 12th we passed over and occupied the town. The enemy was ominously silent, and, apprehending sudden attack, the roll of companies was called every hour during the day, to keep the men from wandering from the command. The night was spent in the houses of the city, nearly all of which had been deserted by their disloyal owners.

On the morning of the 13th the troops were ordered to stand to arms, and be ready to move at a minute's notice.

Just previous to the movement on Fredericksburg Colonel Andrews was again placed in command of the brigade, he having been relieved during the march from Harper's Ferry by Colonel Dwight Morris, of the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, whose commission antedated that of Colonel Andrews, and the regiment was under the command of Major T. A. Smyth, Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson having been left on the north side of the river, disabled by sickness.

About noon the command was heard, "Fall in!" followed by "Load at will!" At this moment the First Delaware was ordered to proceed by the right flank at double-quick







up a street running towards the rebel position, file to the right when the canal was crossed, face to the left at the foot of Marye's Hill, deploy as skirmishers, and lead the advance line of attack on the enemy's work. This was felt to be, in truth, the post of honor, and right nobly did the regiment respond to this call to perform such a perilous duty as to lead the van in an assault of the enemy's stronghold. This attack was made in connection with a regiment from the First Brigade, the Eighth Ohio Volunteers, and, under the command of Major Smyth, the men bravely dashed up the hill through a perfect storm of bullets, shot, and shell, to the very rifle-pits of the enemy, where they were compelled to seek such shelter as they could find, since very few men of the several divisions that followed them up that awful slope reached as advanced a position on the field as did the skirmish-line.

In this gallant charge of the skirmishers, Captain Crossley distinguished himself by his bravery and self-possession; for, above the roar and rattle of cannon and musketry, his voice could be distinctly heard, shouting, "Steady, men, steady!" and his tall form could always be seen in the front of his company line. At dark the regiment escaped from its hazardous situation and fell back to the town.

As before, we shall let the official report of Colonel Andrews tell the story of this engagement. Our revered colonel had become helpless from exposure and fatigue during the battle, though he ably commanded the brigade until its close, and was so ill that he was compelled to go home with the sick and wounded. The following is his report:



WILMINGTON, DEL., December 27, 1862.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH W. PLUME, A.A.G. FRENCH'S DIVISION.

CAPTAIN,—I have the honor to report the following as the part taken by the Third Brigade, under my command, in the attack on the enemy's works near Fredericksburg.

On the morning of the 12th of December, at 7.30, the command, following General Kimball's brigade, and advancing by the left flank, crossed the pontoon bridge and formed line of battle in the main street of Fredericksburg, the men keeping near their arms and the roll being called every hour. This evening the Fourth New York Volunteers performed picket duty. On the morning of the 13th I received marching orders from division headquarters, and formed the brigade in rear of Kimball, in the following order, in a street running parallel with Main Street: Tenth New York Volunteers, Colonel Bendix; One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Albright; Fourth New York Volunteers, Colonel McGregor. The First Delaware Regiment being now detailed as skirmishers in advance of Kimball's brigade, and the column formed, right in front, I reported to Brigadier-General French as being ready to move, and received my final instructions. The men seemed full of enthusiasm and eager to meet the enemy. At this time Colonel Bendix received a shell wound, and Captain Salmon Winchester assumed command of the Tenth New York Volunteers.

At 12 A.M. the command, "Forward!" was given. My instructions were to move by the flank to the position indicated, face to the front, thus forming the brigade in line of battle, and keeping one hundred and fifty paces in the rear of Kimball, to support him. We accordingly advanced briskly, under a heavy artillery fire, until we reached the position indicated, then, facing to the front, marched steadily up the slope and took a position in Kimball's rear. We remained here a short time, until finding that his ranks had become reduced, and that, although he held his ground nobly, he was unable to improve his position, I ordered my men forward to support him. The commanders of regiments led on their men in a manner worthy of all praise, and remained engaged until relieved, in turn, by the next advancing brigade. They then retired and were reformed, in the second street from the river, under their regimental commanders. Having myself become disabled during the action, I did not leave the field, and finding myself, on my return, unable to perform duty, I turned over the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall,



Tenth New York Volunteers, who had been detailed on special duty on the other side of the river, with the pioneers, and was not present in the action.

In conclusion, I beg leave to state that the officers behaved with exemplary coolness, and the men with the steadiness and courage of veterans. I wish, also, particularly to mention the efficient services of Colonel John D. McGregor, Fourth New York Volunteers, wounded in the arm; Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Albright, One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania; Lieutenant-Colonel William Jameson, Fourth New York Volunteers; Major Thomas A. Smyth, First Delaware Volunteers; Major Charles Kruger, Fourth New York Volunteers; and Captain Salmon Winchester, an accomplished gentleman and a true soldier, who fell mortally wounded while commanding and leading on his regiment, the Tenth New York Volunteers. Also, to the valuable aid afforded me by the gentlemen of my staff, Lieutenant William P. Seville, A.A.G.; Lieutenant Theodore Rogers, A.D.C., severely wounded by my side while the command was under a heavy fire of musketry; and Lieutenant William C. Inhoff, A.D.C.

Having already testified to the good conduct of those under my immediate command, it becomes my duty also to state that the First Delaware Regiment, detached as skirmishers, were reported as having behaved with great courage and endurance; that, after driving the enemy's skirmishers, they sustained alone their fire for a considerable time before the supporting column arrived, and, after spending all their ammunition, they retired in good order. Major T. A. Smyth, in command, is represented as having displayed much coolness and ability. The list of casualties will be reported by Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, now in command.

Very respectfully,

\* Your obedient servant,

JOHN W. ANDREWS,

*Colonel Commanding Third Brigade.*

Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Marshall, who succeeded to the command of the brigade immediately after the close of the battle, in his official report, thus alludes to the conduct of the First Delaware:

"The several regiments of my brigade stood up to their work nobly. The







First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers, deserves particular mention for the manner in which, as skirmishers, it opened the engagement, and remained on the field until every cartridge was expended."

He also reported the casualties in the First Delaware as ten killed, seventy-four wounded, and nine missing; but the muster-out rolls report that seventeen members of the regiment were killed at Fredericksburg, and that five others died of wounds received there, as follows: Killed, Lieutenant Henry H. Darlington, of Company D; Corporal Samuel Weir, Company A; Privates William Smith and Thomas Sinnox, Company B; Privates Manus Boyle, Jr., and William Henry Beggs, Company C; Private John C. Abel, Company D; Private John C. Carey, Company E; Corporal George W. Reice and Private John Cline, Company G; Sergeant George C. Semple, Musician Robert Long, and Private John Miller, Company H; Privates John P. Money and George Sneider, Company I; and Privates Frederick B. Ennis and Thomas Holmes, of Company K. Those who died subsequently of wounds were First Lieutenant Albert S. Phillips, Company I; Sergeant Henry H. Higgins, Company G; Corporal Lemuel J. Green and Private Napoleon Adams, Company E; and Private Robertson W. Plummer, Company D.

One other officer was wounded in this assault,—Captain William F. Smith, of Company C.

After retiring from the field at dark, the regiment was reassembled in a street next to the river, and the rolls were called to ascertain who were killed, wounded, or missing. The men were then dismissed, with the injunction to remain near the stacks of arms ready to fall in at call, as an



attack was expected during the night. But the enemy made no more serious demonstration than that of throwing an occasional shell into the town. About ten o'clock the ammunition-train crossed over and our cartridge-boxes were replenished. The next day was Sunday, which we spent in caring for the wounded and repairing the damages of the previous day. At night we were ordered to recross the river with all possible silence, and the last man was out of the town before daylight on the 15th, and the various divisions were on their way to their former camping-grounds.

We were scarcely settled in our old quarters before very cold weather set in, and we comforted ourselves with the reflection that no more movements could be made until the return of spring.

On December 14th Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver P. Hopkinson resigned on account of ill health, and the command of the regiment fell to Major Thomas A. Smyth, who was promoted to the vacancy on the 18th. On the same day Sergeant-Major John W. Eckles was made second lieutenant of Company D, Sergeant Samuel A. McAllister, of Company F, was appointed sergeant-major, and on the 24th he was further promoted to be second lieutenant of Company B, and Sergeant John L. Brady, of Company C, advanced to be sergeant-major, while Captain Daniel Woodall, of Company F, was promoted to be major. On the 26th, Second Lieutenant Eckles was raised to first lieutenant of Company F; on the 28th, Second Lieutenant Charles S. Schaeffer, of Company I, was promoted to be first lieutenant of Company K; on the 30th, First Lieutenant



John W. Williams, of Company F, died of disease, and next day, First Lieutenant Franklin Houseman, of Company A, resigned.

Not long did we enjoy the rest and relaxation of our winter quarters, for early in January, General Burnside having formed another plan for a campaign, the usual order to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice was received, and next day the army began to pass through our camp towards the upper fords. A steady rain set in soon after the movement commenced, and, as but one road could be used without exposure of the enterprise to the enemy, by the time night arrived the artillery and wagons were hopelessly mired, and the campaign was abandoned. This flurry did not affect us, for, as the Second Corps, which was to have acted as rear-guard, lay on the right of the army, we should not have broken camp until the entire army had gone by. On the 24th of January General Burnside was relieved from the chief command at his own request, and General Joseph Hooker was appointed in his stead. General Hooker at once set to work to improve the condition of the army; he instituted a few welcome changes in the rations, granted short leaves of absence, and reorganized the cavalry. During our encampment here a curious sort of intimacy sprang up between the men of the opposing armies. The river was fordable at several places above Falmouth, and the pickets were stationed on each shore, the distance across the stream being so short that conversation was carried on with ease. One day, after the battle of Fredericksburg, a rebel called out to one of our picket-guard, "Say, Yank, when are you all goin' to come







over agin?" "Don't know," answered the Union picket. "Pretty soon, I guess." "You 'uns 'll never git to Richmond; d'ye know why?" asked the rebel. "No, why?" "Because you 'uns 'll have two big Hills to git over, a Longstreet to go through, and a Stonewall to cross," was the reply.

Every day exchanges of tobacco and other articles were made by the pickets, until, at length, the men used to visit each other, play cards, and pass newspapers back and forth, which having been discovered by General French, a sudden stop was put to these civilities.

In the first four months of 1863 many changes took place among the officers of the regiment. January 3d Commissary-Sergeant Edwin H. Byran was made second lieutenant of Company A; on the 6th, Sergeant-Major John L. Brady was made second lieutenant of Company D, and Sergeant Allen Tatem, of Company B, was appointed sergeant-major; on the 14th, First Lieutenant Albert S. Phillips died of his wound in the head; on the 17th, Captain Thomas Crossley, Company K, resigned on account of disability; First Lieutenant William C. Inhoff, Company K, was made captain, and next day he resigned from disability. First Lieutenant William Y. Swiggett, Company E, was promoted to captain of Company F; on the 19th, Dr. Samuel Marshall, assistant surgeon, resigned because of disability; on the 20th, Second Lieutenant Samuel A. McAllister, Company B, was made first lieutenant Company F; First Lieutenant John W. Eckles, Company F, was transferred to Company I; Sergeant J. Hart, of Company F, was made second lieutenant of that company; Sergeant-Major Allen



Tatem was advanced to second lieutenant Company H; and Sergeant James D. Simpson, Company F, was appointed sergeant-major. On February 6th Colonel John W. Andrews resigned on account of disability; on the 7th, Second Lieutenant Martin W. B. Ellegood, Company H, was promoted to captain Company E, and Second Lieutenant John L. Brady, Company D, was advanced to first lieutenant of the same company; on the 8th, Sergeant-Major Simpson was made second lieutenant Company D, and Sergeant Benjamin Y. Draper, of Company D, was appointed sergeant-major; on the 9th, Second Lieutenant Andrew Walls, Company C, was made first lieutenant Company I; on the 18th, our prize drum-major, Patrick Dooley, was swept away by the general order to muster out that regimental ornament; on the 20th, First Lieutenant John L. Sparks, of Company G, was made captain of Company K; Second Lieutenant John T. Dent was promoted to first lieutenant; Sergeant Charles W. Davis, Company D, was made second lieutenant Company G; and Sergeant Aquila M. Hizar, first lieutenant of Company K; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas A. Smyth was advanced to the command of the regiment on the 23d, and Captain Edward P. Harris, of Company E, was elected lieutenant-colonel.

March 1st our quartermaster, Thomas Y. England, a very courteous and efficient officer, was promoted to be commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain, and on the next day Second Lieutenant Edwin H. Bryan, of Company A, was raised to the grade of first lieutenant, and appointed regimental quartermaster; and Sergeant William Smith, of Company A, was made second lieutenant of that



company; on the 3d, Captain John B. Tanner, of Company H, resigned on account of disability, and First Lieutenant Ezekiel C. Alexander became captain of the company; on the 11th, Sergeant-Major Benjamin Y. Draper was made second lieutenant of Company D, and Sergeant John W. Barney, of Company F, was appointed sergeant-major; Second Lieutenant William Smith, Company A, was made first lieutenant, and Sergeant G. T. Price, Company G, was promoted to second lieutenant Company A.

#### CHANCELLORSVILLE.

The men were once more growing somewhat weary of the monotonous round of duties incident to life in camp, when, on the 27th of April, the order for another movement was received. On the morning of the 28th we marched about three miles up the Rappahannock, and were set to work making roads and throwing up a small battery, the latter, probably, to deceive the enemy as to our real intentions. Next day we moved on a few miles farther and again encamped; and on the 30th we took the road again, and halted at United States Ford, where we remained till nearly sunset. As the shadows were lengthening we once more started forward, crossed the bridge, and then marched down the river until midnight, when we were halted, massed in the fields, and dropped upon the ground to sleep just where we stopped.

The battle opened early next morning, May 1st, by a desperate attack on the left of our army posted near the Chancellor House, and towards noon we were ordered to proceed in that direction. We had gone about a mile in







the direction of Todd's Tavern when our orders were countermanded, and we hurried back to our former position. The enemy had occupied in strong force the range of hills we had started out to take. Having reached the spot where we had spent the previous night, our little brigade (the First Delaware and One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania) was instructed to act in support of the line in the wood on our front.

On the morning of the 2d a dropping fire, interspersed now and then with a few volleys, was carried on during the morning until about ten o'clock, at which time the enemy made a vigorous attack on our centre, and was repulsed. Late in the afternoon Stonewall Jackson's corps turned the right flank of the Eleventh Corps and completely routed it. Our brigade, leaving our knapsacks, overcoats, and blankets, was hurried forward to check the retreat of the Eleventh Corps. This we did by arresting their flight, forming them into companies, and sending them to the rear. Having accomplished this, we were countermarched in some haste back to our old bivouac to uncover Ames' battery, which was planted ready to welcome Jackson's men if they should break through the Third Corps. The close proximity of the hostile lines, and the nervousness of the men in the front of each, caused a rapid succession of volleys, cannonades, and scattering shots throughout the whole night, calling the troops into line every hour, and seriously interrupting our rest.

At daylight on the morning of the 3d the contest began in grand earnest on our front, and soon extended all along the line. About noon our little brigade was again ordered



to advance and "hold the enemy." That was our mission, and we moved in without delay, drove the rebels to the plank road, and, finding ourselves in advance of our line, and connections broken on each flank, we fell back, when the firing had ceased, to our former position. The enemy, thinking our retrograde movement a retreat, made another furious charge, this time enveloping our right flank, which was held by the First Delaware. The cry at once arose, "We are outflanked!" The situation was a critical one, but was speedily rectified by the presence of mind of Colonel Smyth, who commanded a change of front to the rear on the tenth company. This order was executed in fine style by the regiment, thus facing the foe, who were quickly repulsed, and we were left in possession of the wood. Our situation was rendered more hazardous at this time by our own batteries opening on the wood we occupied, thinking, doubtless, that we were all captured. This fire from our own guns determined Colonel Albright, who commanded the brigade, to leave the wood and retire to our original line. The men were cautioned to move slowly to the rear, and when outside of the wood to reform the line left in front. This was done, and our appearance in the field, with our colors flying, caused a cessation of the fire from our batteries. The line formed, the command "About face!" was given, and at the words "Forward, march!" we moved forward in ordinary quick time, and with almost as much precision as if on review. This sudden appearance and deliberate retreat so greatly amazed our commanders, who were looking on, that a staff-officer was sent galloping towards us to learn who we were, and



report in time to sweep us out of existence if we should prove to be enemies carrying the national flag. "Who commands these troops?" demanded the officer. "I do," replied Colonel Albright. "What troops are they?" asked the officer. "First Delaware and One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania, Third Brigade, Third Division, Second Corps!" was the reply, and away sped the officer with his report, which seemed to create some excitement and a little merriment among the group of generals when he reported to General Couch. "Why, general," said General Couch to General French, "that is one of your brigades." General Howard remarked to General French that we made the laziest retreat he ever saw.

The part taken by the Second Corps and its subdivisions in this battle has not been faithfully set forth in official reports and in history generally, for the reason that the corps was so scattered that the operations of its divisions and brigades were merged in those of the larger bodies they acted with. The First Division fought, most of the time, away on the left; the Second Division remained at Falmouth to support General Sedgwick. One regiment of our brigade (the Fourth New York Volunteers) was detached as a hospital guard, and the other brigades of our division were supporting the main line on our left-centre. General French, who commanded our division, was ill part of the time, and when General Hooker was disabled by the shock occasioned by a shell striking a pillar of the Chancellor House piazza, against which he was leaning, the command of the army fell to General Darius N. Couch, who was our corps commander. Thus it happened that







the part taken by our brigade and regiment in this action was not fully described in the official reports of any general or acting general officers excepting that made by Colonel Albright, which will be given entire, following those of Colonel Smyth and Lieutenant-Colonel Harris. The following is the official report of Colonel Smyth :

#### OFFICIAL REPORTS OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST REGIMENT, DELAWARE VOLUNTEERS,

May 7, 1863.

LIEUTENANT W. P. SEVILLE, A.A.A.G. Third Brigade, Third Division.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that, in obedience to General Orders, No. 37, from headquarters Third Division, Second Corps, the regiment under my command marched from its camp near Falmouth at sunrise on the morning of the 28th of April, having position in the centre of the Third Brigade. We moved up the road toward Bank's Ford, near which place we halted at 11 o'clock A.M., and bivouacked for the remainder of the day and night. At 2 P.M. on the following day the march was again resumed, and we halted for the night about two and a half miles from United States Ford. On the morning of the next day the march was resumed, and crossing the Rappahannock early in the evening at United States Ford, we moved up the road to Chancellorsville, halting within a mile of that place about 11 P.M. On the 1st of May the regiment remained in column, under arms, without moving. On the morning of the 2d the enemy began shelling our position, but without effect. Late in the afternoon the regiment was formed in line of battle, facing the right. About six o'clock in the evening, the Eleventh Army Corps having given way on the right, the regiment was moved to the left of the Chancellorsville road, four companies being thrown across the road to aid in arresting the stragglers.

After the panic had somewhat abated, we received orders from Major Norval to support Captain Frank's battery, posted in the open field to the right of the headquarters of General French, one company, under the command of Captain Smith, being thrown forward to the edge of the woods as a picket-guard, where they remained during the night. On the morning of the 3d we



were moved, by an order from General French, a short distance to the left, ready to advance to the support of the First Brigade, then moving to reinforce the Third Corps, heavily engaged with the enemy in front. While in this position a temporary breastwork, formed of knapsacks, fence-rails, and bags of earth, was erected as a protection against the fire of the enemy's infantry. About 7 A.M. the Third Corps, being hard pressed in front, gave way, and, in company with the One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, we advanced to the edge of the woods, when we encountered the enemy in considerable force, and drove him for a distance of half a mile. Then, the enemy having been reinforced, we halted, and held him in check for about three hours, when the brigade on our right gave way, allowing the enemy to gain a position on our right flank and rear. Being thus exposed to a galling fire from three directions, the regiment changed front to the rear on the tenth company, in perfect order, and, assisted with the fire from one of the batteries, repulsed the enemy, when, having received orders to retreat, we fell back in good order, and took our position in the rear of the First Brigade. The enemy having range of our position, opened upon us with shell, upon which we retired, in obedience to orders, into the woods. Having rested for about half an hour, we were ordered to the front to support the First Brigade. Taking a position in the second line of battle, we remained there, frequently exposed to a hot fire of shell and musketry, until three o'clock on the morning of the 6th, when we took up our line of march for the river, marching left in front, and following the One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers. Without halting, we crossed the pontoon bridge at United States Ford, and reached our old camp about noon.

Our loss in the five days, during which time we were exposed to the fire of the enemy, was six killed, thirty-three wounded, and ten missing. Among the wounded is Major Woodall.

The conduct of the regiment, both officers and men, is worthy of all praise. The men who fought so bravely at Antietam and Fredericksburg forgot not their record, nor failed to add to it another page inscribed with glorious deeds of patriotic valor. Where all acted so nobly it would, perhaps, be invidious to mention any one particularly, yet the coolness under fire evinced by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris, Major Woodall, and Acting Adjutant Tanner, and the bravery of Captains Smith, Yardley, Hizar, Sparks, and Lieutenant Draper, as shown not only at the battle of Chancellorsville, but



in previous engagements, entitle them to especial notice. Particularly would I call the attention of the colonel commanding to the gallant conduct of Captain Smith; always brave, at the battle of Chancellorsville his bravery was more than usually conspicuous. By his example he encouraged the men, and by his coolness aided materially in repulsing the enemy upon our flank.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS A. SMYTH,

*Colonel Commanding First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers.*

Immediately after the return to camp the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel Smyth, by the muster out of service of the regiments commanded by Colonels Albright and McGregor; and an order having been issued that regimental commanders should forward a list of the names of non-commissioned officers and privates whose behavior under fire was deserving of praise, the subjoined report was rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DELAWARE REGIMENT,

May 27, 1863.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM P. SEVILLE, A.A.A.G.

SIR,—I have the honor to make the following report of enlisted men in this command, according to General Order No. 53, paragraph one, as reported by their commanding officers:

Corporal William Anderson and Private Joshua Green, of Company C. The latter was wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville, both having been in all the battles in which the regiment was engaged. They have always behaved well, but more particularly in the battle of Chancellorsville, by volunteering to go to the front and find the enemy's position, which they did successfully.

Sergeant William Birney, Corporal William Murphey, and Private George F. Jones, of Company D, all behaved with the utmost coolness and bravery, thereby showing a good example to their comrades and the regiment in general. These three behaved very well in all former engagements in which the regiment was. Corporal Murphey was not in Fredericksburg. Sergeant





Birney was wounded at Fredericksburg in the foot. Private Richard Cox, of Company H, has behaved well in all the battles in which the regiment was engaged. He deserves particular notice for his volunteering and accompanying Corporal Anderson and Private Green, of Company C, to the front.

First Sergeant David Challenger, Sergeants William D. Birch and Henry G. Cavanaugh, Corporal Jacob H. Thompson, Privates Robert Wright, Benjamin Derity, Andrew Wilkinson, and Gardner Sands, of Company I, all deserve special notice for their bravery and coolness under fire. Sergeant Challenger was in Antietam and Chancellorsville; Sergeants Cavanaugh and Birch were in all the battles in which the regiment was engaged. Corporal Thompson was in Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Privates Wright, Derity, and Wilkinson were through all engagements with the regiment. Wright and Wilkinson were wounded at Fredericksburg; also Gardner Sands was in all engagements. The above-named members of Company I all did their duty, and showed great coolness and bravery, thereby encouraging all near them to stand fast. They have behaved so in all engagements, and all deserve special notice.

Corporal D. G. Smith, of Company D, deserves great credit for the example he showed in all the engagements the regiment has been in; was wounded at Chancellorsville in the breast.

Sergeant Charles J. Steel, Corporals William C. Joseph and Robert F. Burrows, and Private Peter W. Vincent, of Company E, all deserve special notice for their daring, bravery, and coolness in the battles in which the regiment has been engaged.

Corporals James H. Barbour, Isaac P. Nickson, and Charles B. Parry, and Orderly Sergeant William H. Ferguson, of Company K, all deserve special notice for the good example they showed to their company in the different actions in which the regiment has been engaged.

First Sergeant Matthew Rodgers, Privates William B. Murry, James Simpson, and Bernard Morris, of Company B, deserve special notice for their good conduct in different engagements; they have always been conspicuous; also Private Martin Daily, who went on the field and brought several wounded off after the regiment had been ordered off. Privates James Gamble, Joseph Schaffner, and Jacob Schaffner deserve to be mentioned, for encouraging the men to never run by their example, and while so doing were all killed.

Corporal Henry Roberts and Private Isaac Scott, of Company F, deserve



great credit for their bravery at Antietam and Chancellorsville, both having been wounded by so doing in each battle.

First Sergeant William Caywood, Sergeant William Warren, and Corporals William Hanson and Adam Kinsler, of Company A, deserve great credit for their daring bravery, thereby encouraging the men to remain fast and keep cool. They have been in all the engagements in which the regiment has.

Sergeant William K. McClurg, of Company H, should also be mentioned for his good conduct; he was wounded at Chancellorsville while encouraging his men to do their duty.

Corporal Samuel L. McElwee, of Company K, deserves great credit for his heroism in all the engagements he was in; he was one of the bravest men of this command, and was killed at Chancellorsville.

I remain, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

E. P. HARRIS,

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding Regiment.*

In order to preserve as full an official account of this action in which the First Delaware rendered such valuable service and won merited distinction, the report of Colonel Charles Albright, who commanded the brigade, is added:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION,

May 7, 1863.

MAJOR J. M. NORVELL,

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL THIRD DIVISION, SECOND CORPS.

MAJOR,—I have the honor to make the following official report of the part taken by this brigade in the series of actions which occurred in the vicinity of Chancellorsville from the 1st to the 6th of May, 1863, inclusive.

On the evening of April 27th an order was received to be in readiness to march at an early hour the next day. Everything was prepared and the wagons packed before daylight. On the evening of the 28th an order was received from Major-General French commanding the division to march to the Falmouth road, which was executed. The brigade remained bivouacked on an opening in the wood, about four and a half miles from Falmouth, until 2 P.M. on the 29th, when the march was resumed, and the troops halted for the





night near Bank's Ford. On the morning of the 30th, at nine o'clock, we took up the line of march for United States Ford, where the brigade crossed at 7 P.M., and continued the march to near Chancellorsville, where it arrived at twelve, midnight.

On the morning of May 1st an order was received from General French for the brigade to fall in under arms. The Fourth Regiment, New York Volunteers, was here assigned to special duty as a guard to the corps hospital located at this spot. The brigade, which then comprised the First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers, and the One Hundred and Thirty-second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, was marched half a mile on the road to Chancellorsville and halted. An order was received through Lieutenant Russell, A.D.C., to fall in, and when the column started to follow, keeping the right-hand side of the road. When the brigade started, an order was given by Lieutenant Burt, A.D.C. to General Couch, not to move until a battery was brought in front. About 11 A.M. an order came through Lieutenant Russell, A.D.C., to move forward, which we did, keeping on the plank road to Chancellorsville. Having passed the cross-road about two hundred yards, an order arrived to return in double-quick time and retire to our former camp at the hospital. On the evening of the 1st we were under arms during several attacks upon our lines. During the attack on our centre, on Saturday evening, May 2d, the brigade was formed near and facing the wood. Directions were received through Lieutenant Torbert, A.D.C., to move more to the right and rear, and subsequently to move far enough to the rear to unmask Ames' battery. Finally it was again moved, by Major Norvell, A.A.G., across the road, and I was directed to support Colonel Carroll. The brigade here intercepted all stragglers, and sent them to rejoin their respective corps. Colonel John D. MacGregor, Fourth New York Volunteers, who had so ably commanded the brigade, was compelled to retire early in the afternoon, being too ill to perform duty, and the command devolved upon me. Vigorous assaults were made by the enemy on our centre at 10.20 P.M., 11.35 P.M., and 1.15 A.M. At every attack the brigade was promptly under arms. At 5.25 A.M. on the 3d the brigade was under arms, another attack having been made on the centre. The brigade was moved by an order through Major Norvell, A.A.G., to the edge of the wood. I reached the skirt of the wood and gave the order to commence firing, as the enemy had charged, and were then in sight. The brigade delivered a well-sustained fire, and I then gave the order



to advance. The brigade moved rapidly in good order, driving the enemy before them in great confusion, and cheered most lustily. My men captured a good number of prisoners, whom I sent to the rear by themselves, so as not to lessen my effective force. I kept my men well together, presenting a close line. The men were quite cool, and obeyed every order with enthusiasm and alacrity. In advancing through the wood I tried to keep up communication with the First Brigade, commanded by Colonel Carroll, and General Tyler's brigade, on my right, and threw out a number of skirmishers to feel the ground in my immediate front, to prevent any surprise. A number of the enemy were found concealed behind bushes, and, in some instances, fired from trees; placed there, doubtless, to pick off our officers. I continued to advance cautiously in this manner, driving the enemy before me, until I found my communications broken on both my right and left. I then deemed it prudent to retire until I could make a union with the other lines. I accordingly fell back about one hundred yards and took position. A furious charge was then made on our line, and I directed the men to hold their fire until the enemy came in sight, and then to let every shot tell. The brigade received this assault and checked the enemy. While the men of my command were repelling this attack the batteries in our rear were throwing shells, which exploded directly over my line. As the enemy were repulsed, and no troops could be seen on either my right or left, I gave the word to retire, fearing that my command might be outflanked, which, indeed, came very near occurring. The enemy appeared on the right of my command, but they were prevented from turning our rear by the timely precaution of Colonel Smyth, of the First Delaware, who changed front to the rear on his tenth company. I was careful that this was done without confusion, and, crossing the plain between the wood and hospital, again occupied the line formerly held by my command where the men's knapsacks were left. The brigade was no sooner on this line than I was directed by an officer to move my command by the right flank at double-quick to unmask the batteries, as they were about to open. I marched the command across the road, and took position as directed by General French, through Major Norvell, A.A.G., with orders to construct rifle-pits. Before this could be commenced, however, the enemy's batteries opened upon us with shell, wounding Major Daniel Woodall, First Delaware, and a few men. I received an order then to march my command into the wood on my right, where it was assigned a position, to sup-



port Colonel Carroll, commanding the First Brigade. I at once had the roll called and casualties ascertained. I received an order to fill up to the usual amount of ammunition, and sent details to draw the required ammunition. On the evening of the 4th an attack was made upon our line, and our position in the wood shelled. I had the command immediately under arms, and the men sustained the fire with great fortitude. Captain Hall, One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, and three men of my command were wounded by this fire. On the morning of the 5th the enemy made another attack on our front of the line. As the command was exposed to a fire of musketry without the satisfaction of returning it, I directed the men to collect the scattered logs and lay them in front, and, after the action was over, had it turned into a breastwork. At 8 P.M. on the 5th I received an order to prepare the brigade to march at 10 P.M., without noise. At the appointed time my command was in line and ready to move. At 3 A.M. on the 6th the command marched to the United States Ford and recrossed the bridge, and 7 o'clock P.M. found the brigade on its old campground, rectifying the confusion occasioned by the week's active service.

The losses of the brigade were as follows: First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers, five men killed, one commissioned officer and thirty-nine men wounded, and eleven men missing; total, fifty-six. One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, two commissioned officers wounded, two men killed, thirty-nine wounded, and one man missing; total, forty-three; aggregate, ninety-nine.

The conduct of both the First Delaware and One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Regiments was splendid, and too much credit cannot be bestowed upon the officers and men for their gallant conduct displayed in this action. I cannot close this report without thanking Lieutenant William P. Seville, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain H. F. Chew, Acting Assistant Inspector-General; and Lieutenant D. R. Mellick, Aide-de-Camp, for their very efficient and able services. I wish, particularly, to call your attention to Lieutenant Seville; he is an excellent officer, brave and cool in danger, and I earnestly recommend him for promotion.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES ALBRIGHT,

*Colonel One Hundred and Thirty-second Pa. Vols., Commanding Brigade.*





The muster-out rolls show that the number of men killed at Chancellorsville was nine; four more than Colonel Albright reports, and three more than the number stated by Colonel Smyth. The following are their names: Corporal Samuel L. McElwee, Company K; Privates James Gamble and Joseph Schaffner, Company B; George H. Howard, John Poore, and Erasmuth Wolfe, Company D; William D. Vaughan, Company E; Richard W. Fisher, Company G; and John Dougherty, Company H.

Having once more reoccupied our old camp and quarters, the work of reorganization and invigoration was recommenced that the army might be ready for the field at the earliest day possible, as the season for activity was then at hand, and the enemy was so little crippled by the late contest that aggressive measures on his part were expected within the month of May.

On the 7th of May the Third Brigade was broken up by the discharge of the Fourth New York and One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Regiments, and the First Delaware was assigned to the Second Brigade, of which Colonel Smyth became the commander.

Dr. Frederick J. Owens was appointed assistant surgeon May 8th; Second Lieutenant David Gemmill, of Company E, was dismissed on the 15th of May, and on the 20th, First Lieutenant Henry Curry, of Company B, resigned.

#### THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

About the middle of June a startling rumor became current throughout the army that General Lee had marched a few days previously up the valley, and that Washington



was his objective-point. We surmised that our camp, duties and amusements would suddenly be interrupted, and so it proved, for on the 13th the order for marching was received, and at the same time we heard that the rebels had not secured much of a lead, for a portion of our army had started after them on the 12th, and that the Second Corps was designated as the rear-guard.

The command spent all next day wandering aimlessly about the devastated camp, fully equipped for marching at a moment's warning. At 9 P.M. our share in the great movement began, and the troops filed out on the road and turned their faces northward. Several long halts in the first five miles of the route gave an opportunity to a detachment of the regiment which had been on picket the night before to overtake the command. Sunrise found us at Stafford Court-House, the enemy close at hand and apparently in a pugnacious mood. An advantageous position was chosen and line of battle formed, but, as the enemy did not seem disposed to attack, the line of march was resumed. On the 16th the corps was halted at Dumfries to replenish the haversacks, after which the route was taken, and the command went into bivouac at night on the Occoquan Creek. This march proved very exhausting, owing to the intense heat, the long-continued drouth, and the suffocating dust. The energies of the men gave way before noon each day under this accumulation of evils, and the army of stragglers brought into camp every night by the provost-guard seemed larger than the part that limped in with the colors and heard the most cheerful of all the commands laid down in the tactics: "Break ranks, march!" We





passed through Fairfax Station, Centreville, over the battlefield of Bull Run, and went into camp at Gainesville, where we lay four days to recruit strength and repair damages. Then the route was resumed, and the command marched through Sudley Springs and Gum Springs, and arrived at Edwards' Ferry on the Potomac on the 26th of June. After crossing, the line of march lay through Poolesville, Barnesville, Urbana, and Frederick City. At this point, General Hooker was relieved from the command of the army and General George G. Meade became our chief. On Monday, the 29th, the column took to the road at 8 A.M., and passed through Mount Pleasant, Liberty, Johnstown, Union Bridge, Middletown, and finally halted late at night at Uniontown, having marched thirty-two miles. Long before night fell most of the troops were fagged out and kept moving only under great suffering. They were informed that it was regarded as of the utmost importance that the command should reach Uniontown that night, and the men endured their hardships with commendable fortitude. At one time, near the close of this memorable march, the column was halted for a brief rest, and as a general and his staff passed by, one of the men called out, "Oh, don't stop! Get fresh horses and let's go ahead. We are not tired." This was greeted by laughter loud and long, in which the general joined. After this, whenever the column halted, many voices would shout, "Why don't you get fresh horses?" But the long march came to an end, and when the command "Break ranks!" was heard, the worn-out men dropped down where they halted, wholly indifferent to the usual refreshment (a cup of hot coffee), and slept till



morning. This was not generally the case with the Delaware men. It was remarked, with much surprise, that while nearly all the men were asleep the First Delaware men were scouting after wood and provisions, and that lusty camp-fires were blazing among them until after midnight. The regiment was also complimented at the close of this march for their hardiness and power of endurance, because, among the immense force of stragglers gathered up that day, very few were members of the First Delaware.

The command remained in bivouac all day on the 30th, and marched at 7 A.M. on the 1st of July about six miles, to Taneytown, where a halt was made until near noon, at which time an aide brought orders to hasten forward, as General Reynolds was killed and the battle was going adversely. We halted for the night about two miles from Gettysburg, and during the latter part of the march the sound of cannonading had been heard until nightfall.

At daylight next morning the command was moved into line of battle on the left of Cemetery Hill, overlooking the town of Gettysburg, and a line of skirmishers was deployed. The regiment was on the skirmish-line all day, but in the evening it was placed in position behind a low stone wall at the edge of an apple-orchard, and about three hundred yards west of General Meade's headquarters. The line fronted northwest, and faced the Emmittsburg road. In the afternoon our skirmishers were driven in by a strong line of the enemy, and while retiring, Captain Martin W. B. Ellegood, of Company E, fell mortally wounded. A sanguinary struggle then ensued in the peach-orchard on our left, which resulted in our favor, and at night a vigorous attack



was made by the enemy upon the Twelfth Corps, posted on Culp's Hill, at our right.

On the morning of the 3d a dropping fire of skirmishers began at daylight, and continued, with an occasional shot from a battery, until ten o'clock, when all firing ceased, and an ominous quiet fell upon both armies. This silence was suddenly broken at half-past one o'clock by the report of a gun from the neighborhood of the seminary building, followed immediately by a simultaneous discharge from many batteries planted north, east, and west of our position. This fearful cannonade, and the charge that followed it, is called, and will always be known in history as the "high-water mark of the Rebellion." For three hours the enemy kept up an incessant fire of shot and shell on the centre, held by the Second Army Corps. About half-past four o'clock the fire of the batteries ceased, and the enemy's infantry marched across the plain and charged our line. We were cautioned to hold our fire until the rebels began to climb the fence along the Emmitsburg road. When this obstacle was reached their ranks were thrown into some confusion, when, at the word "Fire!" shouted by General Hays, commanding the division, such an appalling sheet of flame burst from our line that the rebel ranks melted away like wax, and none of them reached a point in our front nearer than fifty yards, though they succeeded in penetrating the line a few hundred yards on our left, near Little Round Top. The dreadful execution in our front was owing to the fact that the men of the First Delaware, Fourteenth Connecticut, and Twelfth New Jersey had collected all the spare guns, had prepared a large supply of





cartridges, and laid them in rows beside them, and the men in the rear rank loaded the muskets as fast as those in front could fire them, and to the further fact that the Twelfth New Jersey Regiment was armed with smooth-bore Springfield, carrying buck and ball.

During this charge Colonel Smyth, commanding the brigade, was slightly wounded in the face by a piece of shell while restoring order in the ranks of a New York regiment which had given way on the right of their line. He went to the hospital after the firing had ceased, to have his wound dressed, and Lieutenant-Colonel F. E. Pierce, One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers, took command, and was in turn relieved by Colonel Dwight Morris, of the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers.

When the regiment entered the engagement at Gettysburg, it was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris; but before the battle ended it was commanded by a first lieutenant. Colonel Smyth was commanding the brigade, the lieutenant-colonel was placed in arrest for withdrawing from the skirmish-line with part of the regiment, Major Woodall was absent, wounded, and all the captains were absent, sick or wounded. Captain Hizar was wounded, and Captain Ellegood was killed, in the skirmish on the second day. First Lieutenant William Smith, of Company A, was in command of the regiment when he was killed by a cannon-shot during the charge on the 3d while carrying to brigade headquarters a rebel flag he had taken. This flag was stolen by a man of another regiment from the dead body of Lieutenant Smith after he fell, and was not included in the number of colors reported as cap-



tured by the regiment. The command then devolved upon Lieutenant John T. Dent, of Company G.

When the rebel charge was broken and their ranks fell into disorder, the First Delaware sprang over the stone wall *en masse* and charged with the bayonet upon the rebel fugitives, headed by Color-Sergeant John M. Dunn with the national flag. A hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which numberless instances of gallantry occurred, and hundreds of prisoners were sent to the rear.

It is simply impossible to conceive of a degree of bravery or efficiency on the part of soldiers more exalted than that shown by the entire brigade in meeting and overthrowing this most desperate assault of the enemy, who manifested a courage and skill no less admirable. Not a straggler nor a skulker could be seen; every man was in the ranks, and, when the masses of the enemy had crossed the fence on the Emmitsburg road, although ordered to crouch close behind the low stone wall, most of the men stood upright, as unsheltered as the enemy, and fired with regularity and deadly precision.

The enemy's skirmishers occupied a house and barn near the skirmish-line, about four hundred yards in front of our position, and on the second day, the fire from these buildings becoming quite annoying, General Hays directed Colonel Smyth to send a force and drive them out, which was done, and nearly a hundred rebels captured; but later in the day the enemy returned, announcing the fact by a destructive fusilade from their shelter. General Hays then ordered that the buildings should be retaken and held, and for this duty the First Delaware and four com-





panies of the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers were selected. Under a steady fire of sharpshooters they charged on the run, and captured another detachment of the enemy. The four companies of the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers, under the command of Captain Richard Thompson, were left to hold the house, but were forced to retire on the approach of a strong body of the enemy, who again took possession of the stronghold. The Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers was now ordered to dislodge the enemy and keep them out, which service they bravely executed.

While this detachment was charging on the buildings, and the fire from the enemy's line was exceedingly hot, General Hays called for a volunteer to carry an order to the commanding officer to burn the house and out-buildings. Captain J. Parke Postles, of the First Delaware, acting assistant inspector-general of the brigade, sprang on his horse, saying, "I will go, general!" and, bending forward, he rode in the face of that storm of lead, delivered the order, and, to the astonishment of all, returned unhurt.

There was little firing on the morning of the 4th, and plain indications were observed that the enemy was retreating. Our cavalry went in pursuit of them, while we spent the day in making field reports and inspections, burying the dead, bringing in the wounded, and collecting prisoners and arms.

The following is the report of Colonel Smyth of the part taken in the battle by the brigade :



HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION, SECOND ARMY CORPS,

July 17, 1863.

CAPTAIN G. P. CORTS, A.A.G.

CAPTAIN,—I have the honor to make the following report of the part taken in the action at Gettysburg, Pa., by this brigade from the 1st to the 4th of July, 1863.

Being in camp at Uniontown, Md., on the morning of July 1, 1863, I received an order to march at 6.30 A.M. Marched to Taneytown and halted until 12 M., when the command resumed the march towards Gettysburg, and encamped about three miles from the town. At 4 A.M. on the 2d the brigade was placed in position on the hill overlooking the town, my command being placed on the left of the First Brigade. This position we occupied until the termination of the action on the night of the 3d. Skirmishing commenced briskly along our front at 8 A.M. The First Delaware Volunteers was sent out as skirmishers, and the One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers was assigned to the support of Woodruff's Battery. At 2 P.M. the enemy opened upon us with a severe fire of artillery, accompanied by an advance of infantry, which drove in our skirmishers. They were, however, immediately replaced, and the enemy's skirmishers retired to their original position, except that a force of them retained possession of a large barn about four hundred yards in front of our line. Four companies of the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers were sent to retake the barn and to dislodge the enemy's sharpshooters, which they succeeded in doing, capturing ninety-two prisoners, including seven commissioned officers. The enemy advanced, in turn, and reoccupied the barn. The First Delaware Volunteers and four more companies of the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers, under the command of Captain Thompson, Twelfth New Jersey, were subsequently sent to again take possession of the barn, which they did, having taken ten prisoners, one of whom was a major. Observing that the enemy was moving in force along a ravine towards the barn, Captain Thompson thought proper to retire. Firing ceased about 9 P.M., the remainder of the night being quiet. Artillery-firing from both sides began at 4 A.M. on the morning of the 3d, the heaviest firing being on our right. Skirmishing with artillery and infantry continued all along the line until 10.30 A.M., when a lull ensued which lasted up to 2 P.M. The barn and house near it being reoccupied by the enemy's sharpshooters, an order was received from General Hays, commanding the division, to take



the house and barn at all hazards, and hold it. The Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers was detailed on this service, which it gallantly performed. Soon after an order came from General Hays to burn the house and barn, and they were accordingly fired. At 2 P.M. a most terrific cannonading was opened upon our front by the simultaneous discharge of a whole battery. This fire from an extended line of the enemy's batteries concentrated on the small space occupied by our troops, and continued without intermission until nearly 5 P.M. The officers and men behaved with the greatest coolness, and endured this terrible fire with much fortitude. As the fire from the enemy's batteries slackened their infantry moved upon our position, their line preceded by skirmishers. My men were directed to reserve their fire until the foe was within fifty yards, when, so effective and incessant was the fire delivered from my line, that the advancing enemy was staggered, thrown into confusion, and finally fled from the field, throwing away their arms in their flight. Many threw themselves on the ground to escape our destructive fire, and raised their hands in token of surrender. The number of prisoners captured by this brigade is estimated at from twelve to fifteen hundred, and the number of small-arms collected by them is estimated at two thousand. This command captured nine battle-flags, as follows, viz.: the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, four; First Delaware Volunteers, three; and the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers, two. The One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers rendered very efficient service while supporting Woodruff's Battery, and lost heavily, the casualties being one-half of the regiment in action. The men assisted in manœuvring the guns when so many of the horses were killed that the guns, limbers, and caissons could with difficulty be moved.

During the cannonading, having received a wound, I was obliged to quit the field, and surrendered the command to Lieutenant-Colonel F. E. Pierce, One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers.

The casualties in my command were as follows, viz.: On the brigade staff, two commissioned officers wounded. First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers, two commissioned officers killed, two wounded, and one missing; seven enlisted men killed, forty-one wounded, and ten missing. One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers, three commissioned officers killed and ten wounded, and thirteen enlisted men killed and seventy-six wounded. Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, ten commissioned officers wounded, and ten enlisted men killed, forty-two wounded, and four missing. Twelfth New





Jersey Volunteers, two commissioned officers killed, four wounded, and twenty-one enlisted men killed, seventy-five wounded, and eleven missing. Battalion, Tenth New York Volunteers, two enlisted men killed and four wounded. Total, seven officers killed, twenty-eight wounded, and one missing; fifty-three enlisted men killed, two hundred and thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-five missing. Aggregate, three hundred and fifty-two.

I desire to call the attention of the general commanding to the bravery, self-possession, and energy of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis E. Pierce, commanding the One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers, who throughout the heaviest of the fire showed the greatest unconcern, passing along his line and encouraging his men. Major John T. Hill, commanding the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers, who directed his men to retain their fire during the charge of the enemy until they were within twenty yards, when at his command so tremendous a fire of buck and ball was poured into their ranks as to render it impossible that one of them could reach the breastwork. Major Theodore G. Ellis, commanding the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, who led the last attack on the house and barn occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters in a very spirited manner, completely routing them. Lieutenant William Smith, who commanded the First Delaware Volunteers during the attack upon our front. He was a brave and efficient officer, and was instantly killed, with one of the enemy's captured flags in his hand.

I would also particularly mention the able and efficient services of the gentlemen composing my staff: Lieutenant William P. Seville, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain James Parke Postles, Acting Assistant Inspector-General; Lieutenant Charles S. Schaeffer, Aide-de-Camp, who was wounded; and Lieutenant Theron E. Parsons, Aide-de-Camp. These officers are deserving of much credit for their conduct during the whole action. Lieutenant W. P. Seville and Captain J. P. Postles I wish especially to recommend to your notice as really meritorious officers.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS A. SMYTH,

*Colonel First Delaware Volunteers, Commanding Brigade.*

Owing to the fact that the officers in command of the regiment at Gettysburg were so frequently changed by the



casualties of the action, no official report from the regiment was made before its discharge from the service; but when Colonel Batchelder was appointed by the War Department to prepare an official history of this celebrated battle, he called on Lieutenant (then Major) Dent for a report, and the following was submitted, viz.:

—————, 1863.

SIR,—I have the honor to submit the following as the report of the part taken by the First Regiment, Delaware Infantry, at the battle of Gettysburg:

On the evening of July 1st the regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel E. P. Harris, bivouacked to the right of the Taneytown road, within three miles of Gettysburg.

Early on the morning of July 2d the line of march was resumed. We arrived on the field about 4 A.M., when we were massed in column behind Woodruff's Battery, in which position we lay for about an hour. We then moved a short distance to the left, when we were deployed as skirmishers, some five hundred yards in front of the main line, where we remained actively engaged during the entire day.

About 4 P.M., the ammunition of the men being exhausted, Lieutenant-Colonel Harris withdrew the right wing of the regiment from the skirmish-line, for which he was placed under arrest by General Hancock. The command then devolved on Captain Thomas B. Hizar, of Company I. We were then assigned position in the line of battle behind a fallen stone wall, to the left of Woodruff's and right of Arnold's batteries. About dark the left wing of the regiment was driven in off the skirmish-line. Captain Hizar, commanding the regiment, was about this time wounded. He remained in command until 11 P.M., when he retired. The command then devolved on Lieutenant William Smith, Company A.

During the day the regiment lost in commissioned officers one killed (Captain M. W. B. Ellegood), three wounded, and one taken prisoner; four enlisted men killed, thirteen wounded, and ten prisoners.

During the night of the 2d and the day of the 3d the regiment remained in the same position, and it was there it received the united attack of Pickett's and Pender's columns. These columns overlapped in our immediate front, and made the pressure on our line very heavy, the Pickett column moving





on us in an oblique direction from the left, the Pender column moving on us in an oblique direction from the right, both columns converging in our immediate front.

The regiment, however, with iron will, stubbornly maintained its position and repulsed the combined attack. As soon as the charge of the enemy was broken the regiment sprang over the wall and gave them a countercharge, capturing many prisoners and five battle-flags. It was in this charge that Lieutenant William Smith, commanding the regiment, fell, and when picked up, his sword was found in one hand and a captured rebel flag in the other.

The command then devolved upon John T. Dent, the first lieutenant of Company G. Late in the afternoon of the third day the regiment was ordered to charge on the ruins of the burnt barn in our front, and dislodged a small body of the enemy who were occupying the same, and annoying our relief-parties engaged in bringing in and relieving the wounded. This object accomplished, the command returned to the main line, where they remained during the night.

On the morning of the 4th Lieutenant-Colonel Harris was restored to the command. Special mention should be made of Captain M. W. B. Ellegood, Company E, who fell on the skirmish-line, and Lieutenant William Smith, who commanded the regiment during the charge, and fell mortally wounded with a captured flag in his hand, and of First Lieutenant Andrew Wall, who, though not on duty, by his coolness and presence gave encouragement to the men. Also of Color-Sergeant John M. Dunn, who, colors in hand, led the regiment across the stone wall in its countercharge; and of Color-Sergeant Thomas Seymour, who was cut in two by a shell; and Privates William Williams, of Company A; B. McCarren, of Company C; and J. B. Mayberry, of Company F, who each captured flags.

During the two days' fight the regiment lost, commissioned officers, two killed, four wounded, and one taken prisoner; enlisted men, ten killed, forty-one wounded, and ten taken prisoners; total, twelve killed, forty-five wounded, and eleven prisoners.

The enemy's losses in our front were very severe. The ground was literally black with killed and wounded.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN T. DENT,

*Late Major First Delaware Volunteer Infantry, and Lieutenant Company G, Commanding Regiment at battle of Gettysburg.*



The official report of Colonel Smyth gives the number of enlisted men killed at Gettysburg as seven, but the muster-out rolls show ten killed, and that three others died of wounds shortly after the action, as follows: Corporal Adam Huhn and Private William Williams, of Company A; Sergeant Thomas Seymour and Private James Simpson, of Company B; Private James Dougherty, of Company C; Privates William D. Dorsey and John Shulty, of Company D; Private Thomas P. Carey, of Company E; Corporal John Stein, of Company H; and Private John S. Black, of Company K. Those who died afterwards from the effects of wounds were Sergeants Benjamin B. Sempler and David M. Sempler, of Company E, and Sergeant Wellington G. Lloyd, of Company G.

#### THE PURSUIT TO THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

Our corps did not start in pursuit of the flying foe until four o'clock on the 5th, and then it marched but a short distance, to Two Taverns, where it encamped. Learning that the heavy rains that followed the battle had so swollen the Potomac that the rebel pontoon bridge had been swept away and that the river was too high to ford, the ardor of the pursuit was abated in some degree; at all events, the Second Corps remained in camp all day on the 6th. The command marched at 5 A.M. on the 7th, and halted at Taneytown for a fresh supply of rations. Next day the route was again taken, and in that and the two days following we passed through Frederick, Bruceville, Jefferson, Burketsville, Rohrersville, and Keedysville, and encamped about three miles from the field of Antietam, where,



as an attack from the enemy was apprehended, we took up a defensive position. On the 11th our route lay through Tilghmanton to Jones' Creek, where we again made preparations to receive an attack. During the afternoon heavy skirmishing occurred on our left, and after dark the command moved a mile farther to the front, and took position in line of battle at two o'clock on the morning of the 12th. Then followed what seemed to be undecided movements, marching to and fro in the drenching rain until night, when we began vigorously to work at throwing up intrenchments, at which labor the entire night was spent, only to abandon them in the morning and move nearer to the enemy's lines, where our brigade was held in reserve throughout the 13th.

About ten o'clock at night an order was received directing a general charge on the rebel works at daylight in the morning, in which no other weapon was to be used than the bayonet; the men being required to take out of their cartridge-boxes all the ammunition and turn it in. This order was countermanded just before daylight, in all respects excepting that in regard to marching. The troops moved forward in line of battle, passed through the deserted earth-works of the confederates and continued to Falling Waters, where we went into camp, possessed of the unquestionable fact that the rebel army had just completed a successful crossing of the river, with the comparatively trifling loss of about two thousand prisoners.

The army marched early on the morning of the 15th, passed through Downsville, Fairplay, Bakersville, Sharpsburg, Harper's Ferry, Sandy Hook, and encamped near





Maryland Heights, where the 17th was spent in drawing supplies and making out returns and muster-rolls. The Potomac was again crossed on the 18th, and the column halted for the night at Hillsboro'. Thus the army followed Lee, passing through Woodbury, Bloomfield, Upperville, Ashby's Gap, and reaching Manassas Gap on the 23d.

While marching up and down these mountain roads on the 23d and 24th, endeavoring to get a chance to catch the enemy in flank through one of the gaps, the suffering of the men can scarcely be depicted. During these two days the First Delaware marched altogether as skirmishers or flankers. The roads were rough and rocky, the streams to be forded were numerous, much of the ground passed over was wet and boggy, the rations were exhausted, and everybody was out of humor and hungry. At this time an order was published cautioning the troops to economize their rations, which produced no little grumbling and profanity, since they had no rations to be economical with. In the evening a facetious member of the First came to the colonel and asked permission for himself and five comrades to make a short circuit in the neighborhood for the purpose of economizing their rations.

The line of march was continued through Springfield, Rectortown, White Plains, and the column arrived at Warrenton Junction on the 26th, where a halt of several days was made to issue rations and send details north for conscripts.

On the 27th of July an order was received to consolidate the regiment into a battalion of five companies, and to muster out the colonel, major, five captains, and ten lieu-



tenants, together with all surplus non-commissioned officers and musicians; but when it was shown to the commander-in-chief by the division and corps commanders what injustice this would be to several excellent and valuable officers, and that they would rather have the regiment filled up than reduced, the order was temporarily countermanded. At this time Colonel Smyth was recommended very warmly for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and Adjutant Seville for appointment as captain and assistant adjutant-general. Major Woodall was assigned to command the Thirty-ninth New York Volunteers (which was attached to the Third Brigade) on the 30th of July, but returned to the regiment a few weeks afterwards.

August 1st the division marched through Morrisville to Elktown, and the Third Brigade kept on to Bristersburg, and there encamped, furnishing a picket-line from that town to Cedar Run. It became evident that a prolonged stay was intended at this place, for orders were given to permit the troops to make themselves as comfortable as possible, and a detail of three officers and six men was sent to Smyrna, Del., for drafted men to fill the depleted ranks of the regiment. The brigade remained in camp here until September 12th, when marching orders were received, and the command proceeded through Rappahannock Station, Culpeper Court-House, and on to Cedar Mountain; and on the 18th, to the Rapidan River, where once more our picket-line confronted that of the enemy posted on the other side. Here the brigade was encamped, keeping watch of the enemy until the 4th of October. But few changes had taken place among the officers of the regiment since July.





Second Lieutenant George T. Price, of Company A, was advanced to first lieutenant on July 3d; on the 18th of July First Lieutenant Andrew Walls was discharged, and on the 31st, Captain Allen Shortledge, of Company G, was transferred to the Invalid Corps, and First Lieutenant John T. Dent was promoted to captain. Second Lieutenant Benjamin Y. Draper, of Company D, was transferred to Company H, as first lieutenant, August 8th, and September 13th, First Lieutenant Charles B. Tanner resigned. On the 21st, Adjutant William P. Seville was promoted to captain of Company E, and First Lieutenant Charles S. Schaeffer, of Company I, was appointed adjutant. Second Lieutenant John Hart, of Company F, was dismissed on the 22d, Second Lieutenant James D. Simpson, of Company D, was advanced to first lieutenant on the 23d, and Sergeant Matthew W. Macklem, of Company B, was promoted to second lieutenant, and again, on the 28th, to first lieutenant.

The brigade broke camp at 7 A.M. on the 4th of October, and marched beyond Culpeper, and on the 10th orders for marching were received, accompanied by signs of either an extended march or a battle. It was soon known that the rebels had set out again, bent on northern invasion, and were endeavoring to gain as much distance in advance of us as they had in June; but on this occasion they failed, for their advance had not taken the route more than six hours before our army was in pursuit, and the entire movement became a foot-race for possession of the strong battle heights along Bull Run, and, as usual, the Second Corps had the post of honor as rear-guard of the army.

The command started on the 10th, and marched but a



few miles, and next day it crossed the Rappahannock and pressed forward to Bealton Station. On the 12th we suddenly turned backward and recrossed the river, where we stood in order of battle all day, as the rebels had appeared on our rear in strong force, and had fought a desperate battle with General Kilpatrick's cavalry. At midnight, instead of the sleep and rest we so much needed, we marched again, once more crossing the Rappahannock, moving northward, and skirmished with the enemy until dark.

#### THE BATTLE OF BRISTOE STATION.

The column moved at the break of dawn, and immediately ran against the enemy at Auburn, where we had a sharp skirmish for about two hours, when the rebels concluded to take another road. The march was resumed, but did not continue long, for at Bristoe Station the column was attacked on the left flank by the enemy, who was posted in force on a hill overlooking the railroad. The column formed line of battle, facing the left, and took possession of the railroad embankment. Our brigade advanced through a thick wood toward the enemy's position, and was directed to halt in the wood until the line in an open field on our left could connect with us. While waiting here for the word to advance, Captain William F. Smith, of Company C, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Davis, of the Twelfth New Jersey, asked and received permission to take parts of the two regiments and charge upon a battery the enemy had posted on the hill to the right near the edge of the wood. They made the attack in fine style, simultaneously with a force from the First Di-



vision, and captured the battery. This detachment joined the command just in time to move forward. The action soon grew quite hot with musketry-fire, but the enemy steadily and slowly fell back, and finally retreated in haste and confusion, and our forces took possession of their camp-ground, and captured one hundred and fifty prisoners of Hill's corps.

The following is Colonel Smyth's report of this action :

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION, SECOND A. C.,

October 17, 1863.

CAPTAIN GEORGE P. CORTS,

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL THIRD DIVISION.

CAPTAIN,—I have the honor to make the following report of the part taken by this brigade in the actions of the 14th of October, at Turkey Creek and Bristoe Station :

The command marched from camp on the Warrenton road at daylight on the morning of the 14th of October. While crossing Turkey Creek the enemy opened on the column with artillery. An order was received from Brigadier-General Hays, commanding the division, to deploy skirmishers on the right and left flanks of the column. I accordingly deployed five companies of the First Delaware Volunteers, under the command of Major Woodall, and the One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers, under the command of Colonel Powers,—the First Delaware on the left and the One Hundred and Eighth New York on the right. The Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers was formed in line of battle with the right resting on the road ; and, as the enemy commenced a fire of musketry farther to the left, the First Delaware skirmishers were extended by the left flank, and the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers was formed in line of battle facing to the left, with the right resting on the left of the Fourteenth Connecticut. Receiving an order from General Hays to send a regiment to the support of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York Volunteers, I sent the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers for this service. The order was then given by General Hays to advance by a flank on the road, and throw flankers out on the right. The skirmishers of the First Delaware





were withdrawn from the left and deployed as flankers on the right. The column then moved on.

About 3 P.M., as the command was marching by a flank from a wood toward the railroad, near Bristoe Station, the enemy suddenly attacked the column with artillery. General Hays ordered me to form line of battle to the left and advance. As the brigade debouched from the wood I marched it by the left flank. Owing to the right of the brigade marching in line of battle while the left was obliged to move forward into line as it came out of the wood, some little disorder was occasioned, which was, however, soon rectified, and the brigade was formed into line along the railroad. A column of the enemy appeared on a hill in our front and a little to our right, and opened a fire of musketry. An order was received from General Hays to move forward through the wood and charge that column of the enemy on their right flank. I ordered my command to fix bayonets and advance through the wood. The line was formed in the wood, the First Delaware on the right, and the following regiments in succession to the left: Fourteenth Connecticut, Twelfth New Jersey, and One Hundred and Eighth New York. A regiment of the Second Division, the Seventh Michigan, came to the front at this point. They had been deployed as flankers. As there was an interval between the Twelfth New Jersey and One Hundred and Eighth New York, I placed the Seventh Michigan there to complete the connection, thinking that more service could be obtained by forming it in the line here than by permitting it, in the emergency, to fall back to seek its brigade. This regiment was commanded by Major S. W. Curtis, who seemed anxious to perform his share in the action wherever circumstances might place him. His regiment fought well. Colonel C. J. Powers, One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers, reported a force of the enemy moving toward our left, and several musket-shots were fired into the One Hundred and Eighth New York, wounding one or two men. I reported this to General Hays, who directed me to make such disposition as would meet the enemy. I then ordered the One Hundred and Eighth New York, Seventh Michigan, and two companies of the Twelfth New Jersey to file to the left. Finding that skirmishers from the First Division were deployed in our front, I cautioned the command against firing unless they were sure they saw the enemy. About this time the skirmishers of the Third Brigade were advancing to capture one of the enemy's batteries, and in order to prevent the enemy in our front from moving



to the rescue of the battery, my line was advanced to the open space on the side of the wood toward the enemy. A rebel line then made its appearance about four hundred yards from my line, their line of battle running diagonally to mine, their right being closer to us than their left, at which my command opened a severe fire of musketry upon them, and arrested their progress. Receiving an order from General Hays to halt my command and hold the position, I did so. Soon afterwards I received an order from General Hays to fall back and take position along the railroad. This was accordingly executed, the brigade retiring to its new position in good order. About dark the enemy opened upon us with a battery, which did but little injury, however, before it was silenced.

About 8 P.M. an order was received to prepare to resume the march, following the Third Brigade. At 10.30 the march commenced quietly and in perfect order, and the command continued to Bull Run, where it bivouacked at 3 A.M. on the morning of the 15th.

One hundred and thirty-five men of different regiments of the Second Division, Third Corps, who had straggled from their commands, were assembled at Turkey Creek, and assigned temporarily to this brigade. I attached them to the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers, and they were joined to several companies. Many of these men again dropped out from the regiment when going into action, but the majority of them remained and fought bravely. Of these, one man was killed and three wounded, but, owing to the activity of the day, no opportunity offered to get their names, company, or regiment.

In concluding my report I deem it but justice to mention to the general commanding the division the efficient services and gallant conduct of Colonel Charles J. Powers, commanding the One Hundred and Eighth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Davis, commanding the Twelfth New Jersey, Colonel Theodore G. Ellis, commanding the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, and Major Daniel Woodall, of the First Delaware. Each of these officers are entitled to much credit for the promptness with which they executed my orders, and the energy and zeal with which they labored to secure success.

Considering the suddenness of the attack, the difficulties under which the command was formed, the density of the wood through which it moved, and remembering that a large portion of it were untried soldiers, I think the troops behaved very well indeed.





I would also respectfully recommend to your notice the gentlemen of my staff, Captain William P. Seville, A.A.A.G., Captain John L. Sparks, A.A.I.G., Lieutenant Theron E. Parsons, A.D.C., and Lieutenant Edward M. Dubois, A.D.C. Their conduct was cool and self-possessed and their services meritorious.

I have the honor to forward herewith a nominal list of the killed, wounded, and missing of my brigade.

I am, captain, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS A. SMYTH,

*Colonel First Delaware Volunteers, Commanding Brigade.*

The only member of the regiment killed in this action was Corporal William Darlington, of Company F.

About 9 P.M. the command again took the road in a steady rain, and marched rapidly, notwithstanding the depth and tenacity of the mud, reaching the hills on Bull Run before daylight. Fortunately, the Army of the Potomac had out-marched Lee's veterans and won the race. Our lines were advantageously posted in the vicinity of the old battle-grounds, and after two or three spirited attacks on the 15th, and several efforts to out-manceuvre us on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, the rebels became discouraged and commenced their retreat on the 19th, followed closely by the Federal army, the Second Corps in advance, and our brigade, throughout the whole day's march, nearly a mile in advance of the corps.

#### OPERATIONS ON MINE RUN AND RE-ENLISTMENT.

The brigade arrived at Warrenton on the 23d of October, and laid out a formal camp, everything indicating that a prolonged stay was intended at this place, and these indica-



tions were verified by the army lying at rest for two weeks. Marching orders overtook us, however, on the 6th of November, and next morning the command set out, our brigade again leading the corps. The enemy was found at Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock, and a brisk engagement occurred, in which the rebels seem to have been taken by surprise, for they were speedily routed and about four hundred prisoners of North Carolina troops were captured. The river was crossed on the 8th, and the line of march pursued to Mountain Creek, where the corps went into camp on the 10th, and continued there until the 26th. On that day the command once more started southward, crossed the Rapidan River at Germania Ford, and encountered the enemy next day at Robinson's Tavern, where we formed line of battle; the First Delaware were thrown forward as skirmishers, and were constantly engaged with the enemy's line until night. Before morning the rebels had fallen back, and we started in hot pursuit, the First Delaware again in advance as skirmishers. This was an extremely fatiguing march to our regiment, passing for several miles in an extended line of battle, over all kinds of obstacles, always on the very heels of the retreating foe, and when, at length, the rebel position was reached late in the afternoon, the men were relieved from their exhausting and perilous duty by the One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers. But little time was allowed them for rest; before daylight on the 29th the corps set out, making a wide detour through woods and valleys, until late in the afternoon we reached New Verdiersville, on the extreme right of the rebel line. It was intended that the Second Corps should reach the right and rear of the enemy on



Mine Run about noon and attack, in co-operation with the rest of the army, which was to charge in front; but the muddy wood-roads over which the command had to pass so delayed our progress that our destination was not attained until it was too late to attack. Orders were received that the works of the enemy should be stormed at half-past four o'clock next morning, and that no fires should be made. This latter portion of the order was very severe on the men, as the night was so cold that ice was formed.

At early daylight line of battle was formed in silence at the edge of the narrow skirt of wood which separated us from the rebel line, and the troops were kept in line in readiness for the word to move forward. Bayonets were fixed, knapsacks were unslung and stacked in piles by companies. Nearly every man of the First Delaware had a piece of paper pinned on his breast, containing his name, company, and regiment, in order that his body might be known in case of his death. This precaution was adopted without orders by the men themselves, who well knew the unusually perilous nature of the charge then about to be made. There was much delay about making this assault. The enemy had discovered our presence early the previous night, and had been working with desperate energy all night long, building breastworks and slashing the timber to construct abatis. At daylight their works were reconnoitred, and found to be too strong to attack with any hope of success. Finally the charge was abandoned, and the troops withdrawn to the ground which they occupied the preceding night. During the day the rebels made a movement looking to an attack on the rear of our





position, whereupon the First Delaware was deployed in the rear as skirmishers.

On the evening of the 2d of December the command received orders to march at once, leaving the camp-fires burning, and the First Delaware Regiment to hold the skirmish-line, and follow the column about midnight, acting as rear-guard. Colonel Smyth remained with the regiment and took charge of withdrawing the skirmish-line in the darkness, and in the face of a wary and watchful foe, which duty was successfully accomplished, the regiment overtaking the brigade just before sunrise.

Corporal Evan P. Grubb, of Company H, behaved in a very gallant manner in the dangerous duty of maintaining and withdrawing at the proper time the strong picket-line, after the troops had silently departed from the enemy's front, and was warmly commended by Colonel Smyth.

The army returned to its former camp near Mountain Creek, and on the 4th it took up a line of occupation, which changed the position of our brigade to Stevensburg, where we settled down into winter quarters, and a city of huts and adobe houses sprang into existence within the next fortnight.

December 18th two hundred and ten officers and men of the regiment were discharged, and remustered as veterans for three years or during the war. Some weeks previously, before the Mine Run campaign, the government had published to the army an offer to grant all veterans whose term of service had not expired a bounty of three hundred dollars and thirty days' leave of absence if they would volunteer for another term of three years. The First Delaware



Regiment was the first organization in the Army of the Potomac to embrace this offer, and on the 29th of December, that part of the regiment which had re-enlisted started home, with instructions to report to the Governor of Delaware. Those of the regiment who declined to re-enlist marched on the same day with the brigade to Stony Mountain, where it occupied an isolated position, charged with the duty of guarding Morton's Ford.

The regiment arrived in Wilmington, January 1, 1864, and was most enthusiastically received by the warm-hearted and patriotic citizens; marched through the city amid the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and through streets densely thronged, to the town-hall, where an elegant and bountiful dinner was spread for them. A splendid set of colors was presented to the regiment on this occasion, which, after passing through the storms of many fierce and bloody battles, was brought back with the survivors of the regiment, bearing the stains and rents of the terrible struggles through which it had passed, and is now consigned to the care of the State Historical Society, in whose custody it will rest in peace until crumbled to dust by the destroying hand of time.

At the close of the public dinner and reception the arms and equipments were stored away, and the command was dismissed for the remainder of the month's furlough.

Captain William Y. Swiggett, of Company F, was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps October 12, 1863, and on the 28th Lieutenant-Colonel Edward P. Harris resigned on account of disability. On November 6th Major Daniel Woodall was promoted to lieutenant-colonel; Captain Wil-





liam F. Smith, of Company C, was promoted to major; First Lieutenant George T. Price, of Company A, was made captain of Company C; First Lieutenant Matthew W. Macklem, of Company B, was raised to captain of Company F; and Quartermaster-Sergeant Washington F. Williamson was made first lieutenant of Company A. On November 20th First Lieutenant James Lewis, of Company C, was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps.

At the expiration of the veteran furlough the officers and men reported to Colonel Smyth, at Wilmington, for duty from a week before the time fixed upon for returning to the front up to the very moment of taking the cars, and few failed to return, as several of the absentees joined the regiment after it had reached the army. The regiment went into camp on the 5th of February, and on the 9th started on its return to the field, where it arrived on the 12th, and found the brigade encamped on Stony Mountain. Our return to camp was the occasion of quite a jubilee of welcome, discipline being considerably relaxed to permit a free expression of the pleasure old comrades felt in the reunion. Not all the members of the regiment that we parted from in December were there to greet us, for there had been a sharp action with the enemy, brought on by a reconnoissance in force at Morton's Ford, February 6th, and several men of the regiment had been wounded and were sent away to hospitals.

The Second Army Corps gave a ball at Brandy Plains on the evening of the 22d, which was a grand affair, and was attended by many civil dignitaries from Washington, accompanied by their ladies, and on the following day a



grand review of the corps was held, in honor of our distinguished visitors.

With the approach of spring a perceptible increase in activity was observable among the staff departments, and the signs of the time denoted an early opening of the campaign. Portions of the army were in motion as early as the 28th, and our brigade was ordered to be in readiness for moving with three days' cooked rations.

March 26th the First and Second Brigades were consolidated; Colonel Smyth was assigned to the command of the Irish Brigade, and our brigade received for its commander Colonel Samuel S. Carroll, of the Eighth Ohio Volunteers, formerly of the regular army, a brave, genial, and able officer, and the following regiments were henceforth associated with us: Eighth Ohio, Fourth Ohio, Twentieth Massachusetts, Seventh West Virginia, and Fourteenth Indiana. April 14th the brigade was reviewed by Brigadier-General Gibbon. General Hancock reviewed the division next day, and on the 22d the corps passed in review before General Grant.

#### THE WILDERNESS AND SPOTTSYLVANIA.

At midnight on May 3d the first movement in the grand campaign began. Our brigade marched to join the division, and the column continued on its route to Ely's Ford, where we crossed the Rapidan and bivouacked at night on the battle-field of Chancellorsville.

Next morning the troops were in motion at half-past four, the Second Corps marching to Todd's Tavern, where line of battle was formed to support the cavalry, but about noon



orders were received to march with all speed back to the Plank Road, and report to General D. B. Birney. On arriving by the Brock Road, the brigade was ordered to advance on the right of the Plank Road, the left of our line on the road. The brigade advanced in the following order, running from left to right: first line, Tenth New York and Twelfth New Jersey; second line, Fourteenth Connecticut, First Delaware, and One Hundred and Eighth New York; third line, Seventh West Virginia, Fourteenth Indiana, and Eighth Ohio. The Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, a very large regiment, was ordered to report to Colonel Carroll, and was placed in the fourth line. Our lines had not moved more than fifty yards down a gentle slope towards a swamp, and through a dense thicket of scrub-oak and dwarf-pine, when the enemy, who were in position on the opposite edge of the swamp, opened upon us a terrific fire of musketry by volleys. This fire thinned our ranks very perceptibly; but we returned it with interest. No artillery or cavalry could be brought into action, owing to the closeness of the wood and thickness of the undergrowth; the only weapon used was the musket, but this was handled with deadly effect, because of the near proximity of the opposing lines. A continuous fire, varied at intervals with volleys, was kept up until sunset, when the fire from the enemy slackened. An immediate forward movement was ordered, the rebels retreating before us, and night overtook us, closing the action, and leaving us in possession of the field.

In this action Colonel Carroll was slightly wounded in the arm, but would not quit the field. That night we slept





on our arms upon the ground we held when the battle ceased.

At half-past four o'clock on the morning of May 6th we formed our line for an advance, and pushed forward over the crest of the hill, the enemy retiring. On the rise of the next hill the line was moved by the left flank across the Plank Road. While making this change of position our left was suddenly charged by an overwhelming force of the enemy, and forced back upon the centre. Here the confusion was checked, and the rebels were held at bay by continuous and desperate exertions. Our ranks were growing thin and our ammunition was almost exhausted, when, a little past nine o'clock, we were relieved by the Ninth Corps, and directed to retire to the Brock Road and remain in reserve. The brigade halted about three hundred yards from the road, stacked arms, rested, refilled cartridge-boxes and canteens, made out casualty lists, and looked after the wounded.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the troops in the front gave way, Longstreet's corps having charged the temporary breastwork which had been thrown up along the Brock Road; they were held in check for some time, but they finally succeeded in breaking our line near and on the left of the Plank Road, and capturing two or three batteries. At this moment orders were received by Colonel Carroll to charge the enemy and retake our breastworks; the men hurried into line at the command "Fall in!" and when Colonel Carroll's stentorian voice rang out, "Forward, double-quick, charge!" the brigade swept down the hill like an avalanche. A few minutes' bloody work



and the rebels were routed, pursued to the edge of the woods, and several of our guns recaptured. Thus ended the battle of the Wilderness.

The good conduct of Sergeant William Caywood, of Company A, during the engagement was generally remarked, and after his return to the regiment from absence on account of wounds received in this action, he was rewarded with well-merited promotion to a commission.

Lieutenant Charles J. Steel, of Company E, was conspicuous for bravery in the first day's struggle, and was mortally wounded. Though commissioned but a few weeks previously, he was a promising officer, and his loss was deeply felt.

The gallantry of First Lieutenant James Kettlewood, of Company C, won him the warm commendations of his superior officers; he, also, was badly wounded on the second day of the battle.

The loss of the brigade in the fighting of the 5th and 6th was seven hundred and twenty-seven, and in the First Delaware the following-named enlisted men were killed, or died subsequently of wounds then received: Killed, Sergeant John Webb, and Privates Jacob D. McKee and Robert Shaw, of Company A; Corporal Nicholas P. Howard, and Privates Enoch Chaffins and Martin Daily, of Company B; Sergeant John Carey, Company E; Corporal John Rhoads, Company F; Private Thomas Thornton, Company I; and Privates William C. Foreaker and George McColen, Company K. Died of wounds, Private Benjamin Cox, Company A; Private Joshua C. Aurtisto, Company D; Private William Weigle, Company G; Private Douglass White, Com-





pany H; and Private John Berwagner, Company I. Sixteen in all.

We set out at 6 A.M. of the 8th on the flanking movement, endeavoring to get upon the enemy's right and rear. Formed line of battle at Todd's Tavern, but shortly after noon received orders to make a forced march to Spottsylvania Court-House, where the Fifth Corps had grappled with Longstreet. We reached our destination at sunset and bivouacked for the night. Next day was spent in manœuvring for the advantage, in which our share was to march back to Todd's Tavern, then away to the right four or five miles, and at last, about four o'clock, to the Po River, where, in support of the First Division, we charged the enemy's rifle-pits, took them, and spent the night at Amity. During the afternoon our brigade was honored by the presence of Generals Grant, Meade, Hancock, and Gibbon.

From this time until the fall of Petersburg and Richmond some portions of the army were almost constantly engaged, and all were more or less under fire. On the 10th we stormed the enemy's works at Spottsylvania and were repulsed, though our line retained its position within fifty yards of the rebel intrenchments through the night, the picket-lines being so close that the men of the two armies held conversation, and sang their favorite songs for each other's entertainment.

Marching orders came on the evening of the 11th to move to the left with all possible silence, and a night march brought us at the early dawn to the Landrum House, where we quietly formed line behind a range of hills which concealed our movements from the enemy. The First



Division formed double column of battalions, and our division formed in line as support. In the gray dawn we advanced, taking the double-quick across a valley, and, with a tremendous cheer, charged the rebel works on the opposite crest; passed over their intrenchments, turning upon them their own guns, rushed directly into their camp and took them completely by surprise. Our captures included two brigadier-generals, Edward Johnson and G. H. Stewart, nearly all of an entire division, "Stonewall" Jackson's old brigade, sixteen flags, and eighteen cannons.

In this charge Sergeant David Riggs, of Company D, was color-sergeant, and just before the advance began he said, "I'll plant this on the rebel breastworks or die in the attempt." He was killed near the slope of the enemy's work, and another member of the color-guard carried the flag upon the crest.

A field-officer of one of the regiments in our (Third) brigade reported to brigade headquarters at the close of this action, that "the First Delaware captured a whole rebel regiment, colonel and all, with his sword and colors; that they had also captured a battery, but could not get the guns over the breastwork, so they cut all the horses loose, ran off all they could, and shot the rest."

Captain Matthew W. Macklem, of Company F, won much praise for his bravery and efficiency during the battles at Spottsylvania Court-House, where he received a severe wound.

On the 13th, while making a reconnoissance in force with the brigade, Colonel Carroll was badly wounded in his other arm, and was carried from the field. Before



departing for the hospital, Colonel Carroll requested that Colonel Smyth be restored to the command of the brigade, and a promise was given him that his wishes should be complied with, which was done four days afterwards. On the departure of Colonel Carroll, who was much esteemed and respected by his brigade, Colonel T. G. Ellis, of the Fourteenth Connecticut, was placed in command.

For a few days we were shifting position, at least once every day; on the 15th we were posted as a guard to the rear of the army; on the 16th we marched to the Second and Fifth Corps hospitals and brought away about six hundred wounded men. Colonel Smyth resumed command of the brigade on the 17th, and Lieutenant Benjamin Y. Draper was appointed an aide-de-camp on his staff.

The command was aroused at 10 P.M. on the night of the 18th with orders to march. The column started at midnight for the Landrum House and formed by battalions in mass, and at early daylight we deployed into line by battalions in mass to support the Corcoran Legion, which formed the first line to storm the works of the enemy. Just before sunrise the charge was made, but the rebels were wary this time and on their guard, and the attack was repulsed with serious loss. We lay under a fire of artillery and musketry until 12.35 P.M., when we withdrew beyond musket-range, reformed, and rested; but at 10 P.M. we started again, and made a night march to Anderson's Mills, about four miles to the left, where we took a position that indicated another charge. The First Delaware was sent on picket duty, but the brigade did not march until 6 P.M., at which time we received sudden orders, and were hurried off to the right to





look after Ewell's corps, which had attempted a flanking movement to our rear on the Fredericksburg pike. The Fourth Division of our corps had met Ewell, and showed such a determined spirit that the rebel commander changed his mind about marching any farther in that direction, leaving us free to return to our old camp.

#### FIGHTING OUR WAY TO PETERSBURG.

It was found that the enemy's works at Spottsylvania were too strong to allow of the possibility of bringing on an action that could be made decisive, so another flanking movement began at 11.20 A.M. on the 21st, and marching left in front, we passed Guiney's Station, Milford, through Bowling Green, crossed the river Ny, and intrenched. Next morning the First Delaware and One Hundred and Eighth New York Regiments were left to hold the line and complete the intrenchments, while the rest of the brigade pushed three miles to the front on a reconnoissance, returning to camp at night. The line of march was taken up at seven o'clock next morning, and the enemy was found posted in force in a strong position on the North Anna River. The artillery directed upon them an effective fire during the afternoon, and in the evening we made a demonstration on the bridge, at which the rebels set it afire and it was consumed from shore to shore.

At 7 A.M., May 24th, orders were received to construct a bridge, which was soon completed; the Eighth Ohio Volunteers crossed, deployed as skirmishers, and took possession of the enemy's earth-works with little opposition. The brigade then passed over and another advance was made to



find the enemy. They were encountered about a mile from the shore, and an engagement commenced which lasted until dark. During this contest regiment after regiment was sent to Colonel Smyth from other brigades, so that by nightfall Colonel Smyth was in command of an entire division. The action closed with the field in our possession, and during the night our lines were much strengthened. In the morning another forward movement was made in force, and the rebels were pushed over a mile farther, but at dark the whole command returned across the North Anna River.

The route towards Richmond was resumed at 9 A.M. on the 27th; the army crossed the Pamunkey River at noon on the 28th, and at 9.25 A.M. on the 30th we reached Topotomoy Creek, where a large force of the enemy was found in battle array. The day was spent in getting into position on our front, though there was severe fighting on our left. About sunset our First Division charged the enemy and was repulsed. We marched at midnight of June 1st a short distance to the front, to support a charge by the First Brigade, which failed, and next afternoon the march was continued to Cold Harbor, which was reached just before dark, the brigade taking its position in the general line of battle under a steady fire of small-arms.

At daylight next morning another of the famous battles of the great rebellion was fought at this place. The rebels were advantageously posted and strongly intrenched. At half-past four o'clock on the morning of the 3d of June the army moved to a general assault. Our brigade was in the first line deployed, and the Second Brigade was formed





in column of battalions about fifty yards in our rear, with instructions to charge right into the rebel works. Through a most destructive fire of artillery and musketry we reached to within seventy-five yards of the rebel fortifications, but the Second Brigade changed its direction to the left of our line and the assault failed. Our men held the position they had gained, however, and gradually intrenched themselves. At 8 P.M. the enemy opened upon us with a tremendous cannonade, followed by a vigorous sortie, which we, in turn, signally repelled, and held our position. After this one-half of the command was kept awake and under arms throughout the remainder of the night. At 10 A.M. First Lieutenant Benjamin Y. Draper, of Company H, serving as an aide to Colonel Smyth, was killed while carrying an order to the front line, and his body was brought to brigade headquarters.

The enemy made another furious attack on our front at half-past ten on the 4th, and was again terribly defeated.

In reference to the attack upon us on the evening of the 3d, General Grant sent a despatch to the War Department, saying, "About 7 P.M. yesterday, Friday, 3d of June, the enemy suddenly attacked Smyth's brigade of Gibbon's division. The battle lasted with great fury for half an hour. The attack was unwaveringly repulsed. Smyth's losses were inconsiderable."

At half-past eight o'clock on the evening of the 5th the rebels made another desperate assault on our brigade, only to meet with the same success as in the former attacks. A truce was agreed upon on the 7th to bury the dead, which lasted from 4 to 8 P.M.



The army quietly withdrew from the trenches at dark on the 12th and marched all night, crossed the Chickahominy River about noon next day, reached Charles City Court-House at night, and encamped. At noon on the 14th we arrived at the James River, and crossed to Windmill Point in steamboats. On the 15th we marched rapidly towards Petersburg, and at dark relieved a brigade of the Eighteenth Corps, which had that afternoon captured a strong line of the rebel fortifications, with seventeen guns and about seven hundred prisoners. It was two o'clock on the morning of the 16th when we got into position.

On the 17th our brigade was ordered to report to General Barlow, commanding the First Division, and took part in an assault on the enemy's line, which resulted in no other advantage than a gain of a hundred or more yards. Again, at dawn next morning, our division assailed the enemy, drove them a mile and held the ground we took. We were relieved on the 20th by the Sixth and Ninth Corps, and moved two miles farther to the left.

In the several battles fought after the struggle in the Wilderness the losses in killed among the enlisted men of the regiment were as follows: In the battles at Spottsylvania Court-House those who were killed or died of wounds were, Company B, Privates David S. Riggs, Samuel Creller, and Charles McCullen; Company E, died of wounds, Corporal Robert F. Burrows; Company F, died of wounds, Private William C. Lewis; Company I, killed, Private Edward Rogerson; Company K, killed, Sergeant James Crossley.

In the battle on the North Anna River the only man killed



was Private Jasper Calhoun, of Company A, and at Tolopomoy Creek the only one killed was Private Gustave A. Wallace, of Company E.

In the battle of Cold Harbor there were killed Sergeant William Warren, of Company A; Private Robert Thomas, of Company B; Corporal Charles P. Prettyman, of Company E; Private James Mick, of Company F; and Private Hudson Carr, of Company I. Died of wounds, Privates David Guessford, of Company F, and Samuel Alexander, of Company I.

During this time but few changes occurred among the officers. February 17th, Commissary-Sergeant James Kettlewood was promoted to be first lieutenant of Company C. March 1st, Sergeant William J. Birney, of Company F, was appointed commissary-sergeant. April 16th, Sergeant William H. Ferguson, of Company K, was promoted to second lieutenant of Company F, and on May 20th he died of wounds, and on the 21st First Lieutenant James D. Simpson, of Company D, died of wounds. June 3d, First Lieutenant Benjamin Y. Draper, of Company H, was killed.

On the morning of the 21st of June the command started again, and marched to the Jerusalem Plank Road, where we set to work building intrenchments more in accordance with the principles of military engineering than were the rude and hasty breastworks heretofore constructed without any other guiding rule than chance direction. The enemy, whose works across the narrow vale that divided them from us were of quite a substantial character, evidently had resolved that we should not effect our lodgment on the hills opposite, for, on the afternoon of the 22d, they made





a furious charge in masses on the divisions of Generals Barlow and Mott, on our immediate left, and before they could be driven out had captured many of our Second Brigade, with McKnight's battery. Three charges were made before dark to recapture the lost ground, but they all failed, though the rebels were summarily ousted next day. The First Delaware and the Third Brigade did not share in this sudden attack of the enemy, being in the second line, more retired in the wood, but they had their full share of the subsequent fighting in the attempt to recover the lost earthworks.

General Gibbon fell sick on the 24th and Colonel Smyth was assigned to command the division, which honor he enjoyed but a few days. On the 27th the division was relieved from the trenches and sent two or three miles to the rear of the army to meet an expected raid of the enemy's cavalry; they merely skirmished around us enough to find that we were ready and too strong for them. Back to the trenches again on the 29th to relieve a part of the Sixth Corps, which had gone out in support of Wilson's cavalry; they returned, however, on the 2d of July, and we were moved to the right to make room for them.

#### THE BATTLES AT DEEP BOTTOM.

We were becoming quite comfortable in our spacious trenches, or "gopher-holes," as the men termed them, after a few days' rest, although constantly under fire, when, on the 11th of July, we were astounded by an order to level our breastworks, fill the trenches, and move to the rear. We felt sure that the siege of Petersburg was about to be raised,



but we soon found that we were only to act as reserve, do picket duty, and level the fortifications built by the rebels. This duty we continued to perform until the 25th, when marching orders came, with the significant warning to provide three days' cooked rations. This we knew meant serious work. Next day, at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, the entire corps marched towards City Point, on the James River. The march continued throughout the night, and at daylight on the 27th we crossed James River in steamboats, formed line of battle, and advanced against the enemy at Deep Bottom. We charged their works, captured a battery, and drove the rebels about two miles towards Richmond. At night we intrenched and made every necessary preparation for holding the ground we had taken. On the morning of the 28th our division withdrew from the trenches, and lay in reserve until afternoon, when we were hurried away to the right to support our cavalry, which was getting badly handled by rebel infantry. We attacked the enemy, broke their line, and followed them for nearly a mile; but receiving reinforcements, the rebels made a counter-charge, drove in our skirmish-line, and pounded away at our front until dark, with but little advantage. After night we fell back to a more secure position and went to digging again. Here we waited all day on the 29th, very desirous of having a call from our Confederate friends, but not relishing our hospitable preparations to receive them, they disappointed us; so, after dark, we recrossed the river and executed another night march back to a ravine in the rear of the Ninth Corps, and at daylight witnessed the explosion of the mine, and the disastrous





failure to properly support the storming force that charged into the crater. At dark we returned to our former camp. This evening General Gibbon departed on sick-leave, and Colonel Smyth again took command of the division.

A season of rest was allowed the command, which lasted for two weeks, when, on the 12th of August, it was suddenly interrupted by orders to march immediately. At 3 P.M. the Second Corps set out once more for City Point and encamped for the night. At noon on the 13th the troops marched on board of an immense fleet of steamboats and transports with no effort at secrecy, and proceeded some distance down the river for the information of the enemy, but turned about and steamed up the river at 10 P.M. for their discomfiture.

We landed, proceeded to the Newmarket Road, and formed our line for the attack at Strawberry Plains, on Deep Bottom Run. The First Brigade led the assault; gained nothing, but lost heavily. Our attack was made to draw the enemy to our front, while the real attack was made by the Tenth Corps, which carried the enemy's first line, capturing six guns, two mortars, and many prisoners.

On the 16th the Tenth Corps made another assault, took the two remaining lines of the rebel works, but, after five successive charges by the enemy, were compelled to relinquish part of the second line. In the afternoon our brigade was sent to General Birney, to act in support of a division of colored troops. The enemy massed in front of the Tenth Corps on the morning of the 18th, and made a desperate attack to recover lost ground, but met with a terrible defeat. Brisk skirmishing was carried on along



our front all day, and at night we moved to the left into the trenches made by Mott's division, our left at the Pottery and our right resting on the Newmarket Road. This position we occupied during the next day, and at night we kept fires burning\* along a portion of the line where there were no troops to deceive the enemy.

On the night of the 20th the entire detachment returned to the trenches before Petersburg. Next day General Gibbon resumed the command, and we marched to the left of the Jerusalem Plank Road, in support of the Fifth Corps, which had been attacked by the enemy. The battle resulted in a decided repulse for the assailants, and we were held in reserve.

We were marched out again on the 23d, and moved southward on the road to Ream's Station, on the Weldon Railroad, and next day took position at the station, where the First Division went to work tearing up the track. About noon the enemy advanced upon us in heavy force, drove in our skirmishers, made three furious charges on the First Division, the last of which broke our line. Our division was hurried to the support of the First, when the rebels assaulted the line we had just left, and which was held by only a skirmish-line and Gregg's cavalry. These were forced to give way, and our division was sent back on the run to meet this charge of the enemy. We succeeded in arresting the progress of the rebels, and held the line intact; but at this time the rebels opened upon our contracted position (which was something in the form of an irregular letter U) a most destructive fire of artillery and musketry, which lasted for over an hour, and from which



the troops were ordered to take such shelter as they could. This, however, was very inadequate, for the long sides of our imperfectly-intrenched position were not more than five hundred yards apart, so that the reverse, or inner side, of each line was exposed to this terrible tornado of missiles. The line was held, nevertheless, excepting a portion of about two hundred yards on the right, which was retained by the enemy. After dark our forces were withdrawn into a small, thick wood at the centre of our position and massed. Before midnight the corps returned to Petersburg, the enemy retiring at the same time and in the same direction.

But one member of the regiment was killed at Ream's Station,—Private Nathan Rash, of Company K. Two others died of wounds received there, however,—Corporal James McIntyre, of Company G, and Private Henry J. Parvis, of Company D. Sergeant John M. Meacham, of Company G, died of wounds received at Deep Bottom on August 15th.

In June, July, and August a few changes took place among the officers. On June 12th Sergeant Theodore Palmatary, of Company F, was made first lieutenant of Company B; on the 18th, Captain J. Parke Postles, of Company A, resigned; on the 27th, Adjutant Charles S. Schaeffer resigned on account of disability; and on the 30th, Second Lieutenant Allen Tatem, of Company H, was discharged. Captain Thomas B. Hizar, of Company I, was appointed on staff duty July 26th, and his brother, Aquila M. Hizar, first lieutenant of Company K, was promoted to captain of Company I, and Commissary-Sergeant William





J. Birney was made first lieutenant of Company D. On August 22d First Lieutenant Theodore Palmatary, of Company B, was appointed adjutant; on the 23d, Sergeant-Major John W. Barney was appointed second lieutenant of Company B; on the 24th, Sergeant Evan P. Grubb, of Company H, was made sergeant-major; and on the 30th, Assistant Surgeon Frederick J. Owens resigned because of disability.

#### COLONEL SMYTH'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

August 29th, Colonel Smyth rendered his official report of the operations of the Third Brigade, which is as follows :

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE, SECOND DIVISION, SECOND CORPS.

IN THE FIELD, August 29, 1864.

CAPTAIN A. H. EMBLER, A.A.A.G.

CAPTAIN,—I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Third Brigade, Second Division, Second Corps, from May 17, 1864, the date upon which I assumed command, to July 30, 1864, divided into four epochs, pursuant to Special Order No. 209, Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac :

*First.*—I assumed command of this brigade by order of Brigadier-General Gibbon, May 17, 1864, the army then being in the vicinity of Spottsylvania Court-House. About 8.30 P.M. I was ordered to mass the brigade in front of the Landrum House, and near the vacated line of the enemy's intrenchments, before daylight, which was accomplished, the brigade being in column of battalions between the Landrum House and the road. Subsequently it was deployed into line by battalions in mass, and I was ordered by Brigadier-General Gibbon to move forward in support of the Corcoran Legion.

At daylight the Legion moved forward, and I followed at a short supporting distance. The first line was repulsed, and my brigade, taking position in a ravine, covered their retreat. I at once deployed a line of skirmishers, and held this position until 12.35 P.M., when, in obedience to orders from General



Gibbon, I withdrew to the second line of intrenchments, where my command formed line of battle and rested. At 10 P.M. the brigade moved to Anderson's Mills, where it took position. On the morning of May 19th the command went into camp, the First Delaware Volunteers being detailed for picket. At 6 P.M. an order was received for the brigade to march at once. The brigade moved quickly to the Fredericksburg Road. The order was soon countermanded, and the command returned to camp at Anderson's Mills.

*Second.*—May 20th I received an order to move with my command at 11 P.M. I moved at 11.20 P.M., taking the road towards Mattaponi Church, continuing the marching May 21st, passing Grimes' Station, passing through Millford and Bowling Green, etc., crossing the Ny River, where the command went into position and threw up intrenchments, the Eighth Ohio Volunteers being detailed for picket.

May 22d I received orders from General Gibbon to take my brigade and make a reconnoissance to develop the strength and position of the enemy. The regiments composing the force were the Fourteenth Connecticut, Seventh Virginia, Fourteenth Indiana, Tenth New York, Twelfth New Jersey, and Fourth Ohio Volunteers. The First Delaware and One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers were employed in erecting earth-works. I deployed the Fourteenth Indiana and Fourth Ohio Volunteers as skirmishers. One lieutenant and twenty men of the Tenth New York Volunteers were placed on the right and rear of the skirmish-line to protect that flank, and two companies of the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers were similarly placed to protect the left flank.

Colonel T. G. Ellis, Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter, Fourth Ohio Volunteers, were assigned respectively to the command of the left and right wings of the skirmish-line. Two companies of the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers were sent to reconnoitre the Hanover Junction Road. The Twelfth New Jersey and Tenth New York Volunteers were placed in support of artillery near the cross-roads, and the Seventh Virginia stationed near the cross-roads. The skirmish-line was then pushed forward about two miles, finding nothing but cavalry or mounted infantry to oppose them.

About 3 P.M. I received orders from General Gibbon to halt, and I was subsequently ordered to assemble my command and return to camp. On





May 23d the command marched, at 7 A.M., to the North Anna River, where the enemy was discovered to be posted in force. At noon my brigade was massed behind a ridge of hills. At 4 P.M. the Fourth Ohio Volunteers, was deployed as skirmishers, and moved to the river-bank, where it became engaged at once with the enemy on the opposite shore. It was relieved at dark by the Seventh Virginia Volunteers. At 7 P.M. I was ordered by General Gibbon to make a demonstration against the railroad bridge across the river. I moved the Eighth Ohio and Fourteenth Indiana Volunteers to the bridge, where they opened fire on the enemy's skirmishers. During the night my brigade intrenched itself.

Shortly after midnight the enemy succeeded in burning the bridge. At 7 A.M., May 24th, I received an order from General Gibbon to construct a rough bridge and cross a regiment as skirmishers. About 10.15 A.M. the bridge was completed, and the Eighth Ohio Volunteers moved to the opposite side, deployed and advanced to the enemy's earth-works, which they occupied, the enemy having fallen back. The remainder of the brigade was then crossed and took position in line of battle. At 3 P.M. I was ordered to advance and ascertain the position of the enemy. The First Delaware and One Hundred and Eighth New York Volunteers were deployed as skirmishers, and advanced about half a mile, the left swinging forward. At this point the enemy offered a strong resistance, and I deployed the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers to strengthen the line. I then moved forward again, but, as the enemy were posted in rifle-pits, in the edge of a wood, while my skirmishers were obliged to pass on an elevated ploughed field, the line was again brought to a halt. I then addressed the Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers to charge the enemy's rifle-pits, which was done in fine style, the enemy being driven about five hundred yards. The enemy having been reinforced, I brought up the Seventh Virginia and Tenth New York Volunteers to strengthen the left centre of my line. The pressure still continuing strongest at this point, and the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers having reported to me, I ordered it also to that part of the line.

Learning that the enemy was moving troops towards my right, I directed the Eighth Ohio, Fourth Ohio, and Fourteenth Indiana Volunteers to take position to cover the right flank of my line of battle. At 5.30 P.M. the enemy made a determined attack on my centre.

The Sixty-ninth and One Hundred and Seventieth New York Volunteers,



which had reported to me, were brought in to strengthen this part of the line, and the Fourth Ohio, Eighth Ohio, and Fourteenth Indiana Volunteers were moved from the right to the centre. This attack of the enemy was handsomely repulsed. The Fifteenth and Nineteenth Massachusetts Volunteers having reported to me, I directed them to form on the right, relieving the Twelfth New Jersey, First Delaware, One Hundred and Eighth New York, and Seventh Virginia Volunteers, which regiments were formed in the rear and resupplied with ammunition. The Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers reporting to me at this time, was formed on the left of my line of battle.

Just at dark a vigorous attack was made by the enemy on my left, which threw the Sixty-ninth and One Hundred and Seventieth New York Volunteers into considerable disorder, which resulted in their falling back. I succeeded in rallying them, however, and formed that part of the line at right angles with the main line. During the night my command threw up intrenchments. On the morning of the 25th the first line was pushed forward with but little opposition, and, on the right, breastworks were erected in advance of the previous position. The first line now consisted, from right to left, of the Seventh Virginia, One Hundred and Eighth New York, First Delaware, Eighth Ohio, Twelfth New Jersey, Fourteenth Connecticut, Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, and One Hundred and Seventieth New York Volunteers. The Fourth Ohio, Fourteenth Indiana, and Tenth New York Volunteers were in the second line. At dark the Fourth Ohio and Fourteenth Indiana Volunteers were moved by me to the Doswell House to cover the left flank of my position. At 5 P.M., May 26th, I received orders from General Gibbon to advance my skirmish-line by swinging forward the left, and to dislodge a force of the enemy who held a salient near the left of my line. At dark I pushed forward the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Seventieth New York, and two companies of the Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteers, who charged the enemy and drove him from his position. Soon after I received an order from General Gibbon to be prepared to recross the North Anna. At 8 P.M. the brigade moved across the river and bivouacked until morning.

*Third.*—On May 27th the command marched to within a mile of Haunquartus Creek, where it bivouacked for the night. At noon, May 28th, we crossed the Pamunkey River. At 1 P.M. I received an order to follow the cavalry, which was subsequently countermanded, and my brigade filed into





the field on the left of the road and took position in two lines of battle. On May 29th I was directed to swing forward the left of my command, move about half a mile to the front, form line of battle, and intrench. Subsequently I was ordered to hold the command in readiness to march at short notice. At 5.30 A.M., May 30th, the command marched, acting as a reserve. At 9.25 A.M. I was ordered to move farther to the front. My brigade was then formed in line of battle near the Jones House. The Seventh Virginia Volunteers was directed to drive the enemy's sharpshooters from a house about five hundred yards in front of my left flank, which they quickly accomplished. On May 31st I received orders to be in readiness to support the First Brigade. At 1 P.M. the command was marched across Tolopotomoy Creek and massed in rear of the First Brigade. At 2 P.M. the One Hundred and Eighth New York and Seventh Virginia Volunteers were sent to the support of the right.

At dark the Fourteenth Connecticut, Eighth Ohio, and Twelfth New Jersey Volunteers were formed in an interval between the First and Second Brigades. Soon after dark the Eighth Ohio Volunteers was relieved and returned to its original position. At 12.25 P.M., June 1st, I was ordered by General Gibbon to be in readiness to march at once. This order was subsequently countermanded, and the brigade threw up intrenchments. At dark I was directed to occupy the earth-works and relieve the First Brigade. At 9 P.M. the brigade marched, taking the road to Cold Harbor, which place it reached June 2d. At 2.20 P.M., June 2d, my brigade was deployed in line of battle, and, by order of General Gibbon, advanced to a vacated line of rifle-pits, where it took position under a severe fire from the enemy's skirmishers, who were concealed in rifle-pits, within short range of my right. At 5 P.M. I was ordered to attack the enemy's position, but the attack was subsequently deferred. The One Hundred and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers reported to me, and was placed on the extreme right of my line. During the night sharp skirmishing occurred on my right. At 4.30 A.M., June 3d, I was ordered to attack the enemy. I formed my brigade in line of battle, and at 4.30 A.M. advanced and charged the enemy's works. When the command arrived at from sixty to one hundred yards from the enemy's works the ranks became so thinned, and the fire from the enemy's artillery and musketry was so destructive, that the men were compelled to halt and seek such shelter as presented itself. In this position the command soon erected a rude breastwork. At 9 A.M. Ber-





dan's Sharpshooters and a battalion of the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery reported to me. I deployed part of the Sharpshooters in front as skirmishers, and held the battalion of First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery in reserve. At 4 P.M. the One Hundred and Sixty-fourth New York Volunteers and the remaining battalion of the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery reported to me, which regiments I formed on the opposite side of the ravine, on my extreme right. My line strengthened their works, and was arranged from right to left, as follows: First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, One Hundred and Sixty-fourth New York, Fourteenth Connecticut, Eighth Ohio, Fourth Ohio, Seventh Virginia, Twelfth New Jersey, Tenth New York, First Delaware, and Fourteenth Indiana.

About 8 P.M. the enemy opened upon us a terrible artillery fire, which lasted about thirty minutes, after which they charged along my whole line. They were repulsed with considerable loss. During the night one-half the command was kept awake and under arms. In this action Lieutenant Benjamin Y. Draper, A.A.D.C., on my staff, a brave and gallant young officer, was killed. At 10.30 A.M., June 4th, the enemy opened on us a heavy artillery fire, which continued until 11.35, doing but little injury. Sharp skirmishing was kept up all day. At 8.40 P.M. the brisk skirmish changed to a very heavy musketry fire on both sides, followed by a short artillery duel, which did no damage to my brigade except the wounding of one of my staff orderlies, Private James Kay, Tenth New York Volunteers. Severe skirmishing continued all day. June 5th, in the afternoon, my standard-bearer, Private Elliott, Tenth New York Volunteers, was mortally wounded whilst carrying an order.

At 8.30 P.M. the enemy commenced a vigorous attack with artillery and musketry, which lasted twenty-four minutes, without doing injury. Heavy skirmishing continued during June 6th, and until 4 P.M., June 7th, when a cessation of hostilities was ordered to give opportunity to bury the dead. During the 8th and 9th of June there was very little skirmishing, and on the 10th my command was relieved from duty in the intrenchments. There was skirmishing all day June 11th. At dark, June 12th, the command marched to the left.

*Fourth.*—The brigade marched all day June 13th, and encamped near Wilcox's Landing, on James River. About dark, June 14th, we crossed James River on transports and encamped at Windmill Point. At 10.30 A.M.,



June 15th, the brigade moved towards Petersburg, and, about 10 P.M., relieved the troops of the Eighteenth Army Corps. Skirmishing during the 16th.

On June 17th I was ordered to report with my command to General Barlow. On June 18th I took position at daylight, and at 4 A.M. advanced upon the enemy's position, and discovered that he had fallen back about half a mile. During the day the brigade charged twice. After skirmishing during the 19th and 20th the command was relieved, and marched to the left about three miles and encamped. At 8 A.M., June 21st, the brigade marched, and took position on the left of the Jerusalem Plank Road, where the enemy was found intrenched. In this position we threw up breastworks.

At 3 P.M., June 22d, the enemy attacked the troops on our left, turned the flank of the first line, and captured a battery and many prisoners. On the 23d the enemy vacated the line of works they had captured. On June 24th my command moved to the rear and relieved some of the Fifth Corps. We remained in this position until June 27th, when the brigade was deployed to picket the rear of the army, remaining on picket until June 29th, when I was ordered to move to the intrenchments of the Sixth Corps.

On July 2d the command moved to the right, and on the 11th commenced tearing down the breastworks in front of them. On July 12th my brigade was on picket, and continued on that duty until the morning of July 15th, when they were relieved by troops of the Fifth Corps, and went into the rear of the Southall House. In the evening of the 15th the command marched to Haines's House, and commenced to tear down the old rebel works in the vicinity, returning to camp on the morning of the 16th. The brigade remained in camp until July 21st, when they were set to work making a covered way in the rear of the Fifth Corps' intrenchments.

On July 22d the brigade moved into the intrenchments previously occupied by Ferrero's division of colored troops, remaining in these works until July 26th, when, at 3.30 P.M., the command was massed near corps headquarters, and at 4.25 moved off towards the Appomattox, which river we crossed on pontoons during the night. At daylight on the 27th the brigade crossed the James River, and were soon engaged in skirmishing with the enemy. On July 28th my command marched to support the cavalry, and at dark took up a new position and intrenched. During the night of the 29th we marched back to the vicinity of Petersburg, and at daylight were massed in the rear of the Fifth Corps. After the explosion of the mine and the failure of





the assault on the enemy's works, the command returned to camp near the Southall House.

The loss of the brigade during the campaign, including the battle of the Wilderness, when Colonel Carroll was in command, is as follows:

Commissioned officers killed	.	.	.	.	.	22
“ “ wounded	.	.	.	.	.	72
“ “ missing	.	.	.	.	.	9
Enlisted men killed	.	.	.	.	.	254
“ “ wounded	.	.	.	.	.	1320
“ “ missing	.	.	.	.	.	278

*Total number of casualties.*

Commissioned officers	.	.	.	.	.	103
Enlisted men	.	.	.	.	.	1852
Grand total	.	.	.	.	.	1955

The conduct of both officers and men during the campaign has been in every respect unexceptionable. It is a source of extreme gratification to me to be able to recommend to the major-general commanding the division the gentlemen of my staff for the prompt and efficient manner in which they executed all my orders. Their gallantry on the field of battle has seldom been surpassed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS A. SMYTH,

*Colonel Commanding Third Brigade, Second Division, Second Army Corps.*

At 10 A.M. on the 26th we marched from Ream's Station to the Williams House, where we encamped. The loss of the division in the battle of Ream's Station was eleven hundred and seventy-eight.

## THE FALL OF RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG.

Moved again on the 30th to the trenches, where the brigade was placed in the third line of breastworks. September 4th, General Gibbon was ordered to take temporary



command of the Eighteenth Army Corps, and Colonel Smyth once more took command of the division.

The enemy opened upon our front with shot and shell at 3.30 P.M., and in the midst of this attack the division was moved in rear of the Jones House and put to work throwing up intrenchments. At this work we were kept, marching and digging, until the 16th, when considerable alarm was created by a sudden raid of the rebel cavalry upon the rear of our army and the capture of twenty-five hundred cattle. Our division was hastened off to Prince George's Court-House, where the Third Brigade was left to guard the rear, accompanied by Ames' battery. Thus matters stood until the 24th, when we were ordered to the front again, to relieve the Tenth Corps in the trenches, and our line occupied from the Norfolk Railroad on the left to Battery No. 13 on the right. Here we were under an almost constant skirmish fire, frequently aggravated by cannonading at very short range; but we were well covered by earth-works. General Gibbon relieved Colonel Smyth, and resumed the command on the 25th.

On the 28th orders were received to leave the garrisons in the forts on our front, and, with the rest of the men, march at 4 A.M. next morning. At the appointed hour the command was ready, but no further orders were received until October 1st, at which time we were moved once more to the front, and relieved General Mott's division.

Colonel Thomas A. Smyth received his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general on the 4th of October, and was the recipient of many ceremonial calls and much congratulation. October 6th we moved to the right, and occupied



the works from Fort Sedgwick to Fort Morton. For more than two weeks the brigade was employed in defending the outer line of intrenchments.

The officers of the brigade had with great secrecy made up a purse of about twelve hundred dollars, and had despatched a messenger to Washington to procure a mounted outfit as a present to General Smyth; and the officers and men of the First Delaware had purchased for him a fine horse. On the morning of the 22d General Smyth was induced to go out for a ride, and in his absence the presents were brought to his tent. They consisted of a saddle, saddle-cloth, saddle-bags, holsters, bridle and martingale, belt, sword, sash, and shoulder-straps. The horse was saddled and the other articles arranged about the tent. Shortly after everything was fully prepared for the ceremony of presentation, the general returned, and was amazed to see the vast concourse that was gathered about his headquarters. He was highly gratified with this manifestation of the esteem in which he was held by his comrades in arms, and expressed his thanks warmly and gracefully.

On the 25th orders came to withdraw from the trenches and mass the command in the rear, and on the morning of the 26th the entire corps marched to the left, crossing the Weldon Railroad, and at night bivouacked near Gravelly Run, the First Delaware being thrown to the front to furnish a picket-line.

The command had hardly commenced a forward movement on the morning of the 27th, when they met the enemy near the Boydton Plank Road, prepared to dispute the way. The battle opened at once hot and furious, and our brigade



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came in for a liberal share of the hard fighting; but, though the destruction of life was very great on both sides, the engagement was of short duration, the enemy finally giving way and opening the road to our troops.

In this battle the regiment lost one of its best officers, Major William F. Smith, who was mortally wounded while leading the regiment to engage the rebel line, he being in command. He died of his wounds on the 11th of November.

Colonel Smyth's diary furnishes an account of this action, from which the following extract is taken:

"Orders to march at 3 A.M., my brigade in advance; rode with a squad of cavalry, leading; surprised and drove the rebel vedettes in. At Cedar Creek we were checked by a strong force of rebs. My brigade formed in line of battle and charged, wading the creek to their arm-pits, and carried the works in fine style, pushing the enemy and advancing in good order. After crossing the open field, we halted the command and formed the line again, putting the First Delaware out as skirmishers, who advanced and drove the enemy three-fourths of a mile. We then took the road to Anderson's Mills, the First Brigade in advance. Were put in position by Major-General Hancock, and deployed the fourth company of the Fourteenth Connecticut as skirmishers, and charged a battery, which limbered up and left. I soon after received orders to support the Second Brigade, and advance to the mill on the right of the road. Orders to form on right of Second Brigade, and while performing this movement the rebels advanced and drove the cavalry back. I ordered the First Delaware by the left flank and charged the rebel line, following them to the creek and taking their works. This position I held all day, subject to a fire from all flanks."

This last charge was led by General Smyth in person.

With this battle ended the active campaigning of the year 1864. During the winter the troops were employed in



skirmishing, and in gradually extending our line of earthworks farther to the left. Before the close of the year General Hancock left the Army of the Potomac to take command of the First Veteran Corps, and General Humphreys was placed in command of the Second Corps. General John Gibbon was assigned to command the Twenty-fourth Army Corps, and General Smyth took command of the division.

While encamped here in winter quarters several changes occurred in the regiment. September 4th, Second Lieutenant John W. Barney, of Company B, was advanced to first lieutenant; on the 10th, Sergeant Louis J. M. Pennington, of Company I, was appointed commissary-sergeant; on the 15th, Sergeant William Caywood, of Company A, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company H; First Lieutenant John W. Eckles, of Company I, was discharged on expiration of service, and First Lieutenant Henry G. Cavanaugh, of Company H, was transferred to Company I; on the 24th, Hospital Steward Archibald D. O'Mera was discharged on expiration of enlistment, as was also First Lieutenant James Kettlewood, of Company C.

October 2d, Sergeant Joseph E. Booth, of Company H, was appointed hospital steward, and Sergeant Emanuel W. Hilt, of Company C, was made second lieutenant of that company; on the 5th, Captain Ezekiel C. Alexander, of Company C, was discharged at the close of his term of service; and on the 8th, Captain Aquila M. Hizar, of Company I, and First Lieutenant John L. Brady, of Company E, were discharged for the same reason. On the same day Second Lieutenant Charles W. Davis, of Company G, was





made first lieutenant of Company E, Quartermaster-Sergeant James M. Bryan was made second lieutenant of Company A, and John G. Raymond, who had been transferred from the Second Delaware Regiment, was appointed quartermaster-sergeant. On the 11th of October Captain William P. Seville, of Company E, was discharged on expiration of service.

On October 26th Captain J. M. Wenie, from the Second Delaware Volunteers, was assigned to the command of Company A.

On November 10th Sergeant-Major Evan P. Grubb was made first lieutenant of Company K, and Sergeant James H. Barbour, of Company K, was appointed sergeant-major; on the 11th, Major William F. Smith died of wounds; on the 17th, Captain Joseph C. Nicholls, of Company B, was promoted to major; First Lieutenant Charles W. Davis, of Company E, was advanced to captain; and Sergeant John M. Dunn, of Company K, was promoted to first lieutenant of that company on the 20th; on the 24th, First Lieutenant Washington F. Williamson, of Company A, was discharged at the close of his service.

December 23d, Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Woodall was promoted to colonel, and on the 26th Major Nicholls was again raised, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; First Lieutenant Henry G. Cavanaugh, of Company I, was made captain; Second Lieutenant Emanuel W. Hilt, of Company C, was made first lieutenant; Sergeant-Major James H. Barbour was made first lieutenant of Company I; Hospital Steward Joseph E. Booth was promoted to second lieutenant of Company B; Sergeant W. N. Meacham was pro-



moted to second lieutenant of Company G; and Sergeant W. Murphey, of Company F, to second lieutenant of his company.

The extension of our lines of circumvallation to the left was continued at intervals through January and February, 1865; and on the 5th of February our left was near Hatcher's Run. Here the enemy showed a decided disposition to put a stop to further encroachments. Early on the morning of the 5th the Second Corps set out to feel the way still farther to the left, the enemy making fierce attacks at intervals throughout the day. Of the movements of this and the day following General Smyth's diary contains these notes:

"On the 5th, at 7 A.M., we took up our line of march, First, Second, and Third Brigades. Three hundred cavalry reported to me, and the Tenth New York Battery. We took the road to Armstrong's Mills, driving the enemy's vedettes and skirmishers across Hatcher's Run. I took up position with my left resting on the run and right on the swamp, with the Twentieth Massachusetts and Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers on the right. The enemy opened several times through the day with artillery, but we did not reply to them. In the afternoon, at 4.30, they made a fierce attack on the Twentieth Massachusetts and Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, driving them in; the Third Brigade of the Third Division formed in their rear, with the Twelfth New Jersey; the attack was gallantly repulsed.

"February 6th, at 4 P.M., the Fifth Corps made a reconnoissance to Burgess's mill, and, after a sharp fire of musketry, they fell back to their old position, followed closely by the enemy, when my left became engaged. Smyth's battery did good execution."

In regard to this series of actions, General Humphreys, in general orders, said, "The enemy concentrated a powerful force, composed of parts of two corps (Hill's and Gor-

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don's), on the right of Smyth, Murphy's brigade, and the artillery, and in front of McAllister, and made a determined effort to break our line. They were skilfully and gallantly met, and repulsed with severe loss to them and slight to us."

Then followed what was, comparatively speaking, a long rest for the command, lasting from February 7th until March 25th, during which little more was done than keeping the enemy in a continual shiver of apprehension with unexpected gusts of skirmishing and mysterious movements of bodies of troops. As the roads were now dry, and the weather quite favorable for active operations, the order to march on the 25th of the month was generally anticipated.

Early on the morning of the 25th of March the order to be in readiness to move was received, and in the afternoon our brigade, led by General Smyth, assaulted the rebel works and carried a part of them, capturing a large number of prisoners. At this time General William Hays, of the regular army, was assigned to the command of the division, and General Smyth resumed command of the brigade.

At 6 A.M. on the 29th the command stretched out on the Vaughn Road, and after marching a short distance formed in line on the right of that road. On the morning of the 30th a general advance was made against the enemy's position, the Third Brigade being held in reserve. The rebels offered little opposition, but fell back beyond Hatcher's Run. Shortly after midnight the brigade moved farther to the left and took position in the rear of McAllister's brigade. The battle opened at early daylight on the





left, in an effort to obtain possession of the White Oak Road. The Fifth Corps assaulted, and was pressed back towards the Second Corps, which also gave way for some distance on the left. At 11 A.M. our line advanced to relieve the pressure on the Fifth Corps. The men charged gallantly, capturing the first lines of rifle-pits, and drove the enemy to their main works, but failed to carry these, owing to their great natural strength and the obstructions placed in the way. In the evening the brigade fell back to the road. The diversion in favor of the forces on the left enabled them, however, to drive the enemy in turn, and resulted in securing possession of the White Oak Road.

The gallantry of Major John T. Dent, who commanded the regiment in this engagement, contributed largely to the success of the day. The charge of the regiment upon the rifle-pits of the enemy, driving the rebels out and far beyond them, added fresh laurels to its well-earned reputation for warlike prowess. In this bold charge, Major Dent was ably supported by Captain Charles W. Davis, of Company E, and Captain James Kettlewood, of Company H.

April 1st the brigade was ordered to report to General G. E. Mott, but, before proceeding far, was ordered back to its old position as a reserve. This afternoon General Sheridan and the Fifth Corps captured an important work of the enemy, with many guns and over five thousand prisoners. It was a cheering spectacle to us, this full division of the enemy, as they passed through our camp on their way to the rear, for it gave promise of the rapid disintegration of the rebel army and of the near prospect of peace and rest. Certainly the Rebellion was nearing its



"last ditch,"—a few more gasps and the dying cause would be forever lost.

On the morning of the 2d orders came to charge the enemy's works again at four o'clock, and every disposition was made to carry the order into effect, but before the time arrived it was changed, and the brigade was again instructed to report to General Mott. The reason the order to charge was countermanded was that during the night the enemy on our front had deserted their works and retreated towards Petersburg. In the afternoon the division moved to the left on the Fox Hill Road, to unite with Sheridan's force, halting at night on the South Side Railroad.

Orders were received during the night to return to Petersburg in the morning, which were changed, however, and the entire command started off at 11.30 A.M. on the road towards Lynchburg instead. Here we learned that the rebels had evacuated Petersburg, and that Richmond had at last fallen, and the enemy was marching rapidly in the direction of Danville. The brigade went into bivouac late at night, started again next morning, finally moving into position near the Danville Railroad, subsequently changing position to the left of the Fifth Corps at Jetersville Station.

In order to reach the bridge over the Appomattox in time to prevent its destruction by the enemy, it was necessary to make a long and a forced march. The First Delaware was near the head of the column to which was intrusted this difficult enterprise, and the duty was fully and successfully executed.

During this march considerable merriment was indulged in at the expense of Lieutenant John M. Dunn, of Company





E. Lieutenant Dunn seemed very desirous of knowing the distance to the Danville Railroad, and made so many inquiries in regard to it that the matter became somewhat of a joke to several of the officers, among them Captain John W. Barney, of Company B. At length an aged negro was seen by the roadside.

"Now, then," said Lieutenant Dunn, "you fellows may laugh, but I am going to find out how far it is to the Danville Road."

When they reached the old negro, the lieutenant asked him the well-worn question, and, by the look of deep wisdom that lit up the old man's face, they saw at once that they had found one who could give them the desired information.

"De Danville Railroad," said he. "Yes, sah! Hit's jes' fo' miles f'm John Thompson's, sah."

For the rest of the day there was not much peace for Lieutenant Dunn; and next day, when the troops had attacked the enemy at High Bridge, charged across the bridge through a perfect tornado of shot, and were reforming under a brisk fire on the other side, Captain Barney shouted to Lieutenant Dunn, "I say, Dunn, how far is it to the Danville Railroad?"

Marched again at 5 A.M. on the 6th, under orders to assault the enemy's works. The route lay along the High Bridge road, reaching High Bridge about eight o'clock in the morning. The rebels were posted here in strong force and disputed the passage of the stream with great stubbornness, setting the bridge on fire; but we succeeded, by an effort of great daring, in taking the bridge in time to save it from

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destruction, thus preventing much delay in crossing the Appomattox, and increasing the pressure on the already demoralized rebel rear-guard.

In this gallant charge across the railroad bridge, Lieutenant John M. Dunn, in command of Company G, rendered important service in leading the assault. General Barlow was urging the troops that had reached the end of the bridge to charge through the carriage-way beneath the railroad track, which was defended at the other end by the enemy with artillery and musketry, and there was some hesitation about taking the lead, when a part of our regiment supporting the skirmish-line arrived on the spot. Seeing the reluctance to enter the bridge, Lieutenant Dunn asked Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls if he should take his company and charge across the bridge, at which General Barlow said, "Yes, lieutenant, I wish you would." Company G at once plunged into the bridge, led by the lieutenant, and followed by many others of the First Delaware and other troops. The charge was successful, and the bridge was saved, though at the sacrifice of many brave men, for the fire that swept it was terrible. For this gallant deed Lieutenant Dunn and the noble company which he temporarily commanded were highly complimented by General Barlow and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls.

The charge upon the enemy holding the bridge was made just in time to defeat their attempt to destroy this important means of reaching the farther side of the river; and the bridge once in our possession, the entire Union army hastened across and recommenced with vigor the pursuit of the flying enemy towards the town of Farmville,



capturing several guns, which, in their hasty retreat, they yielded with but feeble resistance.

It was in the engagement that took place near Farmville that General Thomas A. Smyth received his mortal wound. The occurrence is described by Dr. D. W. Maull, in "The Life and Military Services of the late Brigadier-General Thomas A. Smyth," in the following words:

"A short distance from that town our forces had been temporarily checked by the heavy fire from the rebel artillery and sharpshooters. The general was in advance, with the skirmish-line, as was his frequent custom, as he always wished to form an intelligent conception as to what was transpiring. He was mounted, with his staff about him. It was now about eleven o'clock in the morning, with a cold, disagreeable rain falling. There was an irregular fire of musketry going on. Suddenly he was seen to fall on the right side of his horse. His staff quickly dismounted and caught him. He was laid down, and it was discovered that he had been hit by a rebel sharpshooter. A small conical ball had entered the left side of his face, about an inch from the mouth, cutting away a tooth. The ball continued its course to the neck, fracturing a cervical vertebra, and driving a fragment of the bone upon the spinal cord. Entire paralysis resulted. He was at once placed upon a stretcher and tenderly moved by a relay of sorrowing men to a farm-house in the vicinity, where the corps hospital was established, and where he received all the attention possible."

Next day he was sent in an ambulance to Burkesville Station, accompanied by two of his aides (Lieutenants Tanner and Nones), but, as it was found that he was growing worse, he was taken to the residence of Colonel Burke, where, at 4 A.M. on the 9th, he died. His body was embalmed at Burkesville and forwarded to Wilmington for burial. Thus passed away a noble man, an able soldier, and a loved comrade of the regiment, on the very day that



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witnessed the surrender of the main army of the Confederacy; he being the last general officer killed on the Union side.

Surgeon Maull was constantly in attendance on the wounded general, and all that the highest surgical skill could accomplish was done to relieve from pain his passage to the shadowy shore, for the character of his wound was fatal beyond all doubt. For his tender devotion on this among numerous other occasions, Surgeon Maull won the highest respect and affection of the men of the regiment, as he did the esteem of all those of the division who had need of his professional aid while he was surgeon-in-chief of the division. His conscientious devotion to his duties, his prompt willingness to sacrifice his own personal ease and comfort to relieve suffering, the earnestness with which he studied every case which came under his care, his extended knowledge of prophylactics and therapeutics, his gentle manner and sympathizing voice, together with his genial social qualities, all combined to make him what our men, with much pride, pronounced a very model of an army surgeon.

The following extract from General Smyth's diary is the last entry made by him:

"April 2d I received orders to assault the enemy's works at 4 o'clock A.M. Three o'clock orders countermanded: orders to report to General Mott. Heavy artillery and musketry along the line all night. The enemy left the works at ten o'clock; marched to near Petersburg. At two o'clock took the Fox Hill Road to Sheridan and the Fifth Corps; bivouacked on the South Side Road. April 3d, orders to return towards Petersburg at sunrise; remained until 11.30, and then took the road towards Lynchburg; at 10 P.M. bivouacked. April 4th, orders to march at 6 A.M.; took up our line of march

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at seven. April 5th, at eight o'clock took up the march for the Danville Railroad, and took up position at the left of the Fifth Corps, at Jetersville Station. April 6th, orders to march at 5 A.M., and at six o'clock to assault the enemy's works."

While the regiment was deployed as skirmishers at Farmville, and was pressing the enemy hard, Colonel Daniel Woodall and Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph C. Nicholls rode in advance of the left wing, and their cool and energetic behavior afforded a fine example to the command. It was during this advance that Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls was severely wounded in the face by a piece of shell, and Colonel Woodall's horse was shot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls and Major Dent both reached their exalted stations in the regiment by promotion from the ranks, owing to their bravery and efficiency as commanders, and both were great favorites with their comrades.

The command marched with the corps to the vicinity of Appomattox Station, but the only fighting that occurred was on the morning of the 9th, in General Sheridan's front, brought on by the enemy making a desperate attempt to break through the cavalry by charging with masses of infantry. General Ord's division arrived in time, however, to defeat their object, and overtures were immediately made by the enemy looking to surrender. Negotiations were soon completed, and the Army of Northern Virginia, commanded by General Robert E. Lee, surrendered on that day, thus virtually closing the war and ending the great Rebellion.





## THE SURRENDER OF LEE.

As the movements of the two opposing forces and the negotiations for surrender at Appomattox Court-House will ever be one of the brightest pages in the history of the war, and as it is a fitting and satisfactory close of the service for which the First Delaware Regiment had volunteered, an extract from the official report of Lieutenant-General Grant is added here, that these valuable papers bearing upon the history of the nation may form a part (as of right they should) of the history of our regiment.

Referring to the rapid concentration of our forces near Farmville on the 7th of April, and the failure of Lee to preserve a road on which to escape the toils by which he was surrounded, General Grant says :

“Feeling now that General Lee’s chance of escape was utterly hopeless, I addressed him the following communication from Farmville :

“ ‘April 7, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

“ ‘U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

“ ‘GENERAL R. E. LEE.’

“Early on the morning of the 8th, before leaving, I received, at Farmville, the following :

“ ‘———, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—I have received your note of this day. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on



the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

“ ‘R. E. LEE, *General*.

“ ‘LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.’

“ To this I immediately replied :

“ ‘April 8, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of the same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say that *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon,—namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

“ ‘U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

“ ‘GENERAL R. E. LEE.’

“ Early on the morning of the 8th the pursuit was resumed. General Meade followed on the north of the Appomattox, and General Sheridan, with all the cavalry, pushed straight for Appomattox Station, followed by General Ord’s command and the Fifth Corps. During the day General Meade’s advance had considerable fighting with the enemy’s rear-guard, but was unable to bring on a general engagement. Late in the evening General Sheridan struck the railroad at Appomattox Station, drove the enemy from there, and captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital-train, and five trains of cars loaded with supplies for Lee’s army. During this day I accompanied General Meade’s column, and about midnight received the following communication from General Lee :

“ ‘April 8, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not



think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army, but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposal would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A.M. to-morrow on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

R. E. LEE, *General*.

“ ‘LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.’

“Early on the morning of the 9th I returned him an answer, as follows, and immediately started to join the column north of the Appomattox :

“ ‘April 9, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—Your note of yesterday I received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace ; the meeting proposed for 10 A.M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, general, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms on which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.,

“ ‘U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

“ ‘GENERAL R. E. LEE.’

“On the morning of the 9th General Ord’s command of the Fifth Corps reached Appomattox Station just as the enemy was making a desperate effort to break through our cavalry. The infantry were at once thrown in. Soon after a white flag was received, requesting a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for a surrender. Before reaching General Sheridan’s headquarters I received the following from General Lee :

“ ‘April 9, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of





this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

“ ‘R. E. LEE, *General*.

‘ ‘LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.’

“The interview was held at Appomattox Court-House, the result of which is set forth in the following correspondence:

“ ‘APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA., April 9, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

“ ‘The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officer appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

“ ‘This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside.

“ ‘U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

“ ‘GENERAL R. E. LEE.’

“ ‘HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,

“ ‘April 9, 1865.

“ ‘GENERAL,—I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. LEE, *General*.

“ ‘LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.’

“The command of Major-General Gibbon, the Fifth Army Corps, under

and the library is the only one of its kind in the city. It is the only one of its kind in the city.

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Griffin, and McKenzie's cavalry were designated to remain at Appomattox Court-House until the paroling of the surrendered army was completed and to take charge of the public property. The remainder of the army returned to the vicinity of Burkesville."

After the surrender was concluded the troops were drawn up, and the commanding generals rode along the lines, congratulating the men on the complete success of their labors and the approaching dawn of a permanent peace. They were lustily cheered by each organization as they passed, and general joy and jubilation reigned supreme, which was also shared in, to a great extent, by very many of the captured rebels.

As soon as the terms of the surrender were arranged and the overthrow of our old and brave antagonist, the Army of Northern Virginia, was an actual fact, our corps marched back to Burkesville, where we enjoyed over two weeks of grateful rest, untroubled by the constant apprehension of orders to march or to attack.

During the active campaign around Petersburg the following-named men of the regiment were killed or died of wounds received in action: at Petersburg there were killed Sergeant Edward Maull, of Company F, and Private John T. Groves, of Company I. At Hatcher's Run, Sergeant Lewis Correll, of Company H, was mortally wounded. At High Bridge, Privates Samuel Cochrane, of Company B, and Peter Shrout, of Company I, were killed, and Privates William Algier, of Company A, and George Wilkins, of Company D, were mortally wounded.

Since December, 1864, the changes among the commissioned officers were as follows; January 1, 1865, First Lieu-





tenant John W. Barney, of Company B, was promoted to captain, and Alfred Nones was appointed first lieutenant of the same company; on the 5th, James Kettlewood was appointed captain of Company H; and on the 9th, Captain David S. Yardley resigned.

February 1st, First Lieutenant William J. Birney, Company D, was promoted to captain; on the 13th, Captain John T. Dent, of Company G, was promoted to major, and Second Lieutenant Henry H. Burton was raised to first lieutenant of Company G; March 15th, Robert E. Russell was made principal musician.

April 20th, Surgeon David W. Maull resigned, feeling that the active work of the regiment was finished, and with his usual modesty, having no desire to share in the popular ovations awaiting the regiment "When Johnny comes Marching Home." All parted from him with sincere regret, even though but few weeks, as it then appeared, would elapse before we should join him at home. On the 29th, Second Lieutenant William Murphey, of Company F, resigned.

#### MUSTERED OUT.

On the 1st of May the command left Burkesville on its homeward march,—the last long tramp of the war. The column passed through Richmond and Fredericksburg, and went into camp near Munson's Hill on the 15th. The weather was very warm, and this long march was exceedingly severe on the men, many of those who had not been in the service long becoming exhausted and dying, as it were, almost on the very threshold of their homes. This



long and fatiguing march at the close of the war was wholly unnecessary. No plea of economy can justify the measure that resulted in the death of so many of the gallant men who had survived the perils of the battle-field. They should have been transported to their homes by water and rail, as they were carried to the front.

At the end of May the Army of the Potomac and Sherman's army marched through Washington in review before the President and all the civic heads of the nation. This was the grandest military pageant the civilized world ever witnessed; for nowhere in the annals of modern history can we find an instance where nearly two hundred thousand victorious veterans marched in review previous to disbanding to the occupations of civil life. The column was so long that two days were required for it to pass a given point, moving in quick time.

The regiment lay in camp in Virginia, nearly opposite Washington, through the month of June, engaged in the preparation of muster-out rolls and returns of public property. In the last two months a number of changes occurred among the commissioned officers: May 15th, Captain George T. Price, of Company C, was discharged; on the 17th, Assistant Surgeon Joseph W. McCullough was promoted to surgeon; on the 20th, Captain William J. Birney, of Company D, resigned; on the 25th, Sergeant William W. Davis, of Company H, was appointed sergeant-major; on the 27th, First Lieutenant Alfred Nones, of Company B, resigned; on the 30th, Sergeant Thomas Russell, of Company B, was promoted to second lieutenant of Company K; and on the 31st, Thomas D. G. Smith was



appointed first lieutenant of Company D, and William McCoy second lieutenant; First Lieutenant James M. Bryan, of Company A, was promoted to captain of Company G; Second Lieutenant Joseph E. Booth, of Company B, was advanced to first lieutenant of Company A; Sergeant Michael Dooley, of Company H, was made second lieutenant; and Moses Magee was appointed hospital steward.

On June 9th, Second Lieutenant Russell, of Company K, was transferred to Company H; on the 3d, Second Lieutenant Michael Dooley, of Company H, was transferred to Company K; on the 9th, Sergeant William Marsh, of Company C, was made second lieutenant of Company F; William H. Vining was appointed second lieutenant of Company I, and Dr. Benjamin B. Groves was appointed assistant surgeon; and on the 16th, First Lieutenant Evan P. Grubb, of Company K, was promoted to captain of Company D, and Second Lieutenant William N. Meacham, of Company G, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company K.

All the preparations having been completed, on the 12th of July, 1865, the regiment was mustered out of service at its camp near Munson's Hill, and, under orders from the War Department, took the cars for Wilmington on the 14th of July, where, after being honored by an enthusiastic reception, it was disbanded.

By order of the War Department the following were announced as the battles in which the First Delaware Regiment was engaged: Fair Oaks, Gaines' Mill, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill,





Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Bristoe Station, Mine Run, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Tolopotomoy, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Deep Bottom, Ream's Station, and Boydton Road.

To this list should be added Auburn, Locust Grove, Po River, Morton's Ford, Strawberry Plains, Hatcher's Run, High Bridge, and Lee's Surrender. The first six battles mentioned in official orders are accredited to the First Delaware by reason of the consolidation with it, July 1, 1864, of a portion of the Second Delaware Regiment, which bore an honorable share in those engagements.

Sergeant John B. Mayberry, of Company F, received a medal of honor from the War Department for gallant and meritorious service.

To those who feel an interest in the first organization that went from Delaware to support and defend the Government, and which furnished so many valuable officers to other regiments from the State, all of which won for themselves a high reputation for patriotism and bravery, the following tables showing the number of commissioned officers borne on the muster-in rolls who were killed, died of disease, resigned, were discharged or transferred, and promoted, and the number that remained to the close of the war; and the number of enlisted men of each company whose names were on the muster-in rolls who were commissioned, killed, died, were reported missing, deserted, or were transferred or discharged; and of those who served until mustered out, will be of great value in disclosing the fate of a thousand men who entered upon a career of such unusual hardship and peril.

Another interesting illustration of the importance of the patient's own opinion in the treatment of the disease is the case of a patient who had been treated for a long time with the usual remedies, but who had not improved. The patient was then taken to the hospital and the following treatment was given: The patient was given a diet of soft food, and the usual remedies were discontinued. The patient was also given a course of massage, and the result was a complete cure. This case shows that the patient's own opinion is of great importance in the treatment of the disease, and that the usual remedies may not be sufficient.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

## COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Promoted.	Resigned.	Discharged.	Transferred.	Killed.	Died.	Mustered out.	Total.
2	19	2	3	5	3	4	38

## ENLISTED MEN.

COMPANY.	Commissioned.	Discharged.	Transferred.	Killed.	Died.	Deserted.	Missing.	Mustered out.	Total.
A.....	2	49	7	18	3	6	...	10	95
B.....	3	19	7	13	4	10	...	6	62
C.....	4	20	7	9	8	22	...	15	85
D.....	3	37	7	18	9	7	...	12	93
E.....	2	46	8	15	6	5	7	13	102
F.....	9	28	6	10	8	5	2	21	89
G.....	2	40	2	15	6	7	...	6	78
H.....	4	37	8	12	7	6	...	7	81
I.....	3	25	10	9	6	4	1	26	84
K.....	6	31	1	8	2	6	...	15	69
	38	332	63	127	59	78	10	131	838

These tables are compiled from the muster-out rolls, and it will be readily seen that, in most of the companies, all the men who marched from Wilmington with the regiment have not been accounted for, and their fate is not shown. In these statistics none of the men who joined the regiment by transfer, or as recruits, substitutes, or conscripts, have been taken into account, the object being to show





only what became of the officers and men of the organization as it was mustered in.

The story of the achievements and sacrifices of the First Regiment Delaware Volunteers in the great war of the Rebellion is now told, briefly and imperfectly, since the limits of a historical sketch are too narrow to permit the glorious deeds these heroic men have carved upon the tablets of our national history to be recited in the glowing word-pictures they so eminently deserve.

Let us hope that coming generations, when they assemble to congratulate themselves on the liberty, happiness, and prosperity they enjoy, will not fail to honor the memories of the daring men who paused not to consider selfish interests, who hesitated over no personal sacrifices, with nothing mercenary to tempt them in the form of large bounty, no State military laws, even, on which to depend for clothing, shelter, and subsistence while organizing; yet, when powerful and thoroughly-organized treason clutched the throat of the nation, and it cried out in its agony, "Save me or I die!" they sprang to the front, seized their weapons, fought the traitors to the death, aided in the delivery of their country, and when the enemy was stretched out exhausted and harmless, they laid down their arms and returned modestly to their former stations of industrious and law-abiding citizens.



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67. The sixty-seventh is the fact that the	the sixty-seventh is the fact that the
68. The sixty-eighth is the fact that the	the sixty-eighth is the fact that the
69. The sixty-ninth is the fact that the	the sixty-ninth is the fact that the
70. The seventieth is the fact that the	the seventieth is the fact that the
71. The seventy-first is the fact that the	the seventy-first is the fact that the
72. The seventy-second is the fact that the	the seventy-second is the fact that the
73. The seventy-third is the fact that the	the seventy-third is the fact that the
74. The seventy-fourth is the fact that the	the seventy-fourth is the fact that the
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78. The seventy-eighth is the fact that the	the seventy-eighth is the fact that the
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PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

VII.

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ANCIENT FAMILIES  
OF  
BOHEMIA MANOR;  
THEIR HOMES AND THEIR GRAVES.

BY

REV. CHARLES PAYSON MALLERY,

AUTHOR OF "HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF BOHEMIA MANOR;" CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF  
THE DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF  
THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE,  
WILMINGTON.

1888.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

BOHEMIA MAJOR

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

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## INTRODUCTION.

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ON March 21, 1887, at the request and in the presence of the Historical Society of Delaware, the Rev. Charles Payson Mallory, of New York City, delivered an address on the "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor; their Homes and their Graves." There was present a large and intelligent audience, including representatives of the professions of law, medicine, and divinity. The address was listened to with untiring interest to its close, when a vote of thanks was tendered the author, and a copy of his paper requested for publication by the Society.

# THE BOSTON

The Boston is a ship of the line, and is the largest  
in the navy of the United States. She is a  
three-masted ship, and is armed with  
thirty-two guns. She is commanded by  
Commodore John A. Boscawen, and is  
the flagship of the North Atlantic  
Squadron. She is a fine ship, and is  
well equipped for service. She is  
the pride of the navy, and is a  
fine example of the art of shipbuilding.



ANCIENT FAMILIES  
OF  
BOHEMIA MANOR;  
THEIR HOMES AND THEIR GRAVES.

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I.

BOHEMIA MANOR AND AUGUSTINE HERMAN.

Lord Baltimore's Territory—Stuyvesant's Claims—Augustine Herman's Mission—His Journey, Map, Profession, Romances—Herman obtains a Manor—His Manor described—He and his Family remove to it—His Manor-House—His Social and Domestic Habits.

IN the list of secular studies history is among the most interesting and important. Indeed, there seems to be an almost universal desire to lift the misty veil of the past and note the changing scenes that mark the progress of Adam's family through all the centuries past and gone. Not alone to satisfy the cravings of a curiosity that is commendable, but because the richest lessons of wisdom are drawn from the experience of the past. Still more interesting and important is the general, and especially the biographical, history of our own locality. Here, with emotions of



strange delight, we trace the heroic lives of the pioneers, and with ever-increasing interest watch the growing fields succeed the forest, the pleasant home supplant the rude log cabin, and the gradual development of society as it joins the onward march to a higher civilization.

On the other hand, there is a desire no less universal to be remembered by those who come after us. Prompted by this desire men have sought out the most enduring material by which to transmit their names and their achievements down the ages. They have reared monuments of granite, carved the solid marble, and written their names on the everlasting rocks. But all have yielded to the corroding power of Time, and their mouldering fragments are but subjects of doubt and speculation to the antiquarian.

“Written history is the great conservator of the past, and the most enduring memorial for the ages to come. The wondrous tower on the plains of Shinar is levelled with the dust from which it rose, and the glory of Babylon is shrouded in darkness. The pomp and pride of Pharaoh, the armies of Amalek, the power of Moab, the Syrian, the Chaldean, and all the heroes and nations of antiquity are known only through the written chronicles kept by the scribes of Israel,—chronicles that point the student to the dim and broken fragments of crumbling monuments that strew the track of finished centuries, and tell him what they are. Written history will be faithful to its mission when statues of bronze and columns of marble have crumbled away. It will not perish from the earth. Its universality, its capability of reproduction and translation



into all languages, insures its duration to the end of time." \*

But apart from the history of the world, apart from the discovery, history, and growth of our country, apart from the settlement of the territory now constituting the States of Delaware and Maryland, apart from all this, *Bohemia Manor* has a history all its own, a history of deep and absorbing interest, not only to the descendants of the old pioneers, but to all who have found a home within its borders, or have become familiar with its traditions and the names of those who in the long past made the wilderness to blossom as the rose. May we not then with pleasure and profit devote an hour to the more prominent features in the history of *Bohemia Manor*?

Charles the First, King of England, in 1632 granted to George Calvert (a royal favorite), whose title was Lord Baltimore, a charter for the territory that was called Maryland in honor of Queen Mary. But Lord Baltimore died before the title was perfected, and his son Cecil Calvert, according to the laws of primogeniture, inherited the title and the grant designed for his father. This son, and in fact each succeeding proprietary, laid claim not only to what is now the State of Maryland, but to all the land and water east of it as far as to the present State of New Jersey, including the settlements on the Delaware, claimed and occupied by the Dutch.

Under these circumstances it became the duty of Petrus Stuyvesant, the Director-General of Holland's interests in

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\* Dr. Brower, Danville, Pennsylvania.





America, to challenge these assumptions, and vindicate the claims of his own government. He accordingly despatched an embassy to the governor of Maryland to adjust, if possible, the controversy. For this important business he appointed Augustine Herman, a man of ability, with whom was associated as secretary and interpreter, a person named Resolved Waldron. This embassy reached the Peninsula by way of the Delaware River, crossed it, and entered the Chesapeake Bay, down which they sailed until they arrived at St. Mary's, the seat of government.\* Here they met the governor of Maryland, with whom they conferred.

On his return voyage it is probable that Herman ascended the Bohemia River and crossed the territory that in the near future was to come into his possession. At all events, he was anxious to own and occupy some of Lord Baltimore's broad acres, and, therefore, wrote to the latter, offering to prepare a map of Maryland in consideration of a gift of a manor. The proposition was accepted. Lord Baltimore got the map and Herman became the happy possessor of more than twenty thousand acres of the most attractive and fertile land in Cecil and New Castle Counties, to which, in honor of his native land, he gave the name of "Bohemia Manor."

But little is known concerning the early history of Augustine Herman. Born in the city of Prague, in the kingdom of Bohemia, about the year 1621, he came to New York in 1633, in the employment of the West India Company. Later he was in company with Arent Corssen, and

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\* See Schuyler's "Colonial New York," vol. i., p. 55.

At the same time, the government was not without its share of success. The country was in a state of peace and order, and the people were content with their lot. The government was able to maintain its authority and to carry out its policies with success. The people were loyal to the government and to the laws of the land. The government was able to maintain its authority and to carry out its policies with success. The people were loyal to the government and to the laws of the land.

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in June, 1644, he was with Laurens Cornelisson, an agent of Peter Gabry & Son. Three years later, he was appointed by the Director and Council of New Netherlands, one of the "Nine Men," a body of citizens selected to assist the government by their counsel and advice.

Herman was a man of good education, a surveyor by profession, skilled in sketching and drawing, an adventurous and enterprising merchant, and, as some one has said, "the first beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade." A friendly notice of his speculative genius is given by Van der Donk, who describes him as a curious man and a lover of the country, who made an experiment in planting indigo-seed near New Amsterdam, which "grew well and yielded much." He engaged in mercantile pursuits and acquired a large estate in New York. His residence embraced an orchard and extensive garden, situated on the west side of the present Pearl Street, covering the line of Pine Street.\*

There are various traditionary stories about the causes which constrained Herman to surrender the comfort and convenience which the occupancy of these possessions afforded for the then wilds of Delaware and Maryland, with all their attendant discomforts. It is known that a serious disagreement, perhaps of long standing, existed between Herman and Stuyvesant, because, as some suppose, the Director-General insisted upon having the map which Herman had drawn for Lord Baltimore, and which, no doubt, would have been serviceable in adjusting the long-disputed boundaries; or because, as others suppose, a love-rivalry

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\* See "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," 1878.





had once existed between Herman and the Dutch governor for the affection of some charming Dutch *Frau*, in which Herman was the successful suitor, and which so aroused the hostility of Stuyvesant that he made New Amsterdam too hot for Herman, who, poor man, as soon as possible, transferred himself and his property to Calvert's country.

If the lady who was the bone of contention was Herman's second wife, of whom we know a thing or two to her discredit, the contentious governor had much reason for gratitude that he missed her, for traditionary testimony affirms that she became a miserable wife, neglecting her husband, and making it so hot for him and his household that he was no longer the master of his home, and his children were compelled to find shelter elsewhere. But a more reasonable cause can be suggested for Herman's leaving New York and settling in the South.

Among the early settlers in this country very many, from ambitious feelings and long contact with titled men and monarchies, manifested a strong inclination to introduce the custom of entailing their lands, and establishing "manors," for the purpose of erecting large hereditary estates, and thus, as they hoped, titled families for their descendants. The Livingstons in New York, and Calvert and Carroll in Maryland, as well as others elsewhere, attempted it. But all these cob houses fell in ruins before the clay bodies of their founders had returned to dust, and the evils which the law of primogeniture inflicted upon the junior members of a family, and especially the interruption to agricultural improvement, and the settlement and prosperity of the community, induced the American statesmen and legislators of the past century



to set their faces against the continuance of the system, and by establishing modes of legally destroying an entail, in perhaps nearly all of the States, have greatly limited and largely defeated these intentions.\*

But that these intentions were among the principal motives that induced Herman to desire and eventually to establish a manor, no one familiar with his history can doubt. A few facts will substantiate this statement.

The tract of land which, with the title and privileges of a manor, was granted to Augustine Herman in 1660 consisted of more than twenty thousand acres of some of the best land in Cecil and New Castle Counties, and is described and bounded as follows: It commenced on the old Choptank Road, near the present residence of Mr. Thomas Murphy in the vicinity of Middletown, thence north to the head of Back Creek, thence down its waters and those of the Elk River to their confluence with Bohemia River, and up that stream to the place of beginning. To this large tract he gave the name of Bohemia Manor, in honor of his native land, and to it, in 1661, he transported from New York his family and as many of his friends as he could induce to accompany him. Under the above date Herman himself, in writing of his colony on the river, says, "I am now engaging settlers to unite together in a village." If this village was ever established, all trace of it is obliterated, unless, as I think probable, one or two very ancient structures still standing on the Manor are remnants of it.

At the time Augustine Herman founded and seated

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\* Thomas C. Hambly, author of "The Legend of Moore's Run."



Bohemia Manor, he was about forty years old, and his family consisted of his wife, Jannetje, daughter of Caspar and Judith Varleth, of New Netherlands, who was born in Utrecht, and was married in New Amsterdam on December 10, 1651; and their five children, whose names were Ephraim George, Casparus, Anna Margareta, Judith, and Francina.

Herman selected a beautiful building site on the banks of the Bohemia River, commanding a view of a broad expanse of waters towards the setting sun, and here he erected the manor-house, a large and substantial structure that stood for about one hundred and twenty-five years. A few bricks and the outlines of a large cellar alone remain to indicate where the building once stood.

It would be interesting to know something of the domestic and social life of the distinguished owner and occupant of this manor-house. Even before he moved from New York he was reputed to be wealthy, and, from all that we know of him afterwards, we conclude that for years he must have lived in baronial ease and opulence on his Manor, enjoying an abundance of the good things of this life, including a well-spread board, a rich wardrobe, as well as wines, fish, fowl, horses, and cattle. The walls of his house were adorned with beautiful and expensive portraits of himself and several members of his family, and not far from his door was a deer-park, the outline of whose enclosure may still be traced.





## II.

## HERMAN'S SONS AND OTHER HEIRS.

Herman's Famous Charger—His Celebrated Ride—The Death of Herman—A Visit to his Grave—The Herman Portraits—The Succession to the Title, etc.—Fruitless Litigations—The Ensors—The Lawsons—Colonel Edward Oldham's Family.

WE have referred to Herman's horses. One of these has immortalized himself and his lordly rider by a most extraordinary feat. Tradition says that Herman, during his residence on the Manor, had occasion to visit New York in the interest of his property there, and that he made the journey on horseback. We can well imagine that no gallant knight, in the days of chivalry, ever bestrode a nobler animal than the favorite horse that bore the lord of the Manor through the almost pathless forest to the great city. There he found his estate in the possession of squatters, who ignored his rights and imprisoned him in a large stone warehouse, up the high steps of which, to the second story, he bravely rode, refusing to part from the companion of his journey.

During the night he remounted his horse, and, spurring it into fury, forced an opening in one of the large windows, when horse and rider alighted on the ground below. So great was the shock that the blood gushed in a stream from the nostrils of the horse; but so little did that affect

## 11

## MELANIE MARY (1841-1900)

Melanie Mary (1841-1900) was born in the town of  
 St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 11th of May, 1841.  
 She was the daughter of John and Mary (nee  
 Smith) Mary.

Her father, John Mary, was a merchant and  
 a member of the St. John's branch of the  
 Methodist Church. He was a man of great  
 energy and business ability, and was  
 one of the leading men of the town.  
 His mother, Mary (nee Smith), was a  
 woman of great piety and domestic  
 virtues. She was a member of the  
 Methodist Church, and was a  
 devoted mother and wife. She was  
 one of the leading women of the town,  
 and was a member of the St. John's  
 branch of the Methodist Church. She  
 was a woman of great piety and  
 domestic virtues, and was a devoted  
 mother and wife. She was one of  
 the leading women of the town, and  
 was a member of the St. John's  
 branch of the Methodist Church.

Melanie Mary was educated in the  
 St. John's branch of the Methodist  
 Church. She was a member of the  
 St. John's branch of the Methodist  
 Church, and was a devoted mother  
 and wife. She was one of the  
 leading women of the town, and  
 was a member of the St. John's  
 branch of the Methodist Church.

either horse or rider that they forthwith swam the Hudson River, then traversed the unexplored forests, swamps, and streams of New Jersey, until they reached the banks of the Delaware River opposite the town of New Castle, where they crossed the stream, and finally arrived in safety at the manor-house.

Other versions of the same tradition are extant, so that it is difficult to decide which is accurate. Suffice it to say that something of this general character occurred, for Herman himself had the feat pictured on canvas, and when the celebrated charger died gave him decent burial in his own family graveyard. Other misfortunes overtook the lord of the Manor. In a few years after his removal to Maryland his first wife died, and she was the first, or certainly one of the first, to find burial in the graveyard which he had laid out in his vineyard on his home plantation. His older children, now still older grown, had married, and moved from under the parental roof to establish homes of their own.

Thus left alone, in course of time, Herman, that he might have some one to assist him in the superintendence of his large establishment, but especially that he might have some one to care for him in his declining days, decided to take to himself a second wife. This was a mistake and misfortune that proved fatal to his peace and prosperity. The new wife neglected him, and sorrow and sickness became his portion. Finally, worn out in body and disquieted in soul, the once wealthy and influential lord of the Manor breathed his last, and was buried beside his first wife, and near the noble horse which had delivered its





owner from imprisonment. At the time of his death Herman was about sixty-six years old, and had occupied the Manor about a quarter of a century. Over his grave was placed a large stone tablet, which Herman had ordered previous to his death, and which bears the following inscription:

AVGVSTINE HERMEN, BOHEMIAN,  
THE FIRST FOVNDER &  
SEATER OF BOHEMIA MANNER.  
ANNO 1661.\*

This stone that has withstood the wear and tear of two hundred winters I have frequently seen. It is about four inches thick, three feet wide, and seven feet long. Years ago it was removed from the spot it was intended to mark, and now lies several hundred yards distant therefrom, and the grave itself is entirely obliterated. I doubt whether three persons, besides myself, are living to-day who could tell just where Herman lies buried. I may remark in passing that the grave is about five hundred feet due north from the house, long ago destroyed by fire, which was the Bohemia Manor home of Governor Richard Bassett, who, by the way, became the possessor of the site of Herman's grave and Herman's house, and of a portion of its furniture, including the portraits of Herman and his horse, his wife, and one of his sons.

Just here let me quote a few lines, in simple language, from the diary of a young girl who, as long ago as May,

---

\* Evidently the inscription is the work of an unskilful and illiterate artisan.



1815, visited the spot I have just described. She says, "We strayed all around Governor Bassett's garden, accompanied by the gardener, who is a Swede. There was a spacious orchard. Mrs. Hodgson asked me if I had ever taken a walk to the old manor-house. I told her that I had not, but that I would like to see where the old manor-house once stood. She said I might also see where old Herman was buried. His tomb is there yet. By this time we had reached the end of the orchard. . . . Henry, the gardener, opened the gate. We soon reached the spot where Herman and his horse were buried. We found his grave among the sumachs and elders. We saw the place where the house and garden were once located.

"Mrs. H. told me that she had all their pictures in her room. . . . When we returned to the house Mrs. Bassett asked us to tea, and after tea we went in to see the pictures. There was one of old Herman in life-size, one of his wife, one of his son, and one of his son's wife."

Copies of the above-named pictures, or at least of those of Herman and his horse and Herman's wife, are now in the possession of Mr. James R. C. Oldham and Mrs. Dr. C. H. B. Massey, both of whom are descendants of the brave Bohemian. The features of the latter, as represented upon the canvas, are decidedly German. His hair parts in the middle and falls in thick locks to the shoulders. He has a beardless face, prominent cheek-bones, firmly-set lips, and piercing eyes. He wears a straight-breasted, red-colored frock-coat, an ample white necktie that falls upon his bosom, and ruffles that are so full and long that they half cover his hands. One of his hands is besmeared with



blood that flows from the nostrils of the panting charger at his side.

The portrait of Madam Herman is probably the only representation extant of that distinguished lady. Her hair is black, her forehead high, her nose sharp, and her mouth small. Her skirt is of a light-colored material, while her overskirt (which does not completely cover her dress) and its body are of green,—the latter being pleated. Her arms are bare from the wrists to the elbows. Her dress is cut moderately low at the neck, where is a broad lace collar.

Of all the distinguished men of provincial and colonial times I cannot recall one who so earnestly endeavored to immortalize himself as Augustine Herman. He called his Manor by the name of the land of his nativity and he gave his own name to a cove, and a stream, and other natural objects within his territory. He willed that his heirs should adopt his name, and even provided that his name and his title of "lord of the Manor" should be engraved on the monumental stone that was to mark his grave.

But alas for the transitory character of terrestrial things, to-day there does not live a man who bears his name; the streams that he named after himself are now called by other titles; his grave is levelled with the adjacent ground and is lost to view; and the substantial stone that was intended to mark the grave has been removed. The late Richard Bassett Bayard, of Baltimore, on whose farm this stone is located, requested the writer to arrange, at his expense, for the re-erection and preservation of this tablet, but before the work could be accomplished Mr. Bayard died. It would be highly proper for the Delaware or





Maryland Historical Society to see that this stone is re-erected in its appropriate place, or that it find lodgment among the interesting relics of the Society.

Augustine Herman died in 1686, and his title and Manor descended to his oldest son, Ephraim George, who at this time was about thirty-five years old. He had accompanied his father's family on their removal from New York, to which city he returned, and held an office under the government. He moved to Delaware about 1676 and settled at New Castle, and became an influential citizen. He was married in New York on September 3, 1679, to Elizabeth Van Rodenburg, a daughter of the governor of Curaçoa, and died in 1689, at which time his Manor passed into the possession of his only brother.

This brother, whose name was Casparus Herman, previous to the death of his father and brother, owned and occupied a place on the Delaware River below where Port Penn now stands, and called it Augustine, during which time he was for several sessions a member of the General Assembly from New Castle. In later years he represented Cecil County in the Maryland Legislature. He inherited from his father a large tract of land south of Bohemia Manor, called Little Bohemia, or Bohemia Middle Neck, which is to-day in part the property of the Crawford and Flintham families and the heirs of the late Judge Edward G. Bradford, of Wilmington.

Casparus Herman was married three times. First to Susanna Huyberts; second, in New York, on August 23, 1682, to Anna Reyniers; and third, on August 31, 1696, to Katharine Williams. He was associated with Colonel



Edward Cantwell in the erection of a mill on Drawyers Creek, over which stream, at Odessa, Cantwell built a bridge, which gave to the town the name of Cantwell's Bridge. It was not until a later date that the place was called Odessa, from a fancied resemblance to the great grain-shipping port of that name on the Black Sea.

One can hardly believe that, but a few years since, the now immense transportation of freight carried on by railroads, barges, and sailing vessels was formerly brought by sloops only, up the Chesapeake Bay to Niedy's Wharf, on Bohemia Manor, and thence, by a few country teams, transported across the Peninsula through where Middletown now stands to Cantwell's Bridge, or Odessa, as it is now called, and thence reshipped to Philadelphia. Those were slow times, but the opening of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which, by the way, nearly touches the northern boundary of Bohemia Manor, and finally the construction of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, changed and improved that state of trade into the pace and volume of to-day.\*

On June 3, 1690, his brother being dead, Casparus Herman was formally granted, and he assumed possession of, the manor-house. Here he resided for a number of years, enjoying the honors and emoluments of the third lord of the Manor, and then, with but little to signalize his last days, he died at the age of fifty years, leaving his estate to his only son, Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman, who became a man of affairs; several times represented his county in the

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\* Thomas C. Hambly.





State Legislature, and wielded considerable influence in the civil and social interests of the community. He leased, in 1713, to Henry Linton a farm on his Manor, where may still be seen the house and the room in which Doctor Bird wrote the play entitled "The Gladiator," which became one of the tragedies of the distinguished actor Edwin Forrest.

Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman's first wife was Isabella, daughter of Maurice Trent, of Pennsylvania, by whom he had two daughters, Catharine and Mary. His second wife was Araminta, by whom he had one child, a son, who survived his father only four years, dying previous to 1755, and with whose death the last male bearing the surname "Herman" passed from earth.

The children and grandchildren of this family were for many years contending in the courts for their respective rights in Bohemia Manor. It would be tedious to write, and more tedious to read, of all the intricacies and ramifications of these civil suits. Suffice it to say, that "the litigation that had lasted for more than half a century ended about the termination of the Revolutionary war, and at the same time ended the legal existence of Bohemia Manor, that had continued for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years."\*

I ought to have said that Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman's youngest daughter, Mary, married John Lawson, whose share of Bohemia Manor was eventually owned by Governor Richard Bassett, and that his eldest daughter, Catharine Herman, married Peter Bouchelle, and had a

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\* See Johnston's "History of Cecil County, Maryland," page 185. This history is an interesting and valuable work.



daughter Mary. The latter, in the year 1757, became the wife of Captain Joseph Ensor, of Baltimore County, Maryland, and, subsequently, the mother of a family whose history is replete with adventure and romance.

Of three members of this family special notice may here be taken,—Augustine Herman Ensor, Joseph Ensor, and Mary Ensor. The first named, Augustine Herman Ensor, was born January 28, 1761. While yet in his minority he was the acknowledged lord of the Manor, but, alas, on the very day on which he, with several gay companions, was celebrating the attainment of his majority, he was thrown from his horse and killed.

The second named, Joseph Ensor, Jr., or "Josie Ensor," as he was familiarly called, was the next succeeding heir, but, being an idiot, he was incapable of occupying and enjoying his inheritance. Yet, after all, he was not so feeble, intellectually, as to forget that he was "lord of the Manor," as he was wont to style himself, in vindication of which claim he would, with his cane, draw a circle about him in the soil of his domain, and defy any one who disputed his rights "to cross that circle."

The third named, Mary Ensor, on November 21, 1784, was married to Colonel Edward Oldham, of the Revolutionary army. The latter was engaged in almost every action in the South, and, with the exception of Kirkwood, of Delaware, and Rudolph, of the Legion of Infantry, was probably entitled to greater credit for fortitude and bravery than any officer of his rank in Greene's army.\* In the celebrated

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\* See "Memoirs of the War of 1776," by Henry Lee.



charge on the British at Eutaw, of thirty-six men, whom he led, all but eight were killed or wounded, yet he forced the enemy. At the North he was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. At his death he was buried on his wife's inheritance on the Manor, which then was, and still is, called "The Mansion Farm." His tombstone bears this inscription:

THIS MONUMENT  
is erected in love and honor  
to the memory of  
COLONEL EDWARD OLDHAM  
who departed this life  
Nov. 4th, 1798,  
in the 42d year of his age.

His wife, mentioned above as Mary Ensor, died in 1819, aged fifty-four years, and lies buried near her husband.\* His children were Maria, Elizabeth, Ann, Edward, George Washington, Charles Herman, and Harriet. George Washington Oldham's grandson, Oldham Massey, is the only representative of the family now residing on Bohemia Manor.

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\* The writer has, in his historical collections, many interesting items relative to the descendants of these noted personages. He has also a genealogical chart of the Oldham family.





## III.

## HERMAN'S DAUGHTERS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

Anna Margareta marries Matthias Vanderheyden—Their Beautiful Ariana—Colonel John Thompson and his Family—"Old-One-Hundred-and-Five"—Broad Creek Meeting-House—Bethel and Bishop Asbury—Governor Clayton's Life, Death, and Burial—Herman's Village—The Labadists settle on Bohemia Manor.

THUS far we have followed the fortunes of the sons of the first lord of the Manor and their descendants, but have had nothing to say of his daughters. These were three in number, and bore the names of Anna Margareta Herman, Judith Herman, and Francina Herman, to whom their father bequeathed a large tract of land adjoining his Manor, consisting of three contiguous necks, which tract he entitled "The Three Bohemia Sisters."

The first-named daughter, Anna Margareta Herman, was married, about 1680, to Matthias Vanderheyden, formerly of Albany, who was related to the distinguished Schuyler family of New York. Their daughter, Ariana Vanderheyden, born in 1690, was noted for her beauty and accomplishments. She became the wife of Hon. Thomas Bordley, of Bordley Hall, Yorkshire, England, afterwards Attorney-General of the Province of Maryland, whose son John Beale Bordley, was the last of the admiralty judges of Maryland under the provincial government, and, by the



way, the step-father of General Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, and president of Congress when General Washington resigned his commission.

On the death of her husband, Ariana married Edmund Jennings, Esq., of Annapolis, the son of Sir Edmund Jennings, of Yorkshire, England, and in 1737 accompanied him to England. She was there inoculated for the small-pox, of which she died in 1741, leaving a daughter, who became the wife of John Randolph, of Virginia, and the mother of Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State during the presidency of General Washington. A portrait of the beautiful and accomplished Ariana was preserved by her descendants\* up to a recent date, when one of her great-granddaughters declared it to be so defaced and decayed as to appear worse than a skeleton, and had it destroyed.

The second daughter of Augustine Herman was Judith, who became the wife of Colonel John Thompson, a provincial judge, who was distinguished in the history of the early treaties with the Indians on the Delaware. Through his wife he became possessed of many acres† that had formerly belonged to his father-in-law, the lord of the Manor. But, besides these, he had large possessions elsewhere, including a house in New Castle and a farm in New York, which he and Colonel Bayard held in partnership. He

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\* The writer has facts of interest relative to other descendants, namely, the Griffiths, of Indianapolis, Gibsons, of Philadelphia, Cummins, of Washington, D.C.

† Now possessed by his descendant, Mr. Samuel Thompson, and by Colonel Fletcher Price, the Harbert family, and others, residing near Pivot Bridge, Maryland.





lived, as is supposed, to the advanced age of one hundred and nine years, and then died, leaving his eldest son in possession of the property he had inherited from the first lord of the Manor.

This eldest son was Richard Thompson, born November 1, 1667, who, like his father, became a centenarian several years before his death. Indeed, he lived so long that his neighbors began to think that he did not intend to die at all. And when he passed his eightieth year without dying, and his ninetieth, and his one hundredth, and then his one hundred and fifth, and still did not die, either to distinguish him from the paternal centenarian, or for some other reason vulgar people called him "old-one-hundred-and-five."\*

Many years before this, in 1723, this same Richard Thompson leased for a term of twenty-one years, for one ear of Indian corn, one acre of his land near, if not bordering on, the present Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, near Pivot Bridge, to the "Bohemia and Broad Creek Presbyterian congregation," who erected thereon a church edifice, within and about whose walls, in the long ago, occurred a proceeding which, in our day, would be considered unusual in the extreme.

Alexander Hutchinson, a licentiate from Scotland, was about to be ordained to the gospel ministry by the Presbytery then and there in session and installed pastor of the church. Immediately preceding the solemn service the clerk of the body made proclamation three times at the

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\* For further historical, biographical, and genealogical data, see the author's monograph of "The Thompson Family."



door of the sanctuary that, "if any persons had anything to object against the ordaining of the candidate, they should make it known to the Presbytery now sitting." No objection being offered, the said Mr. Hutchinson was solemnly set apart to the work of the ministry by fasting, and the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery. Every trace of the existence of this old structure and of the graveyard that surrounded it has long since disappeared, except several inscribed tombstones, the oldest of which is to the memory of Gabriel Clark, who died on July 27, 1757.

Not far from this spot, at a much later date, was erected, on ground given for the purpose by Ephraim Thompson, a grandson of the above-named Richard Thompson, what was long known as "Old Bethel Methodist Church," to whose erection two governors of Delaware—Governor Richard Bassett and Governor Joshua Clayton—made pecuniary contributions. Bishop Asbury visited this church, and his services so affected his hearers that they sang and leaped for joy. In the same pulpit, in still later times, appeared that zealous and eccentric preacher Lorenzo Dow, whose preaching-appointments were so many, and whose circuit was so large, that he was accustomed to ride at the rate of thirty miles a day and preach in several places between breakfast and bedtime.

On the occasion to which I refer, a great congregation had gathered in old Bethel church, filling the pews and aisles. When his sermon was ended, the eccentric preacher, rather than waste time and strength in forcing his way through the crowd to the door, deliberately jumped from the pulpit-window to the ground, and hurried on to his next appointment.



A graveyard now occupies the site of this old sanctuary, and here rest the mortal remains of not a few who were prominent in church and state a generation or two ago. Among these may be mentioned the governor of Delaware referred to a moment ago. He and his once beautiful wife lie buried beneath one gravestone, whose inscription reads as follows:

Sacred  
to the memory of  
HON. JOSHUA CLAYTON, ESQ.,  
who departed this life  
Aug. 11th, 1798, in the 54th year of his age.  
Also of  
RACHEL, wife of Hon. Joshua Clayton, and  
mother of James L. Richard and Thomas Clayton.  
She died Jany 7th, 1821, aged 70 years.

One of the above-named sons, Thomas Clayton, was chief justice of the State of Delaware, and also represented that State in the United States Senate.

Governor Joshua Clayton was a physician as well as a statesman, and happened to be a member of Congress from Delaware when that body held its sessions in Philadelphia, and while the yellow fever scourged that city. He gave medical treatment to persons afflicted with the fever, and was very successful. When the fever began to abate he returned to his Bohemia Manor home, where he died, having contracted that malignant disease. His last will and testament prescribed that his body should be buried in the most convenient burying-ground in the neighborhood, and directed that neither sermon nor funeral-service should be delivered at his burial.





It may be remarked, in passing, that not far from where this distinguished man died was the home of Mary, the daughter of Alexander Stuart, who became the wife of Rev. Thomas Read, D.D., who at one time preached with great eloquence to the Presbyterian congregation in Wilmington, whose services were held in the ancient structure now occupied by the Delaware Historical Society. The remains of Dr. Read were, at his death, buried within these walls, but subsequently were removed to the graveyard adjacent. Some of his descendants may be found in the family of Read Jennings McKay, M.D., of Wilmington.

The third and youngest daughter of the lord of the Manor was Francina Herman, born about the year 1662. In her girlhood she went from Maryland to Holland, but soon returned to this country. She married Joseph Wood, and inherited from her father several hundred acres of the tract of land called "The Three Bohemia Sisters." On her inheritance, and near the present homestead of Mr. Thomas McIntire, stood, until a few years ago, a substantial brick mansion whose ornamentation, in carved wood and chased cornice, was admired by many. The history of the house is involved in obscurity, and at the time of its demolition an atmosphere of "ghostly" mystery surrounded it. Francina had a son, grandson, and great-grandson who bore her husband's name. The property passed out of the possession of the family one hundred and fifteen years ago.

Augustine Herman, immediately after establishing himself upon Bohemia Manor, made several attempts to organize a colony or village there, but only indifferent success



attended his efforts for more than twenty years. Discouraged and aged, he wellnigh abandoned all efforts in that direction, when, in December, 1679, two travellers unexpectedly arrived at the manor-house, where, by letter, they were introduced to Herman as Petrus Sluyter and Jasper Dankers, representatives of a religious society called Labadists, located at Wiewert in Friesland, who were anxious to colonize in America, as soon as a suitable tract of land could be obtained for that purpose.

The Labadists were a communistic body founded by a French Jesuit named Jean de Labadie. He abandoned the order of Loyola, and, in 1650, joined the Reformed church, and entered the Protestant ministry. Finally he seems to have lost all religious reckoning, and so found it necessary to organize a new sect to suit his own distempered imagination. Eloquent as a preacher, he soon aroused the enthusiasm of those who indulged in golden dreams of paradise on earth under the social system so eloquently described and painted in the glowing colors of the finished orator. He exerted himself to the utmost for the restoration of Apostolic religion on pietistic principles, and gained many partisans.\* But Labadie died in 1674, at Altona, in Denmark, whither he had gone with his followers, who soon removed to Wiewert in Friesland, where, gaining but few adherents, they resolved, as has already been stated, upon colonization in America.

Their agents, Sluyter and Dankers, were well pleased with a tract of land on Bohemia Manor, consisting of four

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\* Dr. Brower, Danville, Pennsylvania.





contiguous necks of land and comprising three thousand seven hundred and fifty acres, for which a deed of conveyance was executed by Augustine Herman on the 11th of August, 1684. Secure in the possession of this tract of land, which has thenceforth borne the name of "The Labadie Tract," Sluyter and Dankers prepared immediately to establish the community on-it. A company of men and women, including several families, arrived from Wiewert. A few persons residing in New York also removed thither. Sluyter declared himself bishop or abbot, and installed his wife a kind of abbess over the female portion of the establishment. Thus was formed not only a new colony but a new church of Labadists in America.

The members belonging to this community did not at any time greatly exceed a hundred men, women, and children. They had all their possessions in common, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of the property. They worked at different employments in the house or on the land, such as the manufacture of linen and the cultivation of corn, tobacco, flax, and hemp. The Labadists ate their meals in silence, the men by themselves and the women by themselves, the former with their heads covered, except during a short season spent in inaudible thanksgiving. They slept in the same or adjoining buildings, one of which was designated "The Great House," in the garden of which was the common graveyard in which the members at their decease were buried. The dress of the Labadists was plain and simple. Gold and silver ornaments, jewelry, carpets, lace, and other fancy work, were prohibited. Eschewing all fashions of the



world, they confined themselves to the useful and necessary.

But the seeds of dissolution were developing themselves to such an extent that in so short a space of time as fourteen years it appeared certain that the perpetuity of such a social system could not continue. Hence, in 1698, Petrus Sluyter, who had become sole proprietor of the entire lands, perhaps by the withdrawal of most of the others, resolved to divide the property between the remaining members. He conveyed three of the necks to Hendrick Sluyter, Samuel Bayard, and others, while he retained one of the necks himself, and became a wealthy man in his own right. He died in 1722, after his wife, about which time the Labadists seem to have disbanded. Certain it is that nothing of them remained, as a religious community on Bohemia Manor, five years after his death.\*

This was, so far as we know, the first attempt of the believers in this visionary scheme of social life in this country, which has since been tried by the Shakers, the settlers at Harmony on the Ohio, and in other places, but always with nearly the same results as followed the scheme of the Labadists, although often the end was farther postponed and wealth more largely accumulated. The sole memorial that survives to the present to tell us that the Labadist body once lived is that the tract of land on which it lived, died, and was buried, still bears the name of "The Labadie Tract."

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\* See publications of "The Long Island Historical Society," vol. i., Introduction.



## IV.

## THE SLUYTER AND BOUCHELLE FAMILIES.

The Sluyter Family—The Labadist Bishop—He reserves and occupies Third Neck—Hendrick, the Ancestor—The Ancestral Estate—The Ancient Graveyard—The Labadie Mill—Solomon Hersey—St. Augustine Church and Graveyard—Lege de Bouchelle and his Descendants—Dr. S. Bouchelle's Elaborate Tomb—The Old Family Graveyard.

I SHOULD not do justice to the history of Bohemia Manor did I not refer at some length to the more prominent families who descended from the Labadists, and who inherited the so-called Labadie Tract, some of whom still have representatives on that historic ground. I refer to the Sluyters, the Bouchelles, and the Bayards.

Of the first-named family, the most distinguished member was Dr. Petrus Sluyter, formerly of Wesel, in Germany, but more recently from Amsterdam, in Holland. His first appearance in America was in 1679, when, as has already been stated, he was commissioned by the Labadists of Friesland, of whose society he was an influential member, to find in the New World a suitable territory to which they might move. He and his wife, whose name was De Vries, settled on Bohemia Manor about the year 1683. On the death of the latter, Petrus Sluyter married Anna Margaretta Couda, who was the widow of Lege de Bouchelle, and the mother of Dr. Petrus Bouchelle, and also of Susanna Bouchelle who became the second wife of Samuel Bayard. Petrus





Sluyter spent his last days on the Third Neck of the Labadie Tract, which he had renamed Providence, and from it, unattended by wife or children, all of whom he had survived, his mortal remains were in 1722 borne (as he expressed it in his will), "to be buried after our own humble way in the garden of the so-called Great House, where several of my brethren and sisters in Christ repose." His papers and books were bequeathed to his brother Johannes, and his watch to his kinsman, Hendrick Sluyter.

Hendrick Sluyter,\* just named, was probably the ancestor of all the Sluyters who have lived on Bohemia Manor since 1722, and his plantation, which has descended from father to son from his day to the present generation, may be considered the ancestral seat of the family. It is located at the confluence of the Bohemia River and the Labadie Mill Creek, and was occupied by him in 1717, when, it is supposed, he built thereon a residence long since gone to decay, near which may still be seen the old Sluyter graveyard. The spot, which is overgrown with weeds and wholly neglected, reveals but two inscribed gravestones, on one of which are the characters "H. S." In this obscure and unsightly spot lie buried nearly all who bore the name of Sluyter.

Hendrick Sluyter died in 1722, and was succeeded in the possession and occupancy of this large estate by his son Benjamin, excepting from it, of course, the widow's legal dower. The latter has been adversely immortalized in her

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\* The author has in his possession a genealogical chart of the Sluyter family, and many interesting facts relating thereto.



husband's last will and testament, which declares, "as my wife, to my sorrow, had always some difference with my friends, it is my desire that she retire to her former home in Philadelphia, or elsewhere." No matter what may be said disparagingly of this woman's disposition, she could not have been devoid of some redeeming qualities, else she would not have succeeded, as she did, in winning to herself the heart and hand not only of such a prominent gentleman as Hendrick Sluyter, but also of a second husband, named Jawert, and a third husband, named Lawson, and even a fourth husband, named Boom.

Her first husband, Hendrick Sluyter, died on February 4, 1722, when his son Benjamin took possession of his inheritance, and probably occupied the house his father had erected. Here he resided for about thirty years, enjoying the heritage of lands and slaves and other wealth which his ancestors had accumulated. In 1754 he sells to Solomon Hersey the historic Labadie Mill, which for nearly seventy years had ground the grain of the industrious and frugal Labadists. The old mill was located in a picturesque and romantic region, and a tale or two might be told, if its crumbling walls could speak, of the joys and sorrows, the hopes and disappointments experienced there. With little stretch of imagination we can picture a handsome and venerable man, whose name we will not give, returning to the scene of other days and early joys, and soliloquizing thus:

"Here, from the brow of the hill, I look,  
Through a lattice of boughs and leaves,  
On the old gray mill, with its gambrel roof,  
And the moss on its rotting eves.





I hear the clatter that jars its wall,  
And the rushing water's sound,  
And I see the black floats rise and fall  
As the wheel goes slowly round.

"I rode there often, when I was young,  
With my grist on the horse before,  
And talked with Nelly, the miller's girl,  
As I waited my turn at the door.  
And while she tossed her ringlets brown,  
And flirted and chatted so free,  
The wheel might stop, or the wheel might go,  
It was all the same to me.

"'Tis twenty years since last I stood  
On the spot where I stand to-day;  
And Nelly is wed, and the miller is dead,  
And the mill and I are gray.  
But both, till we fall into ruin and wreck,  
To our fortune of toil are bound;  
And the man goes, and the stream flows,  
And the wheel moves slowly round."\*

While Solomon Hersey was in possession of this mill-property, the pioneer preachers of the Methodist church often slept and conducted religious services beneath his hospitable roof, including Bishop Asbury himself, and it is said that beneath that same roof the first Methodist Society on the Eastern Shore of Maryland was organized in 1771.

The same Benjamin Sluyter, who sold to Solomon Hersey the mill-property, parted with another acre or two of his plantation, but for a very different purpose. On August

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\* Lines by T. Dunn English, in *Harper's Magazine*. "Into ruin and wreck" the old mill has at last fallen, and but little remains to mark its site.



6, 1751, he sells for "four hundred pounds of good merchantable tobacco," to the vestry of Augustine Parish, so much of his land as was at that time used and occupied by the St. Augustine church. As the early records of this church, when it was yet a chapel of St. Stephen's, on Sassafras Neck, were long ago destroyed by fire, the date of its erection is lost. Suffice it to say that it was an ancient structure when the great-grandparents of the present generation were little children sporting around its crumbling walls, or playing hide-and-seek behind and beneath its time-worn tombstones.

This old Manor church was held in veneration, not only for its antiquity, but also because it had been the Sabbath-home of so many of the early settlers, and because that, under its shadow, scores, if not hundreds, of them had found sepulture.

"Thou art crumbling to the dust, old pile;  
Thou art hastening to thy fall;  
And round thee, in thy loneliness,  
Clings the ivy to the wall.  
The worshippers are scattered now  
Who knelt before thy shrine,  
And silence reigns where anthems rose  
In days of 'Auld Lang Syne.'

"And sadly sighs the wandering wind  
Where oft, in years gone by,  
Prayer rose from many hearts to Him  
The Highest of the High.  
The tread of many a noiseless foot  
That sought thy aisles is o'er,  
And many a weary heart, around,  
Is still for evermore.



"How doth ambition's hope take wing!  
How drops the spirit now!  
We hear the distant city's din;  
The dead are mute below.  
The sun that shone upon their paths  
Now guilds their lowly graves;  
The zephyr which once fanned their brows  
The grass above them waves.

"Oh! could we call the many back  
Who've gathered here in vain;  
Who've careless roved where we do now,  
Who'll never meet again:  
How would our very hearts be stirred  
To meet the earnest gaze  
Of the lovely and the beautiful,—  
The lights of other days."\*

A structure that had been so long historic as this old Manor church is worthy of description, which fortunately I am able to furnish in the language of a distinguished gentleman, who, by the way, had large landed interests on the Manor. I refer to the Hon. Richard H. Bayard, who, writing under date of May 7, 1860, says, "The old Manor church was a brick quadrangular building with a circular projection on the eastern side. It had a hipped-roof with a heavy wooden cornice round the four sides. The entrance was on the western side, and I think there were two large windows on each of the other sides. There was a gallery along the western side, a board floor, and the body of the church was divided into the old-fashioned box pews.

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\* The above lines were found, written anonymously, on the wall of the old Blandford church, Virginia.





"I recollect it," continues Mr. Bayard, "while it was yet in a decent state of preservation. But as most of the inhabitants of the Manor at the period I refer to, in the early part of the present century, had embraced the discipline and form of worship of the Methodist church, there was no Episcopal congregation to repair the ravages of time, and these were hastened by the depredations of obscure persons living in its immediate neighborhood. Its gallery, its pews, and its floors were carried off piece-meal for fuel, and finally its brick walls were demolished and used in the domestic architecture of its despoilers. . . . The lot on which the old church stood is still enclosed, and a frame building was some years since erected on it, in which divine service is occasionally performed."

It may be observed that the recent improvement of the building, and especially of the graveyard surrounding it, is due, in large part, to the generosity of Colonel Alfred Nowland, of New Castle, whose parents worshipped in the ancient structure, and of the late Augustus Nowland (father of the Hon. Henry A. Nowland), whose remains, according to his request, and in indulgence of his poetic and romantic fancy, were buried in a certain previously designated spot, on the site of the old sanctuary, under whose shadow, seventy years ago, he played with schoolmates who now lie near him in death.

But I must return to mention again the Benjamin Sluyter who parted with the ground that was devoted to these religious purposes. He died about the year 1752, leaving his large estate to be equally divided among his sons, Henry and Peter. The last named took possession of the



lower half, which bordered on Bohemia River, and occupied the old mansion, which is said to have been a building of considerable proportions and pretensions, while the other son, Henry Sluyter, took the upper half, and built thereon a strong, substantial, and attractive brick building, which may be considered the home of each successive generation of Sluyters from that day to this; and, surprising as it may seem, though this old structure has twice been tried by fire, its walls appear as strong as when first erected, more than one hundred and thirty years ago.

In course of time Peter Sluyter died, and his inheritance, which, as already stated, included the old homestead and the old family graveyard, became the possession of his brother Henry, from which time until the present the two farms have been considered as one, and were, at Henry's death, inherited by his only son, Benjamin Sluyter, who had already married Francina Thompson, a descendant of Augustine Herman, the first lord of the Manor. In this family is instanced a widower with a son, marrying a widow with a daughter. But not only did the widower marry the widow, but the widower's son married the widow's daughter, and thus was begun a series of relationships that are intricate and perplexing in the extreme. Think of it, a man has a wife, and cousin, and step-sister, all in one. The father of this family died in 1812, and during an April hail- and snow-storm his lifeless form was buried; and his son, Henry Thompson Sluyter, succeeded to the possession of the property and the occupancy of the brick mansion which his father and grandfather had owned before him.





Here he enjoyed the luxuries and conveniences that wealth affords, and here he dispensed a generous hospitality until, in the very midst of his days and enjoyments, he was unexpectedly stricken with a fatal disease. On Valentine eve, in the year 1821, having invited his friends from near and far, he expected to enjoy festivities with them beneath his own roof, but while awaiting the appointed hour and the promised pleasure, he was attacked with sickness, and lay agonizing in the arms of death. The next night he who was known as "the gallant" Henry Sluyter breathed his last. He left several children, one of whom became the wife of the late Augustus Nowland, and another, Benjamin F. Sluyter, became the inheritor of his father's estate,\* the possession of which he enjoyed for many years, and then died at a good old age. Long before his decease he expressed a desire to be buried beside his father and his father's father, in the old family graveyard, but the spot had become so utterly neglected and forsaken that his friends decided to bury him in the beautiful Bethel Cemetery, where many of his kindred are interred. There, to-day, a beautiful and substantial granite monument marks his last resting-place. It may be added that in the death of Benjamin F. Sluyter became extinct a family that for the previous two hundred years had been prominent on Bohemia Manor,—a family that had in several alternate generations of father and son transmitted the Christian names "Henry" and "Benjamin" to their descendants. So far as is known, the last named was the last of his name in America.

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\* This estate is now the property of Mr. H. H. Brady, of Chesapeake City, Md.



Another noteworthy Bohemia Manor family bears the name Bouchelle. Its first representative, so far as we are informed, was Lege de Bouchelle, who had married Anna Margaretta Couda (subsequently the second wife of the Labadist bishop, Petrus Sluyter), and whose children were Susanna Bouchelle, who became the second wife of Samuel Bayard, and Dr. Petrus Bouchelle, who became the sole heir of his step-father, Petrus Sluyter, on whose property, which consisted of the third neck of the Labadie Tract, he settled, and which, by the way, became the ancestral homestead of the Bouchelle family, in the possession of which family it has remained until within a comparatively recent date. Dr. Petrus Bouchelle was prominent in his day, and, as a Presbyterian elder, was instrumental in the organization or sustentation of churches at St. George's and Middletown, Delaware, as well as at one or two points in Maryland. He was the father of three sons, Peter, Sluyter, and Thomas, whose names are prominently associated with the history of Bohemia Manor.

The first son, Peter Bouchelle, married Catharine Herman, one of the co-heiresses of Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman, a grandson of the founder of the Manor. The parties to this marriage, conformably to the express wish of their eminent ancestor, adopted his name, and thenceforth respectively subscribed themselves Peter Augustine Bouchelle and Catharine Augustine Bouchelle. They had but one child, a daughter, who became the ancestor of the Ensors and Oldhams,—families whose history has already been noticed.

The second son of Dr. Petrus Bouchelle was Sluyter,



who became a physician of extensive practice on Bohemia Manor and in New Castle County. Besides inheriting one-half of his father's farm, he received the contents of his father's apothecary-shop, including, it is thought, a now well-worn and antique mortar and pestle, which have come down through many generations to his descendant of to-day, the venerable Anthony M. Higgins, of St. George's, Delaware. Dr. Sluyter Bouchelle owned property in other States, and was considered a man of wealth. When advanced in years he moved to North Carolina, where he died, providing in his will for the erection of his burial-vault near the residence of Colonel Waight Still Avery. The vault was to be an imposing structure, consisting, in part, of ten marble slabs and six marble columns, with capitals in the Doric order of architecture. For some unexplained reason the vault was never erected, and though the doctor's remains were buried on the spot he had designated, yet afterwards they were disinterred and deposited elsewhere. He died in 1799.

It should have been stated that there accompanied him to North Carolina his nephew, Thomas Bouchelle, who remained in the South, establishing himself as a practising physician, and became the father of a large family of children, only one of whom is now living, namely, Mrs. Ellena Bouchelle Jones,\* of Columbia, Missouri. Her

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\* In the possession of this family is a finger-ring once the property of old Dr. Sluyter Bouchelle. On it is engraved his monogram, and in its locket is a braid of his snow-white hair. The writer has the genealogical chart of this family and copies of interesting documents.





sister, the late Mrs. Sarah Bouchelle Lenoir, to whom I have been indebted for interesting facts concerning her father's family, died in 1877, in the seventy-ninth year of her age, remarkable for her mental and physical vigor. She left five children and many grandchildren to mourn their loss.

Another son of Dr. Petrus Bouchelle was Thomas, who married Sarah Price, and became the father of Peter A. Bouchelle, whose descendants may be found on the Manor at the present time. The latter and his brother, John Bouchelle, divided between them the old homestead that for so many generations had been in the Bouchelle family, and that still holds the dust of their buried dead. The graveyard is a low mound the shape of an inverted saucer, fifty or sixty feet in circumference. The oldest representative of this family still remaining is my venerable friend Mr. John W. Bouchelle, whose hospitality I have frequently enjoyed, several of whose children I have married, and some of whose grandchildren I have baptized and buried.\*

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\* A genealogical chart of the Bouchelles from their arrival on Bohemia Manor is among my papers. Through the kindness of Mr. Duncan Cannon and Mrs. Emma Bouchelle Craig, of Baltimore, I am in possession of copies of the Bouchelle coat of arms.

The name Craig, just mentioned, has been well known on Bohemia Manor ever since the year 1769, when William Craig purchased and occupied on Town Point an estate which is known as "The Lone Tree Farm." It still is, and has been for the past one hundred and nineteen years, in the possession of the Craig family.



## V.

## THE BAYARD FAMILY.

Their Origin—Arrival in America—Coat of Arms—Petrus Bayard—His Son Samuel—Old Dutch Bible—Colonel Peter Bayard's Mansion—Rev. Dr. Rodgers—Vandegrift—Local Celebrities—A Military Character—Remarkable Dream—Bayard Souvenirs.

THE Bayard family, originally from France, derived the surname of Bayard from their château in Dauphiny, six miles from Grenoble. The family name was Du Terrail, and the celebrated knight of that family bore the name of Pierre du Terrail Seigneur de Bayard. He died April 30, 1524, at the age of forty-eight years, unmarried and without issue. The members of the Terrail family, his collateral kinsmen, adopted his arms, and, being Seigneurs de Bayard, bore that surname. During the religious trouble which distracted France in the sixteenth century some of the family emigrated to Holland, and one of them married Anna Stuyvesant, sister of the last Dutch governor of New York. Madam Anna Bayard, her husband being dead, accompanied her brother, Peter Stuyvesant, to New York, then called New Amsterdam, with her three sons, Balthazar, Nicholas, and Petrus, where they landed in 1647.

While this theory of the origin of the Bayard family has been generally accepted, it has not gone altogether unchallenged. There are some genealogists who believe that





there has always existed a mistake as to the origin of the family who came to America in 1647, which, though without doubt emigrated from France into Holland, were, as they say, from Languedoc instead of Dauphiny, where the family of Terrail de Bayard resided; and by a comparison of the coat of arms, to be found upon the various pieces of old silver in the possession of different members of the family, one cannot but remark the exact resemblance to the arms of the Languedoc family, while it totally differs from that of the Terrails.

I do not know of any authority stating whence came the Rev. Balthazar Bayard (the grandfather of Balthazar, Nicholas, and Petrus, who accompanied their mother, in 1647, to this country), but he must have passed into Holland early in the seventeenth century when the persecution of the Huguenots was so bitter, and as there appears the name of a Bayard among the names of the professors of the University of Paris, who was compelled to leave on account of his religious sentiments, it is not unlikely that the two were identical.\* The family in its numerous ramifications has spread all over the United States, with many representatives in Nova Scotia and England; therefore it would be an undertaking involving a great deal of trouble to hunt up authentic data. Our task, however, is comparatively easy, as we propose to limit our researches to the descendants of but one of the three brothers, Petrus Bayard, who landed in New York in 1647.

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\* Mr. H. R. Sadler, of New York, a relative of the Bayards, has furnished me with interesting and valuable historical items.



The Petrus Bayard\* just named was for a time one of the deacons of the old Dutch church in New York, but, as would seem, becoming dissatisfied with his own religious attainments, and grieved at the worldliness that surrounded him, he decided to seek opportunities for continued and uninterrupted meditation and prayer in the seclusion of Bombay Hook, an island of six hundred acres in the Delaware River, which Governor Andros had granted him in 1675, and which four years afterwards he purchased from the Indians. But just previous to his proposed removal to this island he became acquainted with the religious colonists called Labadists, already referred to, who were about to settle on Bohemia Manor, with whom he cast in his lot, assisting them in the purchase and occupancy of four necks of land which have ever since borne the name of The Labadie Tract.

For some unaccountable reason he shortly afterwards disposed of his share of this property and returned to New York, where he died in 1699, being survived by his wife, Blandina Kierstede, whom he had married in New York on November 28, 1674. The issue of this marriage was three children, of the eldest of whom only we care now to speak. His name was Samuel Bayard, and he was born in the year 1675. While yet a young man he was married to Elizabeth Sluyter, and came into possession of a portion of territory

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\* The author has prepared, at considerable expense, complete and accurate genealogical charts of the descendants of Petrus Bayard, and possesses very many interesting facts concerning the family, which could not be introduced into these pages.



on Bohemia Manor that had belonged to his father. On the death of his first wife Samuel Bayard was married to Miss Susanna Bouchelle, the daughter of Lege de Bouchelle and Anna Margaretta Couda. The mother, at this time being a widow, had married for her second husband the Labadist bishop, Petrus Sluyter.

Samuel Bayard was twenty-four and Susanna Bouchelle twenty-two years old at the time of their marriage, and they lived together for twenty-two years, when, in 1721, death claimed him, and he was laid to rest among his kindred and friends. The wife, who mourned her loss, was a woman of fine talents, many accomplishments, and deep piety. She could write and speak the Latin, French, Dutch, and English languages. Her family record, kept by her own hand, may still be seen, though faded under the influence of more than one hundred and seventy years, in an old Dutch Bible now in the possession of her descendant, Mrs. General James Grant Wilson, of New York City. Besides the Bible, she left voluminous manuscripts, which were lost during the Revolutionary war. She was a lady of spirit, and exerted considerable influence. At seventy years of age she mounted her horse with agility, and controlled it with the dexterity of a skilful rider.

This remarkable woman, Mrs. Susanna Bayard, was a warm friend of the celebrated Rev. George Whitefield, whose preaching so electrified the people of the American colonies one hundred and thirty years ago. She entertained him at her mansion whenever he visited the Manor, and Whitefield himself refers to her in his diary when he speaks of being "kindly received by old Mrs. Bayard, a





true mother in Israel." This mother in Israel, who had been the widow of Samuel Bayard for thirty years, died on November 2, 1750, leaving four children, all of whom were adults, and between whom the large estate was divided.

The eldest of these four children, afterwards known as Colonel Peter Bayard, who was born about the year 1705, was married to Miss Susanna Richardson, whose parents resided on the banks of the Christiana Creek, near Wilmington, in an old mansion that was standing as late as 1833. On its site now stands a house built in part of the material of the former structure, and containing among other things a relic of the furniture of its predecessor in the shape of an antique corner cupboard, of late years the property of Henry Latimer, a relative of the Richardsons.

The above-named Colonel Peter Bayard and his wife, Susanna Richardson, occupied a large brick mansion on Bohemia Manor, which is so elevated that it commands a beautiful and extensive view of the surrounding country. It is a very ancient structure, and its heavy walls and strong foundations bear indications of the wear and tear of time. To this old home\* there used to come, in the long ago, the then young and eloquent pastor of the St. George's Presbyterian church, in Delaware, who afterwards, when a pastor in New York City, was known as the distinguished Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., the intimate friend and confidential adviser of General Washington. In this old home he found his wife, the Colonel's daughter, Eliza-

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\* Recently purchased by Mr. Joseph H. Steele, of Chesapeake City, whose wife's parents, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Bouchelle, owned and occupied it for many years.



beth Bayard.\* She was a woman of excellent understanding, of eminent piety and prudence, and proved truly a helpmeet for him. By her he had four children, two of whom reached adult age, namely, Dr. John R. Bayard Rodgers, an eminent physician of New York, and for a number of years one of the medical professors of Columbia College; and Mrs. Susanna Tennent, wife of the Rev. Dr. William M. Tennent, of Abington, Pennsylvania. (See the "Life of Dr. Rodgers," by Samuel Miller, D.D.)

Mrs. Rodgers, at her death, was buried near the pulpit of the old St. George's church, where her husband so long and so eloquently preached the gospel. Though the church edifice was demolished many years ago, her tombstone may still be seen. It bears this inscription :

" Here lieth the body of  
MRS. ELIZABETH BAYARD,  
wife of  
the Rev. Mr. John Rodgers, A. M.,  
who departed this life  
January 20th, 1763,  
in the 28th year of her age."

Colonel Peter Bayard's brother, the second son of Samuel, bore his father's name. He married Francina Maulden on July 3, 1729, and became the father of twelve children, to three or four of whom we will refer. The eldest, whose name was Samuel, was born on May 30,

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\* Colonel Peter Bayard had two other daughters,—Ann, who married William Scott, and Susanna, who married Jonathan Smith. The latter's son, Samuel Harrison Smith, married a daughter of Colonel John Bayard, and had a son Bayard Smith, of Baltimore, whose family record and other papers he kindly loaned to the writer.





1730, and forty-eight years afterwards was married to Mrs. Ann Lawrenson, the daughter of Nicholas Vandegrift,\* and granddaughter of a titled woman, Lady Barnchy Van Kirk Perry. Samuel and Ann had three children,—Ann Bayard, Francina Bayard, and Sarah A. Bayard, three worthy daughters, who became local celebrities, and lived, died, and were buried on Bohemia Manor. They were pious and intelligent women, and each for many years kept a diary of her doings, as well as a record of the history and traditions of her ancestors.

The eldest of these three daughters, Ann Bayard, was born January 1, 1781, and was married in 1804 to Levi G. Foard, whose children were Samuel B., Richard J., Edward L., and Mary Foard. The last named became the wife of Captain Lambert D. Nowland. The next of the three daughters was Francina Bayard. She married Samuel Wirt, and had a son, Dr. John Wesley Wirt, whose children still have property on Bohemia Manor. The youngest of the three daughters was Sarah A. Bayard. She was born on November 22, 1788, and subsequently was married to John T. Wirt, whose children and grandchildren continue to reside in the vicinity of the old Bayard homestead.

But we must return to the children of Samuel and Francina Bayard. Susanna was born June 24, 1741, and died

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\* Nicholas Vandegrift was on Bohemia Manor as early as 1725. Every vestige of his dwelling-house has disappeared, and only the faintest outline of the family graveyard remains. His descendants intermarried with the Pughs, Chicks, Biddles, Costens, and others. Lewis C. Vandegrift, Esq., a member of the Delaware Historical Society, is collaterally related to this family.



unmarried, aged seventy-eight years,—the last of the Bayards descending from the second Samuel, and the last of the fourth generation since the arrival of the Bayards on Bohemia Manor. She was a devout Christian, greatly esteemed by those who knew her. A remembrance of her, appropriately inscribed by her own hand, is a volume of Whitefield's sermons, now in the possession of her relative, Miss Mary Higgins, of McDonough, Delaware.

Susanna Bayard had a brother Peter, who, by virtue of the law of entail then in force, became possessed of Bombay Hook Island, which had been inherited by the eldest living son of the family in each generation since the death of his great-grandfather, in 1699. To this island he used to repair at least once a year to collect from his tenants their rent, which frequently consisted of nothing but muskrat skins. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-five years, and, though he died a long time ago, he is still remembered by a few survivors as a patriarchal man, with snow-white locks, whose attire consisted in part of short-clothes, long hose, and knee- and shoe-buckles.

This Peter Bayard had a brother Stephen, who, at the age of thirty-one years, raised a company in Philadelphia and received his commission as captain, dated January 5, 1776, and was assigned to St. Clair's Pennsylvania battalion. He was subsequently commissioned colonel, and served faithfully and honorably from the beginning to the close of the Revolutionary war, participating in many of its battles, hardships, and privations. At the termination of the war he settled in Pittsburg, where, in 1783, he formed a partnership with a brother officer, Major Isaac Craig, with whom



he purchased from the Penns the first ground that was sold within the limits of Pittsburg, on a portion of which stood old Fort Duquesne.

In the spring of 1788, Colonel Stephen Bayard retired from Pittsburg and settled on a large tract of land on the Monongahela River, fourteen miles distant, and immediately proceeded to lay out a town, which he named "Elizabeth," in honor of his wife, who, by the way, was a daughter of Colonel Æneas MacKay, an officer of the British army. Shortly after the declaration of war, in 1812, Colonel Stephen Bayard's services were again sought by the government. A major-general's commission was tendered him by President Madison, but age and bodily infirmities constrained him to decline its acceptance. A zealous patriot and a fervent Christian, he spent the best years of his life in the service of his country and his God. He died on December 13, 1815, aged seventy-one years, and was buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian church of Pittsburg.

The present writer has enjoyed, in the latter city, the hospitality of a very aged gentleman,\* a son of the military character just named, and heard him relate many interesting reminiscences of his father. Among other things related was a remarkable dream which Colonel Bayard once had concerning his more distinguished cousin, Colonel John Bayard, of New Brunswick, New Jersey. We here give the dream in the language of the son, who says: "I, with my elder brother, George Bayard, occupied a room

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\* John B. Bayard. His son, David E. Bayard, of Pittsburg, was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania some years ago.





adjoining that of my father. On a certain night (and I remember it well, for it made an indelible impression on my memory) we awoke, hearing our father walking up and down his room,—a thing so unusual that we concluded that he was sick, and we arose from our bed to inquire. Our father informed us that in a dream his cousin, Colonel John Bayard, had appeared to him as distinctly as he had ever done and announced to him that he had just died. My father was an intelligent gentleman and by no means superstitious, yet I saw him take down his memorandum-book and make a note of the dream. Some days after, while in the presence of his family, a letter bearing a black seal was handed to him. Before breaking the seal he exclaimed, ‘Did I not tell you that John Bayard was dead!’ The letter, on being opened, was found to contain the full particulars of his cousin’s death, which sad event occurred on the very night of the dream.”

Colonel Stephen Bayard had a brother, Benjamin, whose descendants alone, of all the many members of the Bayard family, continue the name on Bohemia Manor; and it is a remarkable fact that of these descendants now on the Manor only one is a male. This one lays claim to Bombay Hook Island, and some years ago exhibited, in substantiation of that claim, a very large parchment deed for the island given by Governor Andros, more than two hundred years ago, to his great-great-great-grandfather, Petrus Bayard.

One of the sweetest, saddest sights I ever witnessed while engaged in pastoral work on Bohemia Manor was furnished by one of the many descendants referred to above. A fair



young lady lay dying, and from her couch she could see the white marble monuments that marked the last resting-place of her ancestors and more immediate kindred, and also the green sod that was soon to be upturned on her account. Her home was a very humble one, and yet there were numbered among her paternal and maternal ancestors the rich and the influential of long ago, and had she but received her due, a larger share of earth's bounties would have contributed to her comfort in her last days. She had enjoyed the advantages of an education, and on account of her personal charms was admired by a large circle of acquaintances. Her affectionate disposition, winning manners, and choice conversation easily won all hearts. But the hectic flush made even handsomer her already handsome face, and the peculiar brightness of the eye that often foretokens speedy death was hers. She soon faded, and, as I have just intimated, died within sight of the quiet country graveyard that held so many of her precious buried dead, and that to-day holds her lifeless form.

The home of her great-great-grandfather, Samuel Bayard, who was the head of this branch of the family still stands, and has stood for one hundred and forty years. It is a frame structure, and the winds and storms of all these years have dealt severely with it. This, together with the repairs and additions that each successive generation of occupants deemed desirable and necessary, has not only marred the original symmetry of the ancient structure, but has made it one of the most unique if not grotesque specimens of architecture observable for many miles around. Beneath its ample roof General Kniphausen made his head-





quarters when, in 1777, he and his Hessian troops encamped upon the Manor. Upon the walls of this old mansion might have been seen many years ago an elaborate and artistic military display,—the work of a soldier's pencil. Thoughtless hands long since obliterated the picture.

I have already said that the first Samuel Bayard who settled on Bohemia Manor in 1698 was the father of three sons and one daughter, namely, Peter, the ancestor of the Bayard, Smith, and Rodgers families; Samuel, the ancestor of the few Bayards who still remain on Bohemia Manor, as well as of the Bayards who may be found in Pennsylvania; James, the ancestor of the Delaware and New Jersey Bayards; and Mary Ann or Anna Maria, who married Dr. Sluyter Bouchelle, and was the ancestor of the Bouchelles of the South as well as of the late Anthony M. Higgins and Cæsar A. Rodney.

The latter gentleman possessed and greatly prized a souvenir that had descended to him from his Bayard ancestors. It is a diminutive French prayer-book printed in 1648. Its cover is made of tortoise shell and its back is of steel. On the back is a complicated monogram which neither Mr. Rodney nor his friends have been able to decipher. The book contains the following quaint inscription:

“1790, Polly Higgins, her book.

Mary Higgins, her book.

It was brought from France by her  
great-grandmother Madame Bayard in 1660.

This is a piece of antiquity.

Mary Higgins' book.

Wilmington, Sept. 15th, 1810.”



## VI.

## JAMES BAYARD'S DESCENDANTS.

James Bayard married Mary Ashton—An Ancient and Noted Mansion—An Aged Occupant's Description—"Whitefield's Room"—Old Mrs. Bayard, a Mother in Israel—James's Twins—Colonel John Bayard—His Last Visit—His Death and his Tomb.

THE Mary Ann or Anna Maria Bayard who married Dr. Sluyter Bouchelle had, as I have already stated, a brother James. The latter married Mary Ashton, whom he brought to the Bohemia Manor residence of his widowed mother, whose interests he proposed to superintend during her declining days. The residence itself demands more than a passing notice, as it is probably the most interesting structure, historically considered, now standing on Bohemia Manor, being, as it is, the ancestral seat and the birthplace of the more distinguished branch of the Bayard family. The writer has frequently visited this old mansion, has wandered around its castle-like walls, awed by their solidity and gloom, has been hospitably entertained beneath its spacious roof, and has been permitted to wander from cellar to attic while engaged in antiquarian research.

The mansion is a large, two-storied, brick building, and has a front portico along its entire length, also large folding-doors, on one of which is found a heavy brass knocker.



There are four front windows in the second story, each of which has very deep sills and the old-time diminutive window-panes set in heavy sashes. The front door admits you to a large vestibule, furnished with a fire-place. Immediately facing you is the dining-hall, while at your right hand is a reception-room, and at your left a spacious parlor.

The apartments in the second story, reached by a broad, winding staircase, for the most part correspond in size with the rooms already described, and one of them, that in the northwest corner of the house, is even to this day called "Whitefield's room," in honor of the great preacher whose name it bears, who often occupied it when he labored on the Manor, though his feet crossed its threshold for the last time one hundred and thirty years ago. As the peaked roof of the mansion is very deep, room is found for two attics between it and the ceiling of the second story, so that the house is much more ample than an outside view would suggest. Besides the ordinary cellar, there is a sub-cellar, or wine vault, deep and long.\*

I must not neglect to describe the parlor, which, with the exception of the so-called "Whitefield's room," is the most interesting and attractive apartment of the house. It is a large room, whose walls are wainscoted from floor to ceiling, whose mantel-piece is ponderous, and whose ample fireplace in the long, long past, was the spot about which gathered many of the great and good of earlier generations.

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\* I have in my collection of Bayard relics and mementos a remnant of a Bayard wine-bottle, bearing on its glass seal the date 1740 and the monogram of the original owner.





A relic of great historic interest and antiquarian worth once ornamented this parlor, but now is numbered among my own collection of relics, through the kindness of the present owner,\* of this Bayard mansion. The relic is an iron fire-plate about three feet wide and four feet high, in the centre of which is a representation of a scriptural scene, Christ and the woman at the well, with the approaching disciples seen in the distance. Beneath the picture are the characters

“C. D. ANNO 1667.”

It is surprising that the Bayard family could lose sight of this interesting object, on which, probably, have rested the eyes of representatives of each successive generation since the arrival of the first of the name on Bohemia Manor.

The writer received, ten years ago, from a venerable friend, who in childhood had been an inmate of this ancient mansion, a letter describing it, in which these words occur: “At what time it was built I have no knowledge. The iron fire-plate which stood in the parlor fireplace I remember seeing many a time and oft. It represented the meeting of our Saviour with the woman of Samaria, to whom he so freely offered the water, to drink of which she would not thirst again. And I also remember a pair of quaint andirons in the same fireplace, but what has become of these relics I know not. . . . Some one hundred or two hundred yards southwest from the dwelling-house was a family burying-ground, where the Bayards, I believe, are

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\* Colonel Richard C. Johnson, of Massey's, Maryland.



buried. There used to be, when I was a child, in the top loft of the dwelling-house, a barrel or two of old papers and documents, and, no doubt, if they could be found\* they would assist your researches greatly. In my juvenile days the house laid claim to some distinction, the rooms were large, the ceilings high, wainscoted, and corniced. A knocker of brass upon the front folding-doors was sufficient to be heard at the top of the building. The brick was of superior quality and, as I have often heard said, had been imported. Sixty years have passed since I left the place, and thirty since I have seen it. I should hardly recognize anything now.

‘The meadow, the fountain, the deep-tangled wildwood,  
And all the loved scenes which my infancy knew,’

alas, are gone, and gone forever.”

It has already been remarked that the celebrated Rev. George Whitefield was a guest at the Bayard mansion. In his Journal he thus refers to his first visit there. Under date of November 24, 1740, he says: “I arrived on Bohemia Manor about eleven o’clock last night and was most kindly received by old Mrs. Bayard, a true mother in Israel, many of whose family are under good impressions. I preached in the afternoon to about two thousand, and have not seen a more solid melting, I think, since my arrival. . . . I parted from good old Mrs. Bayard in tears and rode with my friends about ten miles to a place called St.

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\* Inquiry was made as to the whereabouts of these barrels and their contents. An occupant of the house, now dead, destroyed them by fire, because mice had made their nests in them.





George's, where a kind and courteous Quaker received us into his house." Whitefield's second visit to Bohemia Manor occurred in April, 1747. Here he spent four weeks, during which he wrote as follows in reply to a request to labor elsewhere: "Here are thousands in these southern parts who scarce ever heard of redeeming grace. Is it not my duty as an itinerant to go where the gospel has not been named? I am willing to hunt in the woods after sinners, and could be content that the name of George Whitefield shall rot if thereby the name of my dear Redeemer could be exalted." Whitefield's third visit to Bohemia Manor occurred in December, 1754, at which time he was just forty years old. It ought to be observed that this eminently pious and useful gospel minister exerted a wonderful influence for good upon the inhabitants of Bohemia Manor, which was felt even up to within a comparatively recent date.

The old Mrs. Bayard, from whom Whitefield parted in tears, was Susanna, the daughter of Lege de Bouchelle and sister of Dr. Petrus Bouchelle. At this time she was sixty-three years old and a widow. She lived about ten years longer, and was succeeded in the possession and occupancy of her old home by her son, James Bayard, who by this time had married Miss Mary Ashton. By adding commercial enterprise and industry to the cultivation of his large farm he, in a few years, accumulated what at that time was considered a handsome fortune. This, however, he did not long live to enjoy. Both he and his wife died young, leaving two sons, twins, named John Bubenheim Bayard and James Ashton Bayard. It may be remarked



that the latter was the first James Ashton Bayard, and became the father of the distinguished statesman of that name who was United States commissioner to Ghent. The former, early in life, dropped his middle name, Bubenheim, and thereafter subscribed himself simply John Bayard. These twin brothers received their classical education under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Finley, D.D., afterwards president of Princeton College, and then removed to Philadelphia, John to engage in mercantile pursuits and James to devote himself to the medical profession. Subsequently they married sisters, Margaret and Ann Hodge, the aunts of the late Rev. Charles Hodge, D.D.

About this time the seeds of grace which had been sown in the young heart of John Bayard began to develop in him those Christian virtues which in after years made him so distinguished for piety and benevolence.\* He united with the Presbyterian church, of which the Rev. Gilbert Ten-  
nent was pastor, and subsequently was made an elder, which office he filled acceptably for many years. He became intimately acquainted with the Rev. George Whitefield, who had been the guest of his father and aged grandmother at their Bohemia Manor home, and occasionally accompanied him on his preaching-tours through the then American colonies. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war John Bayard took an active and decided part in favor of his country. He was at first chosen captain, then major, and, finally, colonel of the Second Bat-

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\* From an extended notice of Colonel John Bayard in the *Evangelical Intelligencer*, vol. i., No. 1.



talion of the Philadelphia militia, at the head of which he marched to the assistance of General Washington at the battle of Trenton.

Colonel John Bayard was thrice married: first to Margaret Hodge, then to Mrs. Mary Hodgden, the daughter of Mrs. Mary Grant (who became the second wife of the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers), and, thirdly, to Johannah, the daughter of Colonel Anthony White, with whom in 1788 he removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey, as the place of his permanent residence, where a few years later he built a handsome and commodious dwelling-house. Here he was elected mayor of the city, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and here, on January 7, 1807, he died, and two days later his remains were deposited in the burying-ground of the First Presbyterian church. From the late venerable Judge John Terhune, of New Brunswick, a copy of the inscription on the monument has been procured, which is, in part, as follows:

"The Tomb of

JOHN BAYARD

Benevolent, liberal, patriotic. He was chosen  
by his country to fill her first offices, his  
integrity and zeal justified the choice.

Generous in his temper, sincere in  
his friendship, eminent for every  
social virtue, he possessed  
the esteem of all who knew him.

He enjoyed the confidence and love of  
a numerous family who erect this  
monument to his revered memory.

He departed hence in triumph on the  
7th day of January, 1807, in the 69th year of his age."





It should be noted that Colonel Bayard, in the year 1788, sold the historic house\* on Bohemia Manor, in which he and some of his children were born. Though he thus and forever parted with this possession that was bound to his memory and affection by so many sacred ties, he never forgot these scenes of his childhood. His last visit to this dear old spot was made in June, 1805, when he had become an old man and was within two years of his death. A handsome barouche that had been driven from Wilmington, if not from his home in New Brunswick, appeared, and its erect, stately, and aristocratic occupant, Colonel John Bayard, alighted. At his feet flowed the waters of the beautiful, blue Bohemia, at his left stood the old ancestral mansion in which he had, in his boyhood and early manhood, witnessed scenes of joy and sorrow, while at his right hand were the graves of his father and his father's fathers for many generations. At those graves he no doubt lingered long, shed a tear, and then turned away and departed, never to return. This is the graveyard that Whitefield used to look upon from his window in the Bayard mansion, and which, at one time,

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\* The purchaser was Edward Foard, who occupied it until January 24, 1822, when he died at the advanced age of seventy-nine years. His wife, Sarah Mansfield, survived him about three years. They had two children,—Jemima Foard, who married James Blackiston, and Mary Foard, who married Dennis James Nowland. The above-named Edward Foard had a brother, Richard Boulding Foard, from whom descended the Foards now owning property on Bohemia Manor, through his son and their grandfather, Levi G. Foard, who married Ann Bayard. Edward Foard had other brothers, Jeremiah, Hezekiah, and Josiah, but they have no descendants of their name now residing on Bohemia Manor.



he desired might eventually become the place of his burial. Nobody would care to be buried there now. It is a lonely, neglected, and forsaken spot, and, if my memory serves me, not an inscribed stone remains to mark a single grave. And yet,

“Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid  
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;  
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,  
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”





## VII.

The First James Ashton Bayard—Jane, a Devout Christian—John Hodge Bayard—An Interesting Letter—The Distinguished James A. Bayard—Governor Richard Bassett—A Joint Burial-Service—Bayard Graves—Farewell to Bohemia Manor.

COLONEL JOHN BAYARD's twin brother, who, as has been stated, was the first James Ashton Bayard, was born on Bohemia Manor August 11, 1738. He became a surgeon in the Revolutionary army. He died on the 8th of January, 1770, in Charleston, South Carolina. His property was diminished by various vicissitudes, and his family was left mainly to the care of his brother. This family consisted of a wife, who, in about four years, followed her husband to the grave, and three children, John Hodge, James Ashton, and Jane. The last named, Jane Bayard, was born on February 13, 1765, and was baptized on March 16 of that year by the Rev. John Rodgers.\* In a letter written to the author by the late Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, I learn that she never married, became a strict Methodist, and was always dressed as a Quaker lady.

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\* Dr. Rodgers was highly esteemed by the Bayard family, and frequently officiated at their baptisms and marriages.



Her brother, John Hodge Bayard, was born January 11, 1762. He went to Western Maryland, and seems to have been almost wholly lost sight of by his friends, who supposed that he had died unmarried and childless. But a single clue enabled me to discover that the tradition was altogether unfounded, and that he not only married, but left many descendants.\* From one of these I have received several interesting papers referring to his family. One is a letter written to John Hodge Bayard by his brother, the Hon. James A. Bayard, United States commissioner to Ghent. As it refers to matters military and political, as well as social and domestic, I hesitated to reproduce it until, in response to a note of inquiry addressed to the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States, I received the following :

“WASHINGTON, D. C., March 5, 1887.

“REVEREND SIR,—I am very glad to know that you are to deliver before the Delaware Historical Society an address on Bohemia Manor, and can see no reason why the interesting letter of Mr. James A. Bayard (my grandfather) to his brother John, written in 1800, should not be published. It breathes the spirit of a patriot and but confirms the reputation the writer left. . . .

“Very respectfully,

“Your Obt. Servt.,

“T. F. BAYARD.”

The letter referred to is dated April 27, 1800, and says :

“MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was a great satisfaction to me to find that your confidence in me was restored, and that you ceased to think me so unworthy

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\* His daughter married, and left many children and grandchildren. I have not space even to name them, nor to relate interesting circumstances connected with the last days, and the death and burial, of John Hodge Bayard.



as to have forgotten an only brother, to whom I owed obligations, and who had ever behaved to me with affection. Nature has not been so unkind to me as to have robbed me of her best feelings, though she has not disposed me to give unavailing proofs of their existence. I never did, nor could, attach much importance to literary correspondence. There is no person to whom I make it a point to write except to my wife, and even as to her I should often probably be remiss, had I not some apprehensions that neglect might endanger the peace of the family. You will probably not hear from me after the adjournment of Congress, till we meet again at the city of Washington. But I beg you not to suppose that I forget or am indifferent to you. The day of adjournment has been fixed on the second Tuesday in May; after that I shall be occupied in the courts. I heard lately from our sister, who is in as good health and spirits as she ever possessed. She is now a plain Methodist, who has discarded, and despises, the pomp, the show, and the vanities of the world, and given herself up to a holy zeal for the cause of religion. . . .

“There is little new on the subject of politics to communicate. . . . The event of the mission to France cannot be known for several months. I have no doubt of a treaty of peace being concluded, though I have little confidence in the observance of it after it is made. The French rulers, through all these successive changes, have demonstrated by their actions that they consider a treaty binding no longer than it is the interest of the nation to keep it. Our only assurance of peace can be derived from allowing war to offer no advantage. This we accomplish by being prepared for hostilities.

“It is impossible to say what effect peace with France will produce in relation to Great Britain. Peace with this country is very valuable to Britain, and yet if Sweden and Denmark should join the coalition, and the United States be left the only neutral maritime power, England would have a great interest to go to war, in order to prevent the great accession to our carrying trade, which our neutral situation would necessarily attract. The event is to be deprecated, but I hope the nation would be found as ready to resist the aggressions of England as of France. For myself, I can say that the dread of no war would induce me to submit to any acts of a foreign government which tended to degrade the character of the nation. I love peace, but I love still more the honor of my country. There certainly will be another campaign in Europe, and from the vast preparations which both parties are





making, it will probably be as fierce and bloody as any which has happened in the war. . . .

"I remain

"Affectionately yours,

"J. A. BAYARD."

The writer of the above letter was born July 28, 1767. He commenced the practice of law in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1787, and nine years afterwards was elected to the national House of Representatives. In 1804 he was chosen United States Senator as successor of his father-in-law Governor Bassett, which position he retained until he was selected by President Madison as a commissioner, with Gallatin, Clay, and others, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. He returned to this country, and died in Wilmington, Delaware, August 6, 1815. His mortal remains were borne to Bohemia Manor for burial in a vault which his father-in-law, Governor Bassett, had erected near his country residence.

As Governor Bassett died about the same time, a joint funeral service was held, conducted by his life-long friend, the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, but because of the large concourse of people and consequent confusion no religious exercises were observed at the vault. This vault was broken into many years ago, and some of the coffins despoiled of their rich adornments. Afterwards the late Richard Bassett Bayard, of Baltimore, had the contents of the vault removed to the Wilmington and Brandywine Cemetery, and deposited in a vault, which has since received his own remains. In the late residence of the latter may be seen many interesting souvenirs of the Hon. James A. Bayard, including the inkstand used by him



and his co-commissioners at the signing of the treaty of Ghent.

I have already referred to James A. Bayard's father-in-law, Richard Bassett. He was born April 2, 1745. He became an eminent lawyer, a judge, governor of Delaware, member of the old Congress, and a senator of the United States. He was a delegate from Delaware to the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and his name is enrolled, on that account, with the names of Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and other distinguished patriots and statesmen.

His personal friend, the Rev. Henry Bœhm, says that at one time Governor Bassett was a very fashionable man, and, being rich, had his good things in this life. But after his conversion he was as humble and teachable as a little child. At this remote period it is impossible to have a correct idea of the position he once occupied, and the influence he exerted in favor of the church of his choice, in whose annals he should ever have a prominent place.

In person Governor Bassett was a stout-built man, of medium height, and looked as if he was made for service. His countenance was full of benignity, his eye was very expressive, and his voice strong and musical. He was distinguished for benevolence, and was given to hospitality. He had three homes, residing part of the time in Dover, then on Bohemia Manor, and then in Wilmington. He has entertained over one hundred persons at one time. His heart was as large as his mansion.





This mansion, let it be remarked, which was distinguished for its antiquity, for the splendid paintings that adorned its walls, for the hospitality that reigned there, and as the home of Bishop Asbury when he preached on Bohemia Manor, was burned down many years ago.\* The present owner of the site of this noted mansion, and of the site of the mansion of the first lord of the Manor and his grave, is Governor Bassett's great-great-grandson, Richard Bassett Bayard, Jr., of Baltimore.

The author has endeavored to sketch the history of Bohemia Manor from its establishment, in 1660, up to the present time, and to describe its ancient families and their homes and their graves. From the commencement to the conclusion of his task he has been embarrassed with the abundance of material at his disposal. For years he has been collecting facts, figures, names, traditions, genealogical records, descriptions of persons, houses, and graves. There is scarcely an object of historic interest on Bohemia Manor, no matter how comparatively trivial, that he has not examined, nor an aged resident with whom he has not "compared notes." The result of all this he has collected into a large manuscript volume, whose five hundred pages it fills. Only a tithe of this has been introduced into this little work. Whether the rest will ever appear in print the author cannot say. He can conclude the present effort no more appropriately than by quoting a local poet, who long since removed, and is probably now dead. His name is withheld because of the personal and sentimental char-

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\* See "Reminiscences of Rev. Henry Bœhm."



acter of his poem. More than threescore years ago he wrote, and now I transcribe a

## FAREWELL TO BOHEMIA.

- "No more along thy silver stream,  
Bohemia, shall I stray  
Beneath the pale moon's gentle gleam  
Or brighter beams of day :  
While youth and beauty grace thy shore  
To mark thy bosom's swell,  
I fondly all thy charms adore,  
And breathe my last Farewell.
- "The willow, bending o'er the tide,  
Shall oft its branches lave ;  
The sea-birds on thy bosom ride  
And grace thy polished wave ;  
Thy verdant banks, with blossoms crowned,  
Shall breathe their odors still,  
And music float in air around,  
From valley, lake, and hill.
- "The feathered songsters of the wood  
Shall on thy margin sing,  
Or gently hovering o'er thy flood  
Tune all the notes of Spring ;  
While echo, from her sweet defile,  
Repeats the sailor's song,  
Or answers, with her sweetest smile,  
To beauty's 'witching tongue.
- "Flow, lovely stream, forever flow  
Along thy laughing vale ;  
When sportive beauty oft shall throw  
Her wild-flowers on the gale ;



And, oh, if Mary chance to stray  
Beside thy lambent stream,  
Murmur thy softest, sweetest lay  
And shed thy mildest gleam.

“ Though many a graceful form is seen  
To tread thy lily side ;  
She moves a modest, peerless queen,  
Of beauty's self the pride :  
And may she never, never know  
The heart's corroding ills,  
The pangs that oft from memory flow,  
The flood that quick distils.

“ But, lo ! yon murky clouds obscure  
The waning orb of night,  
And chilling blasts bid me retire  
From all that can delight ;  
Yet when in foreign climes I roam  
Shall memory fondly tell  
Of lovely scenes of Mary's home,—  
Bohemia, fare thee well.”

THE END.





PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

VIII.

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D I A R Y

OF

CAPTAIN THOMAS RODNEY,

1776—1777.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

BY

CÆSAR A. RODNEY,

HIS GREAT-GRANDSON.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON:

1888.



## PREFACE.

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THIS paper was read before the Historical Society of Delaware by the late Cæsar A. Rodney, on January 2, 1877. His brother, Mr. John M. C. Rodney, at the request of the society, has kindly permitted its publication.

At a stated meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware, held at its rooms in the city of Wilmington, on Monday, the 15th day of September, 1884, the following minute of the death of Cæsar A. Rodney, submitted by Judge Wales, was adopted and ordered to be entered on the journal:

“Since the last meeting of this society it has lost one of its most valued and active members by the death of Cæsar A. Rodney, which occurred on the 23d day of June, in the present year.

“By this sad event we have been deprived of the companionship and assistance of one who always took a zealous interest in the welfare of the society, and was ever ready by his personal services and contributions to promote its aims. He bore a name that has long been honorably associated with the history of Delaware, and he felt a just and worthy pride in the fame and distinction achieved by his ancestors. The occasional selections made by him from family papers





in his possession, and read before us, will not be forgotten at this moment.

"At the time of his decease Mr. Rodney had not passed the meridian of life. His youth and manhood had been spent in this city, where he was well known both in business and social circles. As a man of business he was intelligent, industrious, practical, and upright. Public-spirited and capable, he was at different times intrusted by his fellow-citizens with official duties, which he faithfully and efficiently performed. The bent of his mind was toward the study of chemistry and the natural sciences, in which he had made considerable progress. Nor did he confine himself to only a theoretical investigation of these subjects. He was ingenious as well as studious, and became, to a very creditable extent, a successful inventor. While at the head of a large and important manufacturing establishment, his scientific acquirements and practical knowledge enabled him to manage its affairs with so much skill and judgment as to change an unsuccessful concern into a most profitable investment for its owners.

"In domestic and social life Mr. Rodney was beloved and esteemed by his kindred and friends for his unselfish and generous nature. Well informed, an instructive companion, kindly attentive and helpful to young and old, and regardful of the 'small, sweet courtesies of life,' his death—untimely as it appears to us—has left a wide and painful void, not only in his own home and in the membership of this society, but also in the many households where his genial disposition and cordial manner made him always a welcome guest."



## INTRODUCTION.

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MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THE sinking of the sun behind the western hills to-night completes the century that has elapsed since the close of the second battle of Trenton, or, as the writers of that period frequently called it, the cannonade at Trent Town.

And as the first rays of the rising sun break forth to-morrow morning, they will mark the passage of an hundred years since the glorious battle of Princeton was fought and won; a battle that, in the short space of one-half hour, decided the fate of the United States, and assured the world that they would maintain their position among the nations of the earth.

It therefore seems appropriate, at this centennial anniversary of so important an event, that we should recall to mind the history of that period, and that any additional information that exists concerning it should be made public.

Our historians have told us of the dreadful condition of public affairs on the 1st of December, 1776, when the cause



of American Independence seemed lost forever, and have fully informed us how that brilliant campaign, which began on the night of Christmas, 1776, and ended when our army encamped at Morristown, rolled back the dark cloud that threatened our national existence.

I shall not, therefore, attempt to present a compilation of what has already been written and re-written so often, but will at once make known to you the facts in regard to the remarkable narrative that I shall bring to your notice this evening.

The papers and correspondence of my great-grandfather, Thomas Rodney, and his brother, Cæsar Rodney, having come by descent into my possession, I find among them a vast amount of interesting matter, correspondence, and official documents relating to the early history of our nation, and especially of our own Diamond State; and none exceed in interest those which relate to the Princeton campaign of 1776 and 1777. The historical material in my hands bearing upon this period is so voluminous that it might, with slight amplification, be readily extended into a bulky volume, but want of time will, in this paper, compel me to exclude much I would gladly introduce and confine myself to the main facts, without commenting at all upon many points which require further explanation.

The history of General Cæsar Rodney, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, is too well known to require repetition here, but of his youngest brother it may be necessary to say that he was born on the 4th of June, 1744, near Dover, and during his life filled many positions of trust and honor.





I find that he was register and judge of the Probate of Wills and clerk of the Orphans' Court. Member of the General Assembly many times, member of the Council of Safety, and member and president of the Committee of Inspection of Kent County. He was judge of the Admiralty Court and of the Court of Common Pleas of the Delaware State; twice a delegate to the Continental Congress, which he entered for the first time in 1781, and in 1803 was appointed chief-justice of the Mississippi Territory, and died at Natchez in 1811. The town of Rodney, on the Mississippi, was named for him.

During the war Thomas Rodney was captain of a militia company known as the Dover Light Infantry, and was afterwards colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Delaware militia.

Early in September, 1775, the Council of Safety of the Three Lower Counties, a body composed of seven members from each county, and charged by the General Assembly with the safety of the colony, organized the militia of the counties by causing lists to be made of all the able-bodied male inhabitants, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, and enrolling them into companies. From these companies eight regiments were formed,—three from New Castle, two from Kent, and three from Sussex Counties,—and John McKinly, Cæsar Rodney, and John Dagworthy were appointed brigadier-generals. Cæsar Rodney was subsequently made major-general and commander-in-chief of the State forces. In this capacity he twice led a portion of the State troops into active service, once during the Princeton campaign, during which he was placed in com-



mand of the post at Trenton, where he remained nearly two months, and again during the invasion of the State previous to the battle of Brandywine.

The general's star indicating the military rank of Cæsar Rodney, and worn by him during the war, is now in my possession. It is rather rudely cut from a thin sheet of silver, and closely resembles a policeman's badge of the present day. It was worn upon the left breast instead of upon the shoulder-strap, as is the custom of the present time.

Under the authority of the Council of Safety the regiment of Colonel Haslet was raised, he having been previously appointed colonel of one of the militia regiments from Kent County; but its glorious deeds, its trials and its sufferings, have been so ably described by Colonel Whiteley in a recent paper as to leave but little more to be said concerning it.

But the time for which Colonel Haslet's regiment enlisted expired on the 1st of January, 1777, and another, a Continental regiment, was being organized at home, in Delaware, to replace it.

These facts induced most of the officers and men of the small remaining portion of this regiment to overlook the necessities of the situation, and return home in the hope of obtaining positions in the permanent organization, so that at the battle of Trenton the First Delaware Regiment was represented by only four officers, Colonel Haslet, Captain Holland, Doctor Gilder, and Ensign Wilson, and two privates, according to Colonel Haslet's own statement, and when the army reached Morristown, the ad-





jutant, Captain Holland, was the only member of the regiment left.

In September, 1776, a regiment of militia, under command of Colonel Samuel Patterson, left this State to join the "Flying Camp." They were to serve for three months, and left the army promptly on the expiration of their term of service, on the 1st of December following, just when their aid was most needed.

In the alarming crisis which arose at this time, Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia, made the most urgent appeal to the militia of the neighboring States to turn out and support General Washington until the Continental army could be reorganized, and under this appeal three companies of New Castle County militia left Wilmington on the 16th day of December, 1776, under command of Major Thomas Duff.

It appears from a note of General Mifflin that Major Duff, through a mistake of orders, did not join him on the march to Trenton, and therefore the troops under his command were not in the engagements at either Trenton or Princeton, and I can find no evidence that there were any Delaware troops engaged in those battles except the few that remained of Colonel Haslet's First Delaware, and one company of Kent County militia under command of Captain Thomas Rodney.

When the militia of the colony was organized, Thomas Rodney was elected captain of the Dover company.

Acting under the dictates of patriotism, and in obedience to the appeal of the Continental Congress, a portion of this company marched from Dover on the 14th of December,



1776, under command of their captain, who, during the whole time they were in service, kept an accurate daily record of every occurrence of any importance. This journal I now propose to read to you as it was written one hundred years ago.

CAPTAIN THOMAS BODLEY,

1776-1777



DIARY  
OF  
CAPTAIN THOMAS RODNEY,  
1776—1777.

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THE JOURNAL begins:

In December 1776 the British army had driven General Washington with the shattered remains of the American Army over the Delaware, and he encamped in Bucks County; and at this time about 1200 of the Citizens of Philadelphia turned out and took post at Bristol.

Part of the British Army were encamped at Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington and the British were in possession of all Jersey as well as York.

Only Gen. Lee, with a few men, was still on the mountains east of the Raritan.

Congress had determined to move from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

The ruling council of our own state had met twice and seperated without doing anything, and a general dismay seemed spread over the Country.

At this time and seeing our ruling council seperate the second time, without coming to any resolution, I felt my mind anxious and uneasy, and went over to my brother





[Cæsar Rodney] and he was much concerned; said everything appeared gloomy and unfortunate, that he was very apprehensive for the safety of our cause.

When I left him, I consulted the officers and several of the company, and they voluntarily agreed to turn out, and then I set up a paper inviting all those who would go to be prepared by a certain day.

And thirty-five of the infantry, including several others, entered into the association to go, and this company marched from Dover the 14th of December 1776, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, for camp, the ground being covered with snow several inches deep.

That night they reached the Cross Roads [Duck Creek, now Smyrna] but as I could not get the baggage wagon off in time, I did not set off until next morning.

*December 15th 1776*

This morning I took my leave of my wife and children and reached the Cross Roads about 10 o'clock, and found that the company had marched. I stayed there to get breakfast and was detained there until 2 o'clock before I got off the Baggage wagon. I overtook the company at the Trap, [now McDonough] and pushed them on to the Red Lion that night, but the baggage wagon did not get up until 12 o'clock, and the men were a little uneasy about their blankets but continued in high spirits.

*December 16th 1776*

This day we reached Wilmington, where we encamped all night. On our way we called at Col. Pattersons near



Christeen and were fitted out with knapsacks, canteens &c.

From Christiana Bridge we saw the road full of the citizens of Philadelphia who had fled with their families and effects, expecting the British army would be there in a few days. We had the pleasure of receiving the good wishes of thousands on our way and of seeing our example enspirited the people to follow it. We passed one company on the road, and two had left Wilmington this morning. [The New Castle County militia under Major Thomas Duff.] At Christiana Bridge I met with Mr. McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and several other members of Congress on their way from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and spent the evening with them, and Mr. McKean sat late with me and gave me an account of all the information Congress had received, and observed that everything was very gloomy and doubtful and that the chief hope that remained, was, that Gen. Lee, who was on the mountains in the rear of the enemy, would be able to effect some lucky stroke that would prevent the enemy's crossing the Delaware, but if nothing of this sort happened, Congress would be obliged to authorize the Commander in Chief to obtain the best terms that could be had from the enemy. I desired him not to despair, and urged, that the members might not say anything on their way that would discourage the people, but would endeavor by all means in their power to animate them, and to make use of what we were doing as an example;—that the spirited exertion of a few men at such a time would have great weight, and assured him that he would soon hear of a favorable turn in our affairs.





*December 17th 1776*

This day we travelled from Wilmington to Chester where we put up all night. All of our men continue in high spirits and good health. We are told that Gen. Lee is taken prisoner.

*December 18th 1776*

To-day we reached the City of Philadelphia and were quartered in the house of Samuel Emlens at the corner of Walnut Street and the Dock. All the company are in good health and spirits but some have blistered feet.

When we arrived at Philadelphia it made a horrid appearance, more than half the houses appeared deserted, and the families that remained were shut up in their houses, and nobody appeared in the streets.

There was no military of any kind in the City, only Gen. Putnam, who was there to give orders to any militia that might come in. I had a sentinel placed at the General's door, and others to guard the City that night, and then went to the Coffee house, but there was no one there.

After sometime I found Bradford and made him bring a bowl of punch and some biscuit, and I sat in a box alone. I asked Bradford what was the reason no one appeared, and he said that they expected the British in every moment and were afraid.

I told them they need not be afraid, I would engage to guard the City that night, but he soon ran out again, seeming afraid to stay, and I sat in a box alone; but afterwhile Capt. Fortner came to peep in, and seeing an officer in the Coffee house, took me to be a British officer, and went round secretly to Bradford, who told him who it was, and



then they both came in; I asked them where all the whigs were, and they said there were but few in town, and they expected the British in town every moment and were afraid to be out. I told them again they need not be afraid. They then went out and brought in a good deal of company and we stayed about an hour and then broke up.

*December 19th 1776*

This morning I waited on Gen. Putnam, who commands here, and received orders to get ready immediately and march to join Gen. Washington.

To-day we began to draw rations and live as soldiers. The remainder of the day was spent in getting ready to march to headquarters. This evening I was notified by general orders, that all the militia must appear at the General's at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

This morning I went to see Joshua Fisher's family, who is uncle to my wife but are quakers and very great tories.

They seemed glad to see me, were all extremely cheerful, said that the contest would soon be over now; that the British would be in town in a day or two and invited me to sup at Thomas Fisher's that evening, which I accepted, and accordingly went.

Thomas, Samuel, and Miers Fisher all supped there with me. The entertainment was exceedingly clever, and they were all particularly friendly to me. After supper several kinds of good wine were placed on the table and I drank, what was usual with me, about three glasses of Madeira.

They then began on the times; they informed me, I believe very truly, of the situation of the British and Ameri-



can armies; told me Gen. Lee was certainly taken prisoner; that there was no prospect that America could make any further exertions.

That it was, therefore, in vain for me to attempt anything more; that now was a favorable time to relinquish all further opposition.—That they would engage, that neither myself nor my brother nor any of my friends should be injured, and that I might expect on the contrary any favor I would ask, as they expected the British in town in a few days and would interest themselves in every degree in my favor; and that it was necessary for myself, my family and friends that I should embrace this favorable occasion and much more to the same effect.

I answered them by pointing out those circumstances that were still favorable to America, and concluded by assuring them that I should not change my determination, that I knew my business and should not return until the British were beaten, but they treated this as levity and concluded that I was an obstinate man, and must be left to take my own way. I told them I was perhaps better informed than they were, and should most certainly proceed in my enterprise; and then as it was now pretty late parted from them and went to my quarters.

*December 20th 1776*

At 9 o'clock this morning we appeared at the General's door but found no other companies paraded. The General was not up, but his aid appeared, and I requested that the general would dismiss us as we were under marching orders, which he immediately did.





A continual snow fell last night and cleared up with rain and sleet and the weather is very cold. To-day in getting ready to march I went through the City and found it almost deserted by the inhabitants, and looking as if it had been plundered, and scarcely a chair can be had at a public house to sit down in; or a meal of vituals to be had, but to our great joy we saw the streets full of militia and hundreds pouring in every hour.

In the evening I sent the company to the mustermaster with the Lieutenant, who not carrying the muster rolls, the drunken Mustermaster cursed them and sent them back, which vexed them very much.

I gave orders that the company should be ready to march next morning by daylight.

*December 21st 1776*

This morning early the company paraded and I carried them to the mustermaster and had them mustered, and marched immediately. The roads being very deep we only got to the Red Lion on the Bristol road 13 miles from Philadelphia where we stayed all night.

*(Sunday) December 22d 1776*

About 2 o'clock to-day we reached Bristol, where the Philadelphia volunteers are encamped. I waited on Gen. Cadwalader, who commands here, to show him my orders, but he was engaged, and upon waiting on the Quartermaster found that there were no quarters in Bristol, but Col. Morris the quartermaster immediately sent us out to William Coxe's and Andrew Allens on the banks of the Neshaminy creek



where he appointed our quarters, about 2 miles from Bristol. The Lieutenant and half the company were placed at Mr. Coxes and the other half at Mrs. Allens, who prepared a room for me, and requested that I would stay at her house to prevent her being insulted, as her husband and brothers had fled to the enemy, and she therefore had been insulted some days before. But nothing of this sort happened afterwards, as I would scorn to insult a woman or permit it to be done, for the offence of her husband: we turned out to protect and defend the innocent not to insult them. Our cause is a just one and should be maintained with Justice. Both families treat myself and the whole company with the greatest kindness and politeness.

[Let me here mention that these families were people of wealth and importance in their day. Andrew Allen had been a member of the Continental Congress and was the son of William Allen, formerly chief-justice of Pennsylvania and mayor of Philadelphia. One of William Allen's daughters had married John Penn, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania.]

This evening I received an order from Gen. Cadwalader to wait on him immediately.

I waited on him, and he asked me what number of men I had brought, I told him 35. He asked me if that was all. I told him it was, and I thought they were enough, and asked him how many he had there, and how many General Washington had left. He said he had had 1200 but many had gone off one way or another, but he supposed there was still 800 left; that General Washington had about 1500 and there was some more, that had been under Gen. Lee,





who was taken prisoner. That his capture had damped the spirit of the army very much, and everything looked very gloomy.

I told him I was sorry for Gen. Lee because I knew him personally and had a regard for him, but I did not view his capture as unfavorable but as an advantage; that too much confidence had been put in General Lee, that this must have greatly embarrassed the commander in chief, as he was afraid to do anything without consulting Gen. Lee, but now he would be at liberty to exert his own talents.

He asked what could be done. I answered, that in an enterprise a small number was best, that 500 men was enough to surprise any of the British Posts on the Delaware, he then said that General Washington intended some enterprise of that sort but was waiting for men to make him strong enough, and that Gen. Reed had gone down to Philadelphia to see what militia had come in, and on his return, if there was any prospect of success something would be done.

I replied that there was no occasion for more men, that there was enough for any enterprise, and the measure ought not to be delayed a moment on that account, for now was a favorable time, and I had not the least doubt of success, but if men were wanting, there would soon be enough, for the roads were full from Virginia and Pittsburgh to Philadelphia.

Upon this, Gen. Cadwalader's countenance began to flame and he asked me if I would stay there. I told him I was ordered to headquarters and wanted to get there to urge expedition. He said the Commander in Chief had directed him to stop all militia there, and if I would stay he would



send an express to him. I told him if he would send an express and write what I had said, to the General, and he said I might stay, then I would do so. So Gen. Cadwalader sent an express immediately to the General and I returned to my quarters at Mrs. Allens.

In the night the express returned with orders from General Washington that I might stay at this post and Gen. Cadwalader sent the express out to my quarters and I accordingly appeared at Bristol, where Gen. Cadwalader informed me that he wanted us to join a party of Philadelphia militia that night, to make a tour into the Jersey and harrass the enemy, and asked me if the men were fit to go. I told him that a number of them were, and would willingly go, but as we had marched a hundred and odd miles, some few of them were too much jaded, which I begged he would permit me to leave. However, when he heard they had marched so far he would not permit any of us to go.

The rest of the troops paraded at 2 o'clock that night, but an express from Col. Griffin informing them he was not prepared to join them stopped the expedition.

*December 23d 1776*

This morning at 9 o'clock I waited on the General and just as I reached there he received a second express from Gen. Washington countermanding our going over the River, and informing him that he had determined on his plan of attacking the British posts on Christmas night, and would not have any of the troops harrassed in the meantime, but that they should be prepared against that time for the enterprise, and he would send his plan in a day or two; this was com-



municated to me by Gen. Cadwalader and I was rejoiced and assured him we should certainly be successful.

The General pressed me much to be with him, and seemed much animated with my decided sentiments.

*December 24th 1776*

We continued in our quarters this day and refreshed ourselves a little from the fatigue of a long march.

I waited on the General this morning and he privately communicated to me all the important information, and spoke with the utmost openness, when we were alone, his own sentiments.

He requested me to dine with him, but I could not take the time and he then asked that I would dine with him to-morrow [Christmas day].

*December 25th 1776*

I waited on the General this morning and was informed by him that he had obtained leave of General Washington to join my company to his Brigade and ordered that the company should be ready to receive marching orders to-night.

Yesterday the Quartermaster General, at Bristol, sent wagons down to Coxes and Allens to take all their grain and forage but I would not permit them to touch it unless they bought it, so they left it and went away.

To-day a Brigade of New England Continental troops were sent down to quarter here, and the Quartermaster came down to turn out both families, but I would not allow





them to be disturbed and wrote to Gen. Cadwalader for instructions.

When Gen. Hitchcock, the commander, was informed of the matter, he politely replied he would not attempt to disturb them nor would he put the families to any inconvenience. Mr. Cox, thereupon, offered the field officers one of his rooms and Mrs. Allens house for the rest of his officers, upon my agreeing to move to his house, and Mrs. Allen, in consideration of such civilities, consented to do the same.

About dark I received orders to march immediately to Neshaminy ferry and await orders.

We march off immediately without the knowledge of the families where we were staying and met Col. Matlack at the ferry, he being the advance party of the brigade from Bristol. We soon received orders to march to Dunkers ferry on the Delaware, and after we arrived there the whole brigade came up, and also Col. Hitchcock Brigade of New England Regulars.

Our light Infantry Battalion [the Dover company and four companies of Philadelphia militia under Capt. George Henry] were embarked in boats to cover the landing of the Brigade.

When we reached the Jersey shore we were obliged to land on the ice, 150 yards from the shore; the River was also very full of floating ice, and the wind was blowing very hard, and the night was very dark and cold, and we had great difficulty in crossing but the night was very favorable to the enterprise. We advanced about two hundred yards from the shore and formed in four columns of double files.



About 600 of the light troops got over, but the boats with the artillery were carried away in the ice and could not be got over.

After waiting about 3 hours we were informed that Gens. Cadwalader and Hitchcock had given up the expedition, and that the troops that were over were ordered back. This greatly irritated the troops that had crossed the River and they proposed making the attack without both the Generals and the artillery but it was urged, that if Gen. Washington should be unsuccessful and we also, the cause would be lost, but if our force remained intact it would still keep up the spirit of America; therefor this course was abandoned.

We had to wait about three hours more to cover the retreat, by which time the wind blew very hard and there was much rain and sleet, and there was so much floating ice in the River that we had the greatest difficulty to get over again, and some of our men did not get over that night. As soon as I reached the Pennsylvania shore I received orders to march to our quarters, where I arrived a little before daylight very wet and cold.

*December 26th 1776*

About 12 o'clock the remainder of my company came in and in the evening we heard of General Washingtons success at Trenton and that he had captured 900 Hessians.

The previous disposition of the Commander in Chief was for attacking Trenton, Bordentown and Burlington all on Christmas night. That against Trenton was to be conducted by himself; that against Bordentown by Gen. Ewing and that against Burlington by Gens. Cadwalader Reed and





Hitchcock. The expedition against Bordentown has also failed, and I am inclined to think that General Washington meant these only as feints, for if our Generals had been in earnest, we could have taken Burlington with the light troops alone.

About dark notwithstanding our fatigue I received orders to appear at Bristol before Daybreak to-morrow morning.

*December 27th 1776*

We got down to Bristol about Daylight, and the whole army under General Cadwalader began crossing about 10 o'clock, about one mile above Bristol.

The light Infantry covered the landing as before and about 3 o'clock the whole army got in motion towards Burlington.

The Order of march was, first Col. Matlacks Rifle Battalion on the Right and Left in single file, advanced about 200 yards before the Infantry; Next the Light Infantry in four columns of double files. Next the Artillery, and then the main column following in platoons, flanked at 200 yards by single files in the Woods.

In this order we reached Burlington about 9 o'clock, and took possession of the town, and when we had done this we found that the enemy had fled from there and all the adjacent parts in great precipitation. The General therefore gave orders that our light troops should march at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning. The troops were quartered in houses, but it being now 11 o'clock they had but about 4 hours to sleep.

This town is opposite Bristol on the River Delaware and



most of the houses are brick, but as it was dark when I went in and we left it before day I can give no description of it.

*December 28th 1776*

We left Burlington at 4 o'clock this morning and passed on the Great Road to Bordentown.

Along the road we saw many Hessian posts at Bridges and Cross Roads; they were chiefly made with rails and covered with straw, all deserted. The whole country as we passed appeared one scene of devastation and ruin. Neither Hay, Straw, Grain, or any live stock or poultry to be seen.

We got to within half a mile of Bordentown about 9 o'clock, and made a halt just at the foot of a bridge, where we heard that the enemy had deserted the town and were about five miles off but were disposed to return, and that some of their light horse were expected every minute.

We then posted ourselves in a cornfield, so as to be convenient to surround the town; and set posts on all the roads, but after waiting thus about an hour were informed that the enemy were flying with all speed.

We then marched into the town, in several detachments and took possession of a large quantity of stores which the enemy had left, then went into quarters and refreshed ourselves and in about 2 hours the main body of the army came up.

This little town is pleasantly situated on the River Delaware about 10 miles above Burlington, the houses are chiefly brick, and several of them large elegant and neat, but they all look like barns and stables, full of Hay, Straw, dirt and



nastiness, and everything valuable about them destroyed and carried off, and all the inhabitants fled. Here had been the headquarters of Lord or Count Donop, one of the Hessian Generals, but it looked more like the headquarters of a swine herd. Mr. Bordens house had some hundred pounds worth of goods, and valuable furniture ruined and broken to pieces.

In the afternoon the General was informed that the enemy were at Allentown about 8 miles off, upon which, about dusk, he ordered the light troops to push forward and two battallions to follow. We went on about 4 miles to a little town called Crosswicks, chiefly, or all wooden houses built at the crossing of several roads. When we arrived there we received information that the enemy had left Allentown that morning and had gone forward about 8 miles further to a place called Hide town.

Some of the militia Colonels applied to our infantry to make a forced march that night and overhaul them. We had then been on duty four Days and nights, making forced marches without six hours sleep in the whole time; Whereupon the Infantry officers of all the companies unanimously declared it was madness to attempt it; for it would use up all our brave men not one of whom had yet given out but were dreadfully fatigued. However a few Riflemen and fresh men were sent off, and the Light troops were to reinforce them in the morning. Here we got good comfortable quarters, and something refreshing to eat and drink, and several prisoners were picked up in the neighborhood that night, One of them a member of the Kings foot guard, a very tall, likely fellow, said that he had been sent on Christ-





mas day from Brunswick to Mount Holly with orders for the troops to retreat.

*December 29th 1776*

This morning about sunrise we set out to reinforce the troops that went forward last night, we marched on through Allentown without our stopping, and about half a mile beyond met the troops returning, with about 30 Bullocks and five Tories.

They had been forward about 10 miles to a place called Cranberry, but the enemy having information that our army was pursuing them closely, left that place about 10 o'clock at night in great precipitation, whereupon we all returned to Allentown and went into quarters.

This is a little village of wooden houses, but indifferently built on both sides of the road at a mill about 4 miles from Crosswicks.

In the afternoon was brought in the body of Isaac Pearson, who being found in the house with the other Tories that were taken, fled off. They shot two balls over his head to stop him, but as he persisted in making off, the next two were ordered to fire at him and one of their balls passed thro' his breast and he fell dead on the spot. He is said to have been very active in favor of the enemy.

*Allentown December 30th 1776*

We sent out several parties to-day to press horses and wagons and bring in provisions in which they succeeded very well, and the Light troops had the Day to rest here,



the main army being now at Crosswicks, having reached there yesterday.

To-day a circumstance happened that seems to have attached the Philadelphia officers of the Light infantry Regiment to me very much.

Capt. Francis Wade a vain blustering man of one of the city Battallions was appointed quartermaster General. Each Company of the Light Infantry have a neat light wagon for their baggage, and Capt. Wade ordered his wagon master to take these wagons to go and bring in forage, the Light Infantry officers refused them, but the quartermaster General sending back a peremtory order to seize them, Capt. George Henry the superior officer of the Philadelphia Light Infantry, submitted to the requisition, but all the other officers offended at this, came to me and I therefore went out and ordered the wagon master, who was putting in the horses to desist, and to inform the Q. M. G. that he should not have one of them, that we were subject, every moment, to be ordered out on parties and should not part with our wagons. The Q. M. G. was much offended, but could not help himself, and the officers were much pleased with my conduct.

*December 31st 1776*

Last night Gen. Cadwalader received information that General Lee was a prisoner in Brunswick under a guard of 250 men and this morning by day light our Light Troops were ordered to make a forced march to-day, and surprise the town in the dead of night, and bring him off.

We accordingly set off, and pushed on to Cranberry from





whence we were to go on horseback after night and execute the plan.

This is a little village scattered on both sides of the road, about 12 miles from Allentown. We stayed here and refreshed ourselves until dark, waiting the return of two spies, who had been sent to reconoitre Brunswick and the British troops that were on their way from Amboy.

On their return they brought accounts that these troops had become alarmed and had gone to reinforce Brunswick with 1500 men, which rendered our plan abortive, and being but five miles from the enemy we held a council of war and concluded it best to return. This sudden change alarmed the people very much at Cranberry, they expected the enemy were coming and Two very beautiful young ladies who had been very kind and polite at my quarters, being a whig family, were exceedingly distressed and hung around me in tears until I was obliged to tell them the true reason of our departure.

We accordingly marched back to Allentown through a very dark night and roads half leg deep which worried the troops exceedingly.

When we returned to Allentown my quarters were full of militia and there was no place to sit or lie down. I went to the door of my room, which was now occupied by three Pennsylvania field officers and politely requested them to let us go in and sit by the fire, but they sternly refused. I told them we had no other place to go and if they would not admit us willingly they must defend themselves, and thereupon drew my sword and opened the door. They then begged me to wait until they could light a candle, and



upon seeing our dress very politely invited us in and then spread the table, and covered it with good wine and ready dressed provisions of which they had great variety, and we spent the rest of the night in great festivity.

*January 1st 1777*

During this day at Allentown the troops were allowed to rest. [Colonel Haslet, who was with General Washington at Trenton, writes this day to General Rodney, at Dover, the following letter, which was the last he wrote: (Letter A.)]

*Allentown January 2d 1777*

[This day one hundred years ago.]

This morning we were called up at 2 o'clock under a pretended alarm that we were to be attacked by the enemy but by daylight we were ordered to march for Trenton, and when we reached Crosswicks found that the brigade had gone. We reached Trenton about 11 o'clock and found all the troops from our different posts in Jersey, collected and collecting there under Gen. Washington himself; and the regular troops were already properly disposed to receive the enemy, whose main body was then within a few miles and determined to dispossess us.

Trenton stands upon the River Delaware, with a creek called the Assanpink passing through the town across which there is a bridge.

The enemy came down on the upper side of this creek, through the town, and a number of our troops were posted with Riflemen and artillery to oppose their approach.

The main body of our army was drawn up on a plain



below, or on the lower side of the Assanpink, near the bridge, and the main force of our Artillery was posted on the banks and high ground along the creek in front of them.

Gen. Mercers brigade was posted about 2 miles up the creek, and the troops under Gen. Cadwalader were stationed in a field on the right about a mile from the town, on the main road, to prevent the enemy from flanking. We had five pieces of Artillery with our division and about 20 more in the field, near, and at the town. Our numbers were about five thousand and the enemy's about seven Thousand.

The attack began about 2 o'clock and a heavy fire upon both sides, chiefly from the artillery continued until dark.

At this time the enemy were left in possession of the upper part of the town, but we kept possession of the bridge, altho' the enemy attempted several times to carry it but were repulsed each time with great slaughter.

After sunset this afternoon the enemy came down in a very heavy column to force the bridge. The fire was very heavy and the Light troops were ordered to fly to the support of that important post, and as we drew near, I stepped out of the front to order my men to close up; at this time Martinas Sipple was about 10 steps behind the man next in front of him; I at once drew my sword and threatened to cut his head off if he did not keep close, he then sprang forward and I returned to the front. The enemy were soon defeated and retired and the American army also retired to the woods, where they encamped and built up fires.

I then had the roll called to see if any of our men were missing and Martinas was not to be found, but Leut. Mark McCall informed me, that immediately on my returning to





the head of the column, after making him close up, he fled out of the field.\*

We lost but few men; the enemy considerably more. It is thought Gen. Washington did not intend to hold the upper part of the town.

*January 3d 1777*

At two o'clock this morning the ground having been frozen firm by a keen N. West wind secret orders were issued to each department and the whole army was at once put in motion, but no one knew what the Gen. meant to do. Some thought that we were going to attack the enemy in the rear; some that we were going to Princeton; the latter proved to be right. We went by a bye road on the right hand which made it about 16 miles; During this nocturnal march I, with the Dover Company and the Red Feather Company of Philadelphia Light Infantry led the van of the army and Capt. Henry with the other three companies of Philadelphia light Infantry brought up the rear.

The Van moved on all night in the most cool and determined order but on the march great confusion happened in the rear. There was a cry that they were surrounded by the Hessians and several corps of Militia broke and fled towards Bordentown but the rest of the column remained firm and pursued their march without disorder, but those who were frightened and fled did not recover from their panic until they reached Burlington.

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\* In justice to Martinus I must add that he afterwards joined the Delaware Regiment under Col. David Hall and became a brave and faithful soldier.



When we had proceeded to within a mile and a half of Princeton and the van had crossed Stony Brook, Gen. Washington ordered our Infantry to file off to one side of the road and halt. Gen. Sullivan was ordered to wheel to the right and flank the town on that side, and two Brigades were ordered to wheel to the Left, to make a circuit and surround the town on that side and as they went to break down the Bridge and post a party at the mill on the main road, to oppose the enemy's main army if they should pursue us from Trenton.

The third Division was composed of Gen. Mercers brigade of Continental troops, about 300 men, and Cadwaladers brigade of Philadelphia militia to which brigade the whole of our light Infantry Regiment was again annexed.

Mercers brigade marched in front and another corp of infantry brought up the rear.

My company flanked the whole brigade on the right in an Indian file so that my men were very much extended and distant from each other; I marched in front and was followed by sargeant McKnatt and next to him was Nehemiah Tilton [afterwards Lieut.-Col. Tilton].

Mercers brigade which was headed by Col. Haslet of Delaware on foot and Gen. Mercer on horseback was to march straight on to Princeton without Turning to the right or left.

It so happened that two Regiments of British troops that were on their march to Trenton to reinforce their army there, received intelligence of the movements of the American army (for the sun rose as we passed over Stony brook) and about a mile from Princeton they turned off from the





main road and posted themselves behind a long string of buildings and an orchard, on the straight road to Princeton.

The first two Divisions of our army therefore passed wide to the right and left and leaving them undiscovered went on to Princeton.

Gen. Mercers Brigade owing to some delay in arranging Cadwaladers men had advanced several hundred yards ahead and never discovered the enemy until he was turning the buildings they were posted behind, and then they were not more than fifty yards off.

He immediately formed his men, with great courage, and poured a heavy fire in upon the enemy, but they being greatly superior in number returned the fire and charged bayonets, and their onset was so fierce that Gen. Mercer fell mortally wounded and many of his officers were killed, and the brigade being effectually broken, began a disorderly flight.

Col. Haslet retired some small distance behind the buildings and endeavored to rally them, but receiving a bullet through his head, dropt dead on the spot and the whole brigade fled in confusion. At this instant Gen. Cadwalader's Philadelphia Brigade came up and the enemy checked by their appearance took post behind a fence and a ditch in front of the buildings before mentioned, and so extended themselves that every man could load and fire incessantly; the fence stood on low ground between two hills; on the hill behind the British line they had eight pieces of artillery which played incessantly with round and grape shot on our brigade, and the fire was extremely hot. Yet Gen. Cadwalader led up the head of the column with the greatest



bravery to within 50 yards of the enemy, but this was rashly done, for he was obliged to recoil; and leaving one piece of his artillery, he fell back about 40 yards and endeavored to form the brigade, and some companies did form and gave a few vollies but the fire of the enemy was so hot, that, at the sight of the regular troops running to the rear, the militia gave way and the whole brigade broke and most of them retired to a woods about 150 yards in the rear; but two pieces of artillery stood their ground and were served with great skill and bravery.

At this time a field officer was sent to order me to take post on the left of the artillery until the brigade should form again, and, with the Philadelphia Infantry keep up a fire from some stacks and buildings, and to assist the artillery in preventing the enemy from advancing.

We now crossed the enemies fire from right to left and took position behind some stacks just on the left of the artillery; and about 30 of the Philadelphia Infantry were under cover of a house on our left and a little in the rear.

About 15 of my men came to this post, but I could not keep them all there, for the enemies fire was dreadful and three balls, for they were very thick, had grazed me; one passed within my elbow nicking my great coat and carried away the breech of Sargeant McKnatts gun, he being close behind me, another carried away the inside edge of one of my shoesoles, another had nixed my hat and indeed they seemed as thick as hail.

From these stacks and buildings we, with the two pieces of artillery kept up a continuous fire on the enemy, and in all probability it was this circumstance that prevented the



enemy from advancing, for they could not tell the number we had posted behind these covers and were afraid to attempt passing them; but if they had known how few they were they might easily have advanced while the two brigades were in confusion and routed the whole body for it was a long time before they could be reorganized again, and indeed many, that were panic struck, ran quite off.

Gen. Washington having rallied both Gen. Mercers and Gen. Cadwaladers brigade they moved forward and when they came to where the artillery stood began a very heavy platoon fire on the march. This the enemy bore but a few minutes and then threw down their arms and ran.

We then pushed forward towards the town spreading over the fields and through the woods to enclose the enemy and take prisoners.

The fields were covered with baggage which the Gen. ordered to be taken care of.

Our whole force met at the Court House and took there about 200 prisoners and about 200 others pushed off and were pursued by advance parties who took about 50 more.

In this engagement we lost about 20 killed, the enemy about 100 men killed and lost the field.

This is a very pretty little town on the York road 12 miles from Trenton; the houses are built of brick and are very elegant especially the College which has 52 rooms in it; but the whole town has been ravaged and ruined by the enemy.

As soon as the enemy's main army heard our cannon at Princeton (and not 'til then) they discovered our manœuvre and pushed after us with all speed and we had not been





above an hour in possession of the town before the enemy's light horse and advanced parties attacked our party at the bridge but our people by a very heavy fire kept the pass until our whole army left the town.

Just as our army began our march through Princeton with all their prisoners and spoils the van of the British army we had left at Trenton came in sight, and entered the town about an hour after we left it, but made no stay and pushed on towards Brunswick for fear we should get there before him, which was indeed the course our General intended to pursue had he not been detained too long in collecting the Baggage and Artillery which the enemy had left behind him.

Our army marched on to Kingston then wheeled to the left and went down the Millstone, keeping that River on our left; the main body of the British army followed, but kept on through Kingston to Brunswick: but one division or a strong party of horse took the road to the left of the Millstone and arrived on the hill, at the bridge on that road just as the van of the American Army arrived on the opposite side.

I was again commanding the van of our army, and General Washington seeing the enemy, rode forward and ordered me to halt and take down a number of carpenters which he had ordered forward and break up the bridge, which was done and the enemy were obliged to return.

We then marched on to a little village called Stone brook or Summerset Court House about 15 miles from Princeton where we arrived just at dusk. About an hour before we



arrived here 150 of the enemy from Princeton and 50 which were stationed in this town went off with 20 wagons laden with Clothing and Linen, and 400 of the Jersey militia who surrounded them were afraid to fire on them and let them go off unmolested and there were no troops in our army fresh enough to pursue them, or the whole might have been taken in a few hours.

Our army was now extremely fatigued not having had any refreshment since yesterday morning, and our baggage had all been sent away the morning of the action at Trenton, yet they are in good health and in high spirits.

*January 4th 1777*

At daylight this morning our army was put in motion and passed on towards Brunswick and crossed the Raritan over a bridge 6 miles above that Town, but the General found the army was too much fatigued to attempt Brunswick as the enemy's main body were so close after us, he therefore changed his course and went on to a place called Pluckemin situated among the mountains of Jersey about 10 miles from the last place. Here he was obliged to encamp and await the coming up of nearly 1000 men who were not able through fatigue and hunger to keep up with the main body, for they had not had any refreshment for two days past and as all our baggage had been left at Trenton the army in this situation was obliged to encamp on the bleak mountains whose tops were covered with snow, without even blankets to cover them. Most of this army were militia and they bore all this with a spirit becoming Freemen and Americans.





*Pluckemin Jan. 4th 1777*

To-day we continued here and our troops were pretty well supplied with provisions and in the evening most of those who had laged behind came up. Here Sergeant McKnatt was accidentally shot through the arm by one of our own people, who fired off his musket to light a fire and as there was not one surgeon in the whole army I was forced to dress it myself and the next day got one of the prisoners to do it. The surgeons not being informed of the movement of the army at Trenton did not hear of it until daylight and then were so frightened that they fled towards Philadelphia for their lives.

*Pluckemin January 5th 1777*

The General continued here to-day to refresh the army. Capt. Henry [the senior captain of the Philadelphia Light Infantry, who has had command of this regiment] has been sent to carry the news of the victory at Princeton to Congress and I as the next captain in seniority have the command.

This morning the General ordered 40 of our light Infantry to attend the funeral of Col. Leslie one of the enemy, to bury him with the honors of war. They readily obeyed in paying due respect to bravery, though in an enemy, but as I had not paid any attention to Military Funeral Ceremonies I requested Capt. Humpries to conduct it.

I had nothing to cover me here but my great coat but luckily got into a house near the mountains where I fared very comfortably while we stayed here.

[On the retreat of the British, leaving their wounded on



the field, General Washington, accompanied by Benjamin Rush, M.D., surgeon-in-chief, saw a handsome young officer wounded and inquired his name, and was told it was Captain Leslie. Dr. Rush immediately dismounted, and with the aid of a servant had him placed on a suitable vehicle and brought him with the American army.

I will state in corroboration of the statement of the burial of Captain Leslie by the Delaware troops, that the Hon. Ronald Leslie Melville, brother of the Earl of Leven and Melville, and Mr. Hugh McCulloch's partner, mentioned, when he visited this country last year, that one of his ancestors, a young British officer, had fallen here during the Revolution, and that the family had never been able to learn where he was buried. An American friend of Mr. Melville has just found the grave, well preserved, in the graveyard at Pluckemin, N.J. Over it was a monument erected by Dr. Benjamin Rush, to whom the young Captain Leslie's father had been kind in Edinburgh.

The following is the inscription upon this monument :

"In memory of the Hon. Captain William Leslie, of the 17th British Regiment, son of the Earl of Leven, in Scotland.

"He fell January 3d, 1777, aged twenty-six years, at the battle of Princeton. His friend, Benjamin Rush, M.D., of Philadelphia, hath caused this stone to be erected as a mark of esteem for his worth and of his respect for his noble family. Wounded on the 3d, brought to Pluckemin, twenty miles from Princeton, on the 4th died within sight of the village, buried on the 5th with military honors."]



*Morristown Jan. 6th 1777*

We left Pluckemin this morning and arrived at Morristown just before sunset. The order of march, was first a small advance guard, next the officers who were prisoners, next my Light Infantry Regiment in column of four deep; next the prisoners flanked by the riflemen, next the head of the main column, with the artillery in front.

Our whole Light Infantry are quartered in a very large house belonging to Col. Ford having 4 Rooms on a floor and Two stories high.

This town is situated among the mountains of Morris county, about 18 miles from Elizabethtown, 28 from Brunswick and 50 from Carrolls Ferry.

*Morristown January 7th 1777*

This morning General Washington appointed my Infantry Regiment to be his own guard (for the reason I suppose that they had distinguished themselves at Princeton and were the only Regiment in the army that were in complete uniform which was green faced with red).

This day I was myself officer of the Guard whose duties consist in mounting 26 of the infantry every day, and for this service we are excused from all other camp duties.

Here a circumstance happened that commenced the downfall of Gen. Mifflin.

When I waited on the General to fix his guards, there was no guard house prepared, and he referred me to M. G. Mifflin who was then acting as Q. M. G. and with whom I had long been acquainted, but upon my application Mifflin said that there was no house and that he had all the busi-





ness of the army to do; I answered if that was the case I would return his answer to the General and bade him adieu, but he sent one of his aides after me to procure a house, but now there was none to be had, excepting one that had been used as a hospital; I told the aid that all the volunteers under my command were gentlemen and should not lodge in such a house and then returned to the General and informed him that if he thought it necessary, the guards having no house, should encamp near his quarters, but he politely requested, that I would let our own quarters be the guard house, which was about a mile from him; so the guards were relieved at that distance.

*January 8th 1777*

We received information to-day that the Enemy were at Brunswick and were so much frightened that they did not take time to inspect either Trenton or Princetown.

*January 9th 1777*

We are informed to-day that General Maxwell has taken a number of wagons and prisoners near Elizabethtown and that General Putnam has crossed the Delaware with 2000 men.

The Philadelphia officers of the Regiment applied to me to-day, to represent to the General the propriety of the officer of the Day, on guard, dining at his table,—but I replied that such an invitation should come from the General himself, and, if he was not courtly enough to confer that honor on the officer of the guard, he would feel it as a censure on his want of Etiquet if it was pressed upon him, and there-



fore advised them, in case the General omitted this compliment, to consider their own tables as pleasant and honorable as his, that true honor consisted in acts of virtue and that the merit of their patriotism would not be lessened by the General omitting the required compliment.

*January 10th 1777*

The time that my men enrolled for expired to-day and most of them seemed determined to go home, upon which I went to Gen. Cadwalader and brought him to our quarters and he informed them of the necessity of their staying a few days longer which they all agreed to do except Millis, Dawson, Pennington, Croket and Maxwell who said they *would* go but none of them went but Millis.

*January 11th 1777*

Col. Ford the owner of the house where we are quartered died to-day.

We heard to-day that General Maxwell with 1500 men has taken Elizabethtown with 20 wagons of baggage, one schooner loaded with stores and 120 prisoners, and that Gen. Putnam has left Trenton with 2000 men.

*January 12th 1777*

This day Leut. McCall, who was left or lagged behind us at Trenton rejoined us. By his story he came with the rear of the army to the battle of Princeton, but was not in the action and meeting with the body of Col. Haslet was about to bury him when a number of our officers who he took to be Light Horse appeared on the hill which frightened him





so that he did not stop until he had crossed the Delaware where he got Mr. McGermotts horse at Mr. Coxes and came to us here.

But 8 or 10 of the Light Infantry, of the 2d Battallion of Philadelphia, say he came on the ground with them, and as soon as the bullets began to fly he ran as hard as he could for the woods.

Robert McGermot also returned to-day from Bristol with my clothes.

*January 13th 1777*

The Infantry were called on to-day to bury Col. Ford with the honors of war and I appointed Capt. Nezbit to command.

General Mercer is likely to recover altho' we had numbered him with the dead.

*January 14th 1777*

This day the Infantry were ordered to bury General Hitchcock with the honors of war and as he was a continental officer I took the command myself.

[Here follows a long description of the funeral ceremonies of General Hitchcock, which I omit.]

This day most all my company set off home though I tried all in my power to prevail on them to stay until the brigade went.

*January 15th 1777*

To-day Lieut. McCall, Tilton and Bullen who thought it was not worth while to stay as the rest were gone set off for home too, and left no one with me but Robert McGermot. I dined to-day with Gens. Cadwalader and Dickinson.



*January 16th*

Hearing that my brother had crossed the Delaware with a number of troops, I determined to set off to-day to meet him but was prevailed upon by Dr. Miller to wait for him until to-morrow.

*January 17th 1777*

We received information this morning, that Gen. Heath is in possession of Fort Washington and is moving towards New York with 8000 men.

I remained here to-day in Morristown waiting for Dr. Miller, who cannot get a horse to go with.

*January 18th 1777*

This morning about 10 o'clock I left Morristown with Robert McGermot, who stayed with me, and took our route through Vealtown and Pluckemin to Summerset Court House; we had not left Morristown many miles before we met sundry persons who had heard much canonade towards New York; and all the way to the Raritan most of the people we met had heard it, but just after we reached the Court House, a man came in, who had left Elizabeth at 9 o'clock in the morning, and said, that a canonade began at York at 2 o'clock in the morning and continued until he came 10 or 15 miles on his way: From this information we conclude that a general attack has been made on New York by General Heath.

As there was nothing to be had in the Tavern at this place we put up at the house of a man who had just ob-



tained some rum and said he could make us a drink; he found hay and a stable for our horses, and we sent out and got some corn. Here we fell in with a gentlemen from New York who invited us to lodge with him at a Dutch Doctors, just by, and we accepted the offer and were very agreeably entertained by the Doctor. He told us that Col. Mawhood who afterwards commanded the British forces at the battle of Princeton and Major Moyney boarded at his house; that they were both exceedingly clever, especially the Colonel, who often expressed himself very freely, lamenting the American contest very much, and pronouncing lord North a villian for being the cause of it. They were both at his house when Gen. Lee was brought there, a prisoner, by the Light Horse, that Major Moyney immediately ran out and kissed Gen. Lee with tears in his eyes, and the General told him he never expected to see him in America. They all dined there together and Gen. Lee requested that the man who had betrayed him should be brought in, and when the General saw him he abused him as a villian worthy the punishment of the most base and inhuman traitor.

The Doctor could not remember the villians name but said that he was a continental officer dressed in blue faced with red and wore a brown cloak, lined with blue baize; that he heard him tell the Colonel, that he had been in the Continental service but that he had got tired of it, and had lately given the British army all the information in his power, and now that he had informed the light horse of Gen. Lee, and had gone with them, and shown them where he was so that they now had him in their





possession, he hoped they would remember and reward him.

The Doctor says that he took such particular notice of the villian that tho' he forgot his name he will never forget his face.

He also told us that Col. Mahood, on the evening of Christmas day, was blaming the English Generals for dispersing their army so much, and said that if he was in Gen. Washingtons place he would make an attack on several of the principle posts at the same time;—that they were all so weak that he could certainly cut them off, and be in possession of all Jersey in a few days.

It so happened that about 10 o'clock next day, a light horseman came express, and informed the major who ran out, that Gen. Washington had taken Trenton with 1200 prisoners, upon which the major rushed in and said "well Col. Gen. Washington has executed your last night's plan already for he has taken Trenton with 1200 prisoners this morning."

*January 19th 1777*

We went on from Summerset Court House to Princeton and rode out to see the Battle field and then went on towards Trenton intending to see one Mr. Steenes on the road but falling in with Mr. Tucker, a member of Congress, who lives in Trenton, he informed me that my brother, with his brigade, was there and I came on with him to Trenton where I met my brother and his troops.—I found them all well and had the pleasure of hearing that my family were well when they left Dover.



*January 20th 1777*

When I came here I had thoughts of going on home, but my brother insisted on my acting as Brigade major for him, as he could not find a suitable person to perform that duty.

*January 21st 1777*

This morning Col. Collins and the Delaware Militia marched from this place for Princeton.

We are informed that 400 Militia attacked 800 Regulars at Millstone and took 17 Prisoners, 100 horses, 35 loaded wagons and a great number of cattle.

*January 22d 1777*

Another battalion marched from here to join Gen. Putnam at Princeton, and another came in the afternoon and the troops about Mt. Holly are we are informed to march to-morrow. We also have certain information that Gen. Heath has taken fort Independence.

*January 23d 1777*

This morning the body of Col. Haslet left here, having been taken up at Princeton and is to be sent to Philadelphia to be buried with the honors of war.

The second troop of Virginia light horse passed thro' this town for headquarters.

A hessian who is Capt. of artillery in our service informed us to-day that he went with a flag of truce to Brunswick on Monday last, and saw the enemy's foraging party come in with 60 wagons as hard as they could drive, and with but a handful of hay in each, not amounting in all to two loads.





An English officer taking him to be a hessian officer in their own service rode up and asked him if he had heard how the rebels had beaten them, and that he answered that he knew nothing about it, that he belonged to that army they called rebel, upon which the officer asked his pardon and rode off. He says their army at Brunswick does not exceed 5000 men.

*January 24th 1777*

One of the light Horse who was present informs us that Gen. Dickerson on Monday took 106 horses, 44 loaded wagons, 90 head of Cattle and 80 head of sheep.

Putnams party took 17 wagons the same day.

That last night a small party advanced and fired 3 rounds upon the guards at Brunswick and put the whole army under arms, created the greatest disorder and then retired unhurt.

*January 25th 1777*

This morning about 10 o'clock I left Trenton and my brother, who was to march to Princeton next morning. Though horses and wagons crossed the River on the ice yesterday the great rain that fell last night has broken it up and this morning I crossed over in a boat, a little above the island, opposite the town, and at the same time the last troop of Virginia Light Horse were passing over to the camp.

I called at Mr. Wm. Coxes on the Neshaminy where I had left my baggage. The family were exceedingly polite and friendly in consideration of my guardianship while stationed there. I then went on to Philadelphia and called at



old Mr. William Allens to see Mrs. Andrew Allen and deliver to her a letter from her father and was received by her and the old gentlemen with great affection, in consideration of my care of Mrs. Allen and her family while there. I then went to see the Fishers, but they were all gloomy, I reminded them that they were mistaken and that all was accomplished that I had foretold them but they affected not to believe it and I left them and from Philadelphia came on home where I found all well on the 28th of January 1777.



## APPENDIX.

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### LETTER A.

COL. HASLET TO MR. RODNEY.

DR. AND WORTHY SIR: When I last wrote you God knows, I do not: this I can affirm—that I have received no answer.

After a long retreat, from a full conviction of the enemy's superior numbers, but performed in order, with a firm determined countenance, we at last stopt on ye banks of Delaware—there we were stationed. Thank you, says Genl. Rodney.

On Christmas, at 3 o'clock [on Christmas night,—that is, really, the early morning of December 26th.—ED.] we recrossed the river; a party of Virginians formed the vanguard and did most of the fighting. Lord Stirling's brigade had the honor of fighting 1000 Hessians to a surrender. We should have gone on, and panic-struck they would have fled before us, but the inclemency of the weather rendered it impossible. We repassed the river, rested one day, and then were ordered back. I'm sorry to inform the Genl. [General Rodney is meant, of course] that Capt. Holland,





Ensign Wilson, Dr. Gilder, and myself are all [of the Delaware battalion] who have followed the American cause to Trenton, two privates excepted. On Genl. Washington being informed of this, he declared his intention of having officers and men bound neck and heels and brought back as an example to the army. I told the Genl. the truth, but not the whole truth; the last I reserved for you, and you will blush with me.

Seven Philadelphia light-horse yesterday brought in nine light-horsemen, with one horse, who were sent to impress wagons. We just now hear that the bridge on this side Princeton is cut down, and the enemy retiring—a sufficient number of troops are ready to drive them out of Jersey. We hope to greet you well.

On our victorious return from Trenton, I fell into the Delaware, at 3 o'clock, in the morning, up to my middle—have had . . . and swelled legs ever since. But no matter, if we drive them to New York. If I return it will be to salute you; if not we shall meet in Heaven. Your goodness will give Mrs. Haslet such news as you think proper.

I have Gen'l. Washington's leave to return and superintend the recruiting service at home, but cannot go for a few days longer; hope soon to lay myself at your feet, and am, with great esteem and sincerity yours,

JOHN HASLET.

P.S.—The four Allens, we hear, are with Genl. Howe, Galloway, &c.—the former fled, his brother the General in pursuit. Mr. Tilghman informed the General in my hearing that the Dover light-horse were coming up. Is it so? I



shall believe, like Thomas, when I see it. Genl. Washington is Dictator. [By resolution of Congress, passed December 27.]

I mentioned to Lord Stirling t'other day that I thought myself dismissed from the service, on Col. Smallwood's being favored before me. What made the case in point was the dispute of rank between us [mentioned in a former letter.—ED.] determined by the General himself in my favour. The preference was, as in General Wooster's case, a modest hint to retire. They both remonstrated. I shall not take my resolution till I see you, nor can I give the reasoning, pro and con, at large. I hope you rec'd my last; it was a sort of journal, closed at Brunswick one day with "God bless you! we shall certainly drive them off."

The hand of Ishmael was here, meaning Dr. Miller, a very important part of the Delaware regiment at present. Gilder is sick; he is to serve with me at the head of Lord Stirling's brigade and insists on his compliments to Misses Wilson, Nixon, Killens, and the General himself, if he pleases to accept them.

[The address on the foregoing letter is gone, but it is endorsed as follows:]

"1st Jany., 1777, Trenton."

"From Col. Haslet to Cæsar Rodney, a few days before he fell at Trenton."

"Will meet him in Heaven."











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