

CAMPAIGNS OF A VETERAN VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION:
THE SERVICE OF THE 5th NEW YORK VETERAN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY,
DURYEE'S ZOUAVES, 1863 - 1865


by

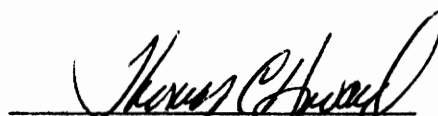
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(ABSTRACT)

In May 1863, the end of service came to one of the most notable regiments in the Army of the Potomac. The 5th New York Volunteer Infantry, Duryée's Zouaves, returned home to be mustered out of service. In the fall of 1863, after being reorganized in the Manhattan area, the 5th New York again took the field as a battalion with four companies of veteran men under the command of Lt. Col. Cleveland Winslow. For seven months the unit occupied the defenses of Washington. In Alexandria the outfit performed duty at the provost marshal's office and undertook various responsibilities. In the Spring of 1864, the Zouaves acted as guards along the vital Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which carried supplies to the Army of the Potomac. Although the 5th New York Battalion was a veteran volunteer organization, it lacked discipline, which Col. Winslow constantly sought to instill. He succeeded, just in time.

The 5th New York returned to the front at the end of May. The Zouaves joined Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren's V Corps of the Army of the Potomac. The consolidation of the 12th New York and the 14th Brooklyn into the 5th New York increased the battalion to regimental strength. On June 2, upon reporting to brigade commander Romeyn Ayres, the regiment immediately

found itself in one of its toughest battles at Bethesda Church. Just over two weeks later, the regiment engaged in the June 18 assault against Petersburg.

The 5th New York saw action in all the engagements of the V Corps during the siege of Petersburg, including the Weldon Railroad, Poplar Spring Church, Hatcher's Run, White Oak Road. The Zouaves' crowning glory came at Five Forks. During this battle, the 5th New York, along with the rest of Winthrop's brigade, broke the Confederate line at the strongest point--the "angle." This resulted in the capture of several thousand Confederate prisoners, and more importantly, it severed the Southside Railroad which forced Lee to evacuate Petersburg. Throughout the regiment's field service, it suffered a heavy toll of 391 casualties including several commanding officers.

The Zouaves participated in the Appomattox campaign and the Grand Review, and then they returned to New York. Yet, the regiment was not mustered out of service until August. On August 21, 1865, military life for the heirs of the original 5th New York ended. In two years of service, the 5th New York Veteran Infantry made its own history while attempting to live up to a proud heritage.

Acknowledgments

This thesis was completed through the support and aid of many institutions and people; to name them all would take for too long. I am grateful to all who contributed in various ways to this study. I thank Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Dr. Peter Wallenstein, and Dr. Thomas Howard for their concern and patience. Rhonda Wills, Linda Fountaine, and Jan Francis have always been a blessing. Brian Pohanka, who sparked my historical writing interest, particularly about Zouaves, was an inspiration to complete this work. Lastly, I want to thank my wife, Maria, and my parents for their continuous support and encouragement.

The thesis is dedicated to the men of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry, Duryée's Zouaves, who were willing to lay down their lives for future generations. They will not be forgotten.

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Preface

In late spring of 1863, as enlistments in the Federal armies started to wane, the draft began to supplement the depleted Northern ranks. Still, entire Union regiments left the field when their two-year enlistments expired. It was imperative that new organizations be formed to continue the struggle. The North found what it needed in the so-called "Veteran Volunteers." These men, most having prior army service, showed their support for the Union cause by re-enlisting. One of the first veteran volunteer units to reorganize and return to the field was the 5th New York Veteran Battalion. The 5th New York was no ordinary organization. The men were outfitted in colorful Zouave uniforms. They were the successors of the original 5th New York, Duryée's Zouaves, which had distinguished itself as one of the best drilled fighting regiments in the Army of the Potomac.

The writer seeks here to give insight to the campaigns of a veteran volunteer unit in the midst of our nation's bloodiest war. Veteran volunteer organizations have not received the attention they warrant. These veteran units provided a military backbone for a government that was relying more and more on the draft. Thinning regiments were filled out with conscripts and substitutes. Veteran outfits provided a stable structure to the army. If the North was ever going to win the war, it needed tough and reliable fighting men--it could not count on the strength of numbers alone.

In theory, veteran units did not need the extensive training required by new regiments. Few studies have examined the composition, training, and campaign experiences of veteran regiments. This stems from a number of

factors. Many outfits reformed exclusively from the original unit. Hence, published histories cover both periods, and the campaigns after May 1864 are largely neglected. Veteran regiments served in the latter part of the war. Even today, historians tend to focus on the first years of the war (until 1863), while relatively little work has been done on the final campaigns. Also, the soldiers themselves wrote less about their experiences as the war continued. The pageantry and romanticism had passed from the war. Finally, the 5th New York was an amalgamation of veterans from units other than the "old Fifth" who identified largely with their original outfits. The task falls to present day historians to tell the story of veteran regiments during the decisive campaigns of the war. Warren Wilkinson initiated studies on veteran volunteer regiments in 1990 when he completed: *Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Last Year of the Civil War*. Wilkinson found that despite being a veteran volunteer regiment, there were often times of discord within the unit.

This study differs from Wilkinson's, in that the 5th New York Veteran Volunteers was a Zouave unit. Zouave uniforms were highly popular in the Civil War era. These uniforms were in imitation of the French Zouaves who won their fame in the Crimean War (1854). Elmer Ellsworth toured the United States in 1860 with his company of the Chicago Zouave Cadets. They were declared the national drill team champions, and many militia organizations throughout the country adopted the Zouave style uniforms.

Several prominent historians, including Bruce Catton, have stated that Federal regiments who wore Zouave uniforms at the beginning of the war did not retain them long. This proved true in some cases. A few regiments

received a Zouave uniform for their first issue through private, local, or state means. As their extravagant uniforms wore out, they adopted regulation Federal blue. However, there were more Federal regiments dressed in Zouave uniforms at Appomattox than there were at Bull Run. One of those Zouave regiments was the 5th New York. At least four other regiments in the V Corps donned Zouave attire. These included the 140th and 146th New York, as well as the 91st and 155th Pennsylvania. The II Corps had the 164th New York (Corcoran Zouaves), while the VI Corps had the 95th Pennsylvania (Gosline's Zouaves) decked out in Zouave jackets. The 114th Pennsylvania (Collis' Zouaves) also served with the Army of the Potomac. This thesis is an in depth look of a unit which wore Zouave uniforms throughout the entire war.

Most importantly, this study hopes to answer several questions raised by the service of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry. Did these veteran Zouaves uphold the reputation of the old regiment? Was the proud record of one of the best disciplined units in the Army of the Potomac continued in the new organization? How did the reorganized 5th New York perform in battle? As a former commander of the "old Fifth," did Maj. Gen. Gouverneur Kemble Warren show favoritism to the new outfit when it joined his V Corps? Did Warren manipulate the command structure of the veteran 5th New York to suit his own ends?

In 1879, former Pvt. Alfred Davenport completed his 485-page history, *Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry (Duryée Zouaves)*. Davenport covered the two years (1861-1863) of service rendered by the 5th New York. This study picks up the unit's history from May 1863, the point where Davenport stopped, and focuses on the service of the veteran unit.

Chapter I

Reorganization and Return to the Field:

May 1863 through May 16, 1864

On May 4, 1863, as General Joseph Hooker's Army of the Potomac was being decisively beaten at the Battle of Chancellorsville, one of the army's finest units received orders to proceed to New York City to be mustered out of service. The regiment was the 5th New York Volunteer Infantry, better known as Duryée's Zouaves. On May 9, 1861, the unit had enrolled for a two-year term in Federal service. The regiment originated principally in Manhattan, but had a number of men from such surrounding areas as Staten Island, Poughkeepsie, and New Jersey. A wealthy businessman and veteran militiaman named Abram Duryée organized the 5th New York. He had outfitted his troops in the elaborate uniform of the famous French Zouaves: baggy red pantaloons, dark blue jacket trimmed with red, red sash with light blue trim, white canvas leggings, and yellow tasseled red fez for a head piece.

In June, 1861, the regiment suffered losses during the first land engagement of the war at Big Bethel on the Virginia peninsula. Confederate troops under Col. D. H. Hill held a strong fortified position and Hill's men repulsed several bungled Federal attacks. The Zouaves performed better than

casualties. The engagement led one Zouave to comment: "I have seen enough to satisfy me that warfare ain't play." However, Southern troops noticed the Zouaves' bravery and dubbed them the "red-legged devils" for their fighting prowess.¹

Following duties outside Fortress Monroe, the "red-legs" spent the winter of 1861-1862 in Baltimore. There the regiment assisted in the construction of a large earthen fort atop Federal Hill. Throughout the winter, the 5th trained to proficiency in field tactics, especially in skirmish drill and bayonet exercise. Duryée's successors as unit commander, Col. Gouverneur Kemble Warren and Lt. Col. Hiram Duryea, instilled and maintained discipline along stern Regular Army lines.

As spring campaigning in 1862 approached, the 5th New York joined Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter's V Corps in the Army of the Potomac. The Zouaves received a high honor by being brigaded with Brig. Gen. George Sykes's division of Regulars. Army commander Gen. George B. McClellan had been favorably impressed with the French Zouaves during his tenure as United States observer to the Crimean War seven years earlier. McClellan had admired the dash and military bearing of the New York Zouave regiment since its formation and became quite attached to them. Often he would summon the 5th to perform the elaborate bayonet drill for visiting dignitaries and foreign observers. It was common to find a company of the 5th around McClellan's

¹ Report of the Committee appointed by the Literary and Historical Society, *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861-5* (Goldsboro, 1904), 15-16; letter from an unidentified Zouave, *New York Leader*, June 22, 1861. For the text, all regiments mentioned in the manuscript are infantry unless otherwise stated.

headquarters doing guard duty or another service for the general. Yet the regiment saw its share of fighting as well.

As Gen. McClellan changed base for the Army of the Potomac during the Peninsular Campaign, Fitz John Porter's V Corps prepared to stave off the Southern advance. Porter's soldiers remained isolated on the north side of the Chickahominy River in order to protect the the York River Railroad supply line. At 3 p.m. on June 26, Confederates under A. P. Hill struck Porter's troops at Mechanicsville. Porter fell back to strong positions at Beaver Dam and Ellerson's Mill and repulsed the assaults. The 5th New York with the rest of Sykes's division marched toward the sound of the guns, but never became engaged. Early the next morning, Porter's V Corps withdrew through Boatswain Swamp to a position near Gaines' Mill. Lee massed D. H. Hill's and "Stonewall" Jackson's divisions to hit Porter's right. James Longstreet's troops would strike the Federal left, while A. P. Hill's division smashed the center.²

On June 27, A. P. Hill's men clashed with the Zouaves at the battle of Gaines' Mill. The red-legs stymied several Confederate attacks before launching a ferocious counterattack of their own. Their charge shattered the 1st South Carolina Rifles. Some Zouaves even drew close enough to put their bayonet skills to work. Lieutenant Colonel Hiram Duryea reported: "The enemy was driven from the field in confusion and the fugitives were nearly annihilated by our fire." The 1st South Carolina Rifles suffered 315 men killed

² James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 461-64.

and wounded, the most casualties of a Confederate regiment that day. Additional Confederate units put a halt to the Zouaves' advance.³

The 1st Pennsylvania Reserves arrived to relieve the 5th New York, whose members had expended all their ammunition. The Zouaves had held their own, but as the fighting continued other Federal units gave way. General Warren called for what was left of the 5th New York to help cover the retreat with Gen. Sykes's Regulars. Zouave Thomas Southwick recalled: "We retreated in the line of battle halting and turning at the top of every hillock long enough to pour another volley on our advancing foe." Darkness fell and the Confederate pursuit stopped. The red-legs lost an aggregate of 162 men in the engagement. Although the day proved disastrous to the Federal forces, the Zouaves gained admiration and respect from friends and foes alike. Even Confederate division commander A. P. Hill commented on the stubborn resistance presented by "the vaunted Zouaves."⁴

The 5th New York incurred far greater losses two months later in the Second Battle of Manassas. On August 13, McClellan's army began withdrawing from the Peninsula. Army of the Potomac units boarded ships and steamed north to reinforce Federal Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. Pope's men

³ Brian Pohanka, "Duryée's Zouaves: The 5th New York Volunteer Infantry," *Civil War Regiments: A Journal of the American Civil War*, 1 (1991): 23. U.S. War Department (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1890-1901), XI, Pt. 2: 382 [cited hereafter as *O. R.*]. For additional reading on Gaines' Mill from the Confederate perspective, see William W. Hassler, *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General* (Richmond, 1957) and James I. Robertson, Jr., *General A. P. Hill: The Story of A Confederate Warrior* (New York, 1987).

⁴ Thomas P. Southwick, *A Duryée Zouave* (Washington, DC, 1930), 80; *O. R.*, XI, Pt. 2: 837.

tried to locate and destroy Confederate forces under Stonewall Jackson, but had little success. Jackson kept Pope guessing with a series of quick movements. During the last days of August, Lee reunited the Army of Northern Virginia. With nearly the entire Confederate army on hand, Lee set out to "suppress" Pope. Federal V Corps units from the Army of the Potomac disembarked at Aquia Landing and moved quickly to bolster Pope's forces.⁵

On a hot and humid August 30, Capt. Cleveland Winslow commanded approximately 500 New Yorkers near Groveton, Virginia. General G. K. Warren remained in command of the small brigade comprising his old regiment and the 10th New York Volunteer Infantry. The two regiments, in support of Battery D of the 5th U.S. Artillery, tried to slow the advance of Confederate Gen. James Longstreet's 30,000-man corps as it rolled up the left flank of Pope's forces.⁶

Hood's Texas brigade, under Col. J. B. Robertson, overlapped the tiny contingent of New Yorkers. The 10th New York, acting as skirmishers, fired a volley, then broke for the rear. The red-legs stayed to meet their fate. Warren gave the order to retreat, but he could not be heard over the roar of musketry.

⁵ Bruce Catton, *This Hallowed Ground* (New York, 1956), 191-92; Editors of Time-Life Books, *Lee Takes Command: From Seven Days to Second Bull Run* (Alexandria, 1984), 125-26.

⁶ Pohanka, "Duryée's Zouaves," 40. Pohanka gives the details on the various reports of the regimental strength of the 5th at the Second Battle of Manassas. Gouverneur Kemble Warren remained closely tied with friends in the 5th New York and the subsequent 5th New York Veteran Regiment (1863-1865). Warren maintained interest in the regiment as brigade and later corps commander.

Warren also noted that the Zouaves "were unwilling to make a backward movement."⁷

Robertson's troops delivered volleys from three sides. Bullets riddled the Zouaves. Winslow's men held their position for only ten minutes before being overwhelmed, yet they saved the battery and bought precious time for Pope's army to prepare for a new onslaught. Robertson reported: "They gave way before the impetuous charge of my men and fled, leaving the field strewn with their dead and dying."⁸

Once again the red-legs paid a crippling price. In those ten brief minutes, the regiment lost 297 men, 124 of them killed or mortally wounded. This was the highest number of Federal regimental fatalities during a single battle for the entire war. General Warren reported of his soldiers: "Braver men than those who fought and fell that day could not be found."⁹

After the disaster at Second Manassas, the 5th New York continued to serve with the V Corps. Battle never again subjected the regiment to such slaughter. During the fighting at Antietam, Shepherdstown, Snicker's Gap, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, the regiment suffered fewer than a dozen total casualties. On a visit to the Army of the Potomac, President Lincoln noticed the depleted ranks of the Zouaves. "Oh, the Zou Zous are all right," remarked McClellan, "they can whip the devil round a stump any time."

⁷ John J. Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run* (New York, 1993), 370; *O. R.*, XII, Pt. 2: 504.

⁸ Hennessy, *Bull Run*, 373; *O. R.*, XII, Pt. 2: 617.

⁹ William F. Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War* (Albany, 1889), 17, 191; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1865* (Albany, 1912), 2: 1751; *O. R.*, XII, Pt. 2: 504.

Lincoln, with his quick humor, responded: "It would be a very small stump, then, or the devil would soon get away from them." New recruits helped fill out the ranks of the red-legs.¹⁰

The weary veterans of the 5th New York expected to be mustered out on April 23, 1863, two years from the date of their enrollment into New York state service. However, since active operations were about to resume, the men learned that they must continue on duty until May 9, two years from the date of being mustered into the U.S. Army. The men grumbled but obeyed. On April 27, their apprehension grew when Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker set the Army of the Potomac in motion for another drive against Richmond. Even more disturbing for many of the Zouaves was the realization that not all of them were going home. Only the original men who had enlisted for two years in April and May, 1861, could return to New York. Recruits after that time had signed for three years. These soldiers were obliged to finish out their enlistment in the ranks of another regiment, the 146th New York.¹¹

The two-year men of the 5th New York departed for home directly from the field of battle at Chancellorsville. During May 4, the regiment formed in line and listened as Col. Cleveland Winslow read General Order No. 99, issued by Gen. George Sykes. It extolled the regiment's past service. About 200 men of

¹⁰ For a complete history of the 5th New York see, Alfred Davenport, *Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry* (New York, 1879); reprint (Gaithersburg, Md., 1984); George Forrester Williams, "Lights and Shadows of Army Life," *The Century Magazine*, 6 (1884): 815.

¹¹ The processes of mustering out regiments from the field was altogether new for the army. The 5th was one of the first two-year regiments to go through such a process because it was one of the first regiments organized in the war's first spring. Regiments were initially mustered into the state service, then offered to the U.S. Army.

the 5th New York departed for home, while 237 of the three-year enlistees joined the 146th New York. One 146th New York officer noted: "The Duryea's Zouaves, you know, received the compliment from [General] McClellan, of being the best fighters in the army of the Potomac."¹²

The veterans returning to New York for discharge were under the command of Cleveland Winslow, a dashing, twenty-seven-year-old colonel whom one subordinate described as a "Frenchified-looking man with light hair and mustache carefully curled up like butcher's hooks." Winslow's flamboyant uniform, another soldier noted, gave him the appearance of "half Italian bandit and half English highwayman." This caused the men to dub him "Garibaldi." Alfred Davenport wrote: "You would think that he was a foreign count to see him rigged out for dress parade."¹³

Although the young colonel may have been swashbuckling in appearance, as regimental commander he was committed to enforcing the strict discipline instilled by his predecessors. Winslow was far from popular with the rank and file. One Zouave who found Winslow too exacting commented that "he has drum & bugle calls for everything except the calls of nature, which I suppose keeps him awake nights--thinking how he can manage that."¹⁴

¹² Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 387-88; Mary Genevieve Green Brainard, *Campaigns of The One Hundred and Forty-Sixth Regiment New York State Volunteers* (New York, 1915), 92; Edward North, *Memorial of Henry Hastings Curran, Lieutenant Colonel of the One Hundred Forty-Sixth Regiment of the New York State Volunteers* (Albany, 1867), 40.

¹³ Southwick, *A Duryée Zouave*, 19-30; Alfred Davenport Letterbooks, New-York State Historical Society. Family members and close friends called Cleveland Winslow "Cleve."

¹⁴ Davenport Letterbooks.

Winslow was the fourth man to command the 5th New York. He rose from the rank of captain of Company K to field grade. Winslow's ascent derived from distinguished service in the field, strict attention to orders, and a driving ambition. His superiors frequently cited him for bravery. Winslow had been in the thick of the fighting at Gaines' Mill; while in command of the regiment at Second Manassas, his horse was struck by seven bullets. Remarkably, the captain survived the battle unscathed.¹⁵

Cleveland was not the only Winslow returning to New York with the 5th. His father, Rev. Gordon Winslow, was regimental chaplain. Despite the fact that he was nearly sixty years old, the elder Winslow had remained with the organization throughout its two years of service. A third Winslow returning to the Empire State with the regiment was Cleveland's younger brother, Gordon, Jr. He had joined the unit after Second Manassas. No doubt owing in part to family connections, he had risen from the rank of private to first lieutenant. Even the matriarch of the family, Katherine Fish Winslow, was involved with the war effort as a nurse with the United States Sanitary Commission.¹⁶

¹⁵ Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 463-64. For a biographical sketch of Cleveland Winslow, see Brian Pohanka, "Profile: Cleveland Winslow," *Military Images Magazine*, 1 (1980): 14-17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 439-40. Another Winslow served with the 5th New York. This was Miron Winslow of Co. E, cousin of Col. Winslow and wounded at Gaines' Mill. Captain John A. Winslow, commander of the U. S. S. *Kearsarge*, destined to become famous after his ship sank the Confederate raider *Alabama* in June, 1864, was also a relative. Reverend Winslow became involved with the U.S. Sanitary Commission after the old 5th New York departed from service. Mrs. Winslow was cousin of Congressman Hamilton Fish, later President U. S. Grant's secretary of state.

On the trip home, the 5th New York collected many wounded convalescing members of the regiment from hospitals along the way. On the afternoon of May 8, the unit reached New York City and paraded down Broadway to the cheers of a host of assembled military units and fire companies, bands, and a cheering crowd. On May 14, the men of the regiment received their final pay and were mustered from service.¹⁷

Most of them were content to have completed their duty. Others, like the Winslow clan, could not stay at home while their country was in peril. One of Duryée's Zouaves remembered years later: "The whole Winslow family were staunch Unionist, Father, Mother & Sons."¹⁸

Less than ten days after the discharge of Duryée's Zouaves, Cleveland Winslow obtained permission to reorganize the 5th as a veteran volunteer regiment for three additional years of service. Winslow believed that the officers and men from the original regiment would aid in the process. He would be colonel of the new organization. Yet Winslow could hardly expect to raise an entire 1,000-man regiment from the survivors of the Duryée Zouaves. The regiment had returned to New York City with little more than 200 men; not more than half would be likely to return to duty immediately. Winslow expected some of the former officers and enlisted men to help recruit the new unit and secure promising enlistees who could uphold the excellent reputation of the old regiment. He obtained recruiting assistance from William H.

¹⁷ Ibid., 391-95.

¹⁸ "Records of the Veterans Administration," Record Group 15, National Archives, file of George Martin [cited hereafter as *Pension File*].

Chambers, George L. Guthrie, William H. Uckele, Charles Montgomery, and John S. Raymond, all of whom were officers in the original Duryée Zouaves.¹⁹

Despite a vigorous advertising campaign in the New York papers, recruitment proceeded slowly. Winslow had trouble getting members of the original 5th New York to re-enlist. He decided to fill the ranks of the new regiment with veterans from various regiments. He wanted veterans--good quality soldiers--to maintain the reputation of the old 5th. Winslow used the well-recognized name of Duryée's Zouaves to attract recruits and displayed the distinctive uniform to entice volunteers. However, soldiers and civilians had begun to realize that the war was not a picnic.²⁰

Government red tape and the New York City draft riots also slowed recruiting. Colonel Winslow and other former 5th New York officers volunteered to help suppress the rebellious citizens. Winslow began to assemble a small contingent of volunteers at the Seventh Street Arsenal. He organized and armed a few hundred civilians, most of whom had some military experience, to preserve "the peace of the city." As violence escalated, Winslow led his private army in several bloody street battles. The addition of 150 Regulars and a rifled cannon augmented the howitzers Winslow already had at his disposal. In one engagement, the artillery fired loads of canister into the mob, yet Winslow's tiny command also suffered casualties. Colonel Jardine, late

¹⁹ Miscellaneous Regimental Papers, 5th New York Veteran Infantry, Record Group 94, National Archives [cited hereafter as Misc. Regtl. Papers]. On May 23, 1863, Col. Winslow received official authorization to reorganize the regiment. The figure of about 100 men being fit to return to duty came from Davenport.

²⁰ *New York Times*, June 19, 1863.

of the Hawkins' Zouaves, suffered a severe thigh wound. Captain Uckele of the original 5th, who had been recruiting for the new organization, was also among the injured.²¹

During one night, the pickets at 7th Avenue and 37th Street "were driven in by a large crowd, with muskets & a boat howitzer on a truck," recalled Winslow. He immediately ordered out two companies and allowed the mob to approach within seventy-five yards when the howitzers fired two double charges of canister. As the smoke cleared, Winslow ordered a charge by the two companies. The artillery fire and resultant fighting thinned the crowd.²²

Winslow claimed that "there were about 65 killed & 90 or 100 wounded. We took the gun and 20 prisoners. The picket force was kept up all the next day & night. I was continuously patrolling the city in all directions, cutting down negroes from lamp post[s] & being fired at from house tops, at one place I was so angry that I let them have a 12 lb shot in a second story window from which they had killed several of my men & wounded Col. Jardine."²³

Sporadic fighting continued. At least one rioter wanted to kill Winslow himself. Winslow had a reputation as a glory-seeking martinet. A certain former Zouave undertook to have his revenge on his former commander. Winslow wrote Gen. Warren: "One of our old men was with the mob in 19th St.

²¹ Misc. Regtl. Papers; Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 464-67. The draft riots generated from resentment of the Federal Enrollment Act. A mob, estimated at 50,000 people, many of them Irish laborers, took their hostilities out on blacks, Federal offices, and several newspapers in a four-day spree. Army regiments and civilian volunteers quell the largest race riot in American history.

²² Gouverneur Kemble Warren Papers, New York State Archives.

²³ Ibid.

& had a fez cap on & a Sharps Rifle--he took particular pains to select me for his mark & succeeded in wounding my horse in the neck. He was however soon picked off by one of my Sergeants--I think I should more prefer having been engaged with the Rebs."²⁴

Shortly after the termination of the riot, Winslow sustained a severe injury. He struck his groin against the pommel of his saddle when thrown from a "restive" horse. The injury confined him to bed for over a week.²⁵

Things in Manhattan settled down in August. Men enlisting in the 5th New York rendezvoused at Sprague Barracks at New Dorp on Staten Island. Here they were issued a showy Zouave uniform that varied somewhat from the original 5th's garb. The jackets were light blue in color, the trousers were less baggy, and the men received leather rather than canvas leggings. When recruits reached the camp, Dr. Birdsall, a state surgeon, examined them and decided who was fit for service.²⁶

By mid-October, officers had organized four companies. On October 18, both pleasant and distressing news reached Cleveland Winslow. The good news was that he was going to take the field as commander of the 5th New York Battalion with the rank of lieutenant colonel. This was better than returning

²⁴ Ibid. The former Zouave who fired at Winslow had probably belonged to Co. E or I of the original 5th N. Y., the only two companies in the regiment to carry Sharps Rifles. For more information about New York City draft riots and the draft in the North in general see, Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington, KY, 1974); Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1990); Eugene C. Murdock, *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North* (Worcester, MA, 1971); James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War* (Dekalb, IL, 1991).

²⁵ Warren Papers.

²⁶ Misc. Regtl. Papers.

to the field as a major but hardly as prestigious as his former rank of full colonel.²⁷

The bad news was that the battalion was to embark for Washington, D.C., the next day--a feat logistically impossible. Winslow assured authorities that his Zouaves would make preparations to move as soon as possible. On October 26, the unit left New York. The battalion paraded in heavy marching order through the city with Sgt. Noble Cornish carrying the colors. The acting Drum Major, Sgt. John H. Naylor, headed the musicians. The small battalion, dressed in splendid Zouave uniforms, left the city to return to the seat of war. They carried Enfield rifles that were in poor condition.²⁸

The New York *Daily Times* remarked that the 5th New York consisted mainly of re-enlisted men, who were ready to return to the field under experienced officers. Thus "the same discipline and efficiency will continue, and the good reputation enjoyed by the old regiment will be perpetuated by its successor."²⁹ The newspaper added that the 5th expected to join the II Corps commanded by its former colonel, Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren. Yet this was not to be.

The *Daily Times's* prediction that the 5th Veteran would maintain the high standards of discipline of the original Duryée Zouaves proved far from correct. A few lines in one of the regimental books summed up the battalion's

²⁷ Ibid.; "Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917," Regimental Books of the 5th New York Veteran Infantry, Record Group 94, National Archives [cited hereafter as Regtl. Books].

²⁸ Ibid. Upon the battalion's departure, the unit appears to have carried only one flag, most likely a national flag inscribed with the unit's designation. Later they received a banner bearing the seal of the City of New York.

²⁹ Quoted in Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 467.

trip south: "The men, although nearly all old soldiers of two years service, were entirely devoid of any idea of discipline, [and] force and arms were frequently obliged to be used by the officers to compel obedience and suppress insubordination."³⁰

The 5th New York was now one of the many units manning the defenses surrounding the Northern capital. Extensive earthworks had been built outside Washington to protect the city following Confederate thrusts into Maryland in 1862 and Pennsylvania in 1863. By October 30, the battalion, now part of Maj. Gen. Christopher C. Augur's XXII Army Corps, had assumed military routine with company drills at 7:30 a.m. and 2 p.m. By guard mounts, drills, and roll calls, Winslow kept the footloose Zouaves busy.³¹

Lieutenant Colonel Winslow set high standards. He intended to drill and discipline the new battalion into as excellent shape as the original 5th had been. Winslow had a tough job before him. His unit could be sent to the front at any time. He had to take men "devoid of any idea of discipline" and turn them into reliable soldiers. Winslow wanted his troops to be prepared for any situation. He obtained the services of two officers on leave from the Swedish army. Lieutenants Axel Leatz and Carl Weinberg aided Winslow on his mission to make the 5th New York Veteran Volunteers a dependable military organization. With their military adhering, these two Swedish officers became favorites of Winslow.³²

³⁰ Ibid.; Regtl. Books.

³¹ Regtl. Books.

³² Ibid.; Compiled Military Service Records, 5th New York Veteran Infantry, National Archives [cited hereafter as CSR]; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 681.

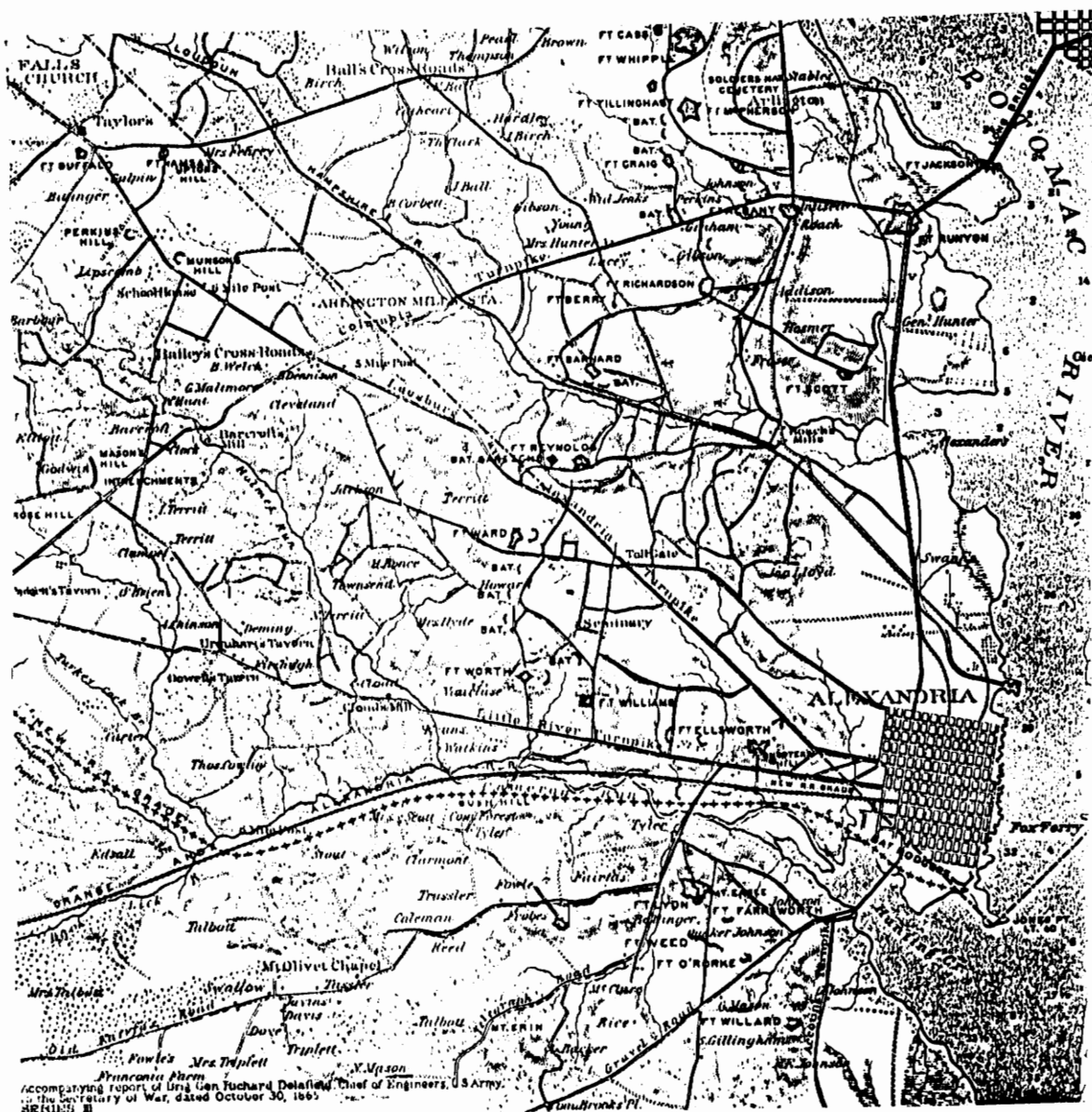
On November 14, orders came for the 5th New York to proceed from Arlington Heights to Alexandria and to report to the city's military governor, Brig. Gen. John P. Slough. At 3 p.m. the next day, the Zouaves departed and arrived at a barracks called the Soldiers' Rest. It was slightly west of Alexandria between the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the Little River Turnpike.³³

Alexandria had been the site two and a half years earlier of the assassination of Col. Elmer Ellsworth, the young militiaman who inspired America's "Zouave Craze" just prior to the war. The secessionist innkeeper of the Marshall House had killed Ellsworth as he led the 11th New York Fire Zouaves to occupy the city. By the fall of 1863, Alexandria was a well-established link in the chain of fortifications protecting Washington. The war-torn town was a principal Federal supply base. The wharves along the Potomac River, and the round house and rail yards of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, bustled with activity. The narrow streets of the old colonial town were generally pot-holed and rutted. Many homes had been converted into military hospitals and there was a general air of dilapidation about the place. The presence of numerous saloons and whorehouses added to the dangers of an already hazardous and crowded port town.³⁴

As military governor of Alexandria, Gen. John Slough ordered the 5th New York to furnish guards on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. United States military trains loaded with supplies, rolled to the winter camps of

³³ Regtl. Books.

³⁴ See James G. Barber, *Alexandria in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Lynchburg, VA, 1988).



Map 1. Alexandria and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, 1864. (Source: *Atlas to accompany War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Vol. II, Plate 89.

the Army of the Potomac located sixty-five miles south of Alexandria at Brandy Station.³⁵

On Thanksgiving Day, November 24, President Lincoln declared a national day of rest. For the 5th, it was a day to change base. Accommodations at the Soldiers' Rest being limited, the 248 men of the battalion moved into camp outside Alexandria on a hillside near Fort Ellsworth. They named the site "Camp Slough."³⁶

December was a quiet month for the Zouaves. Most of the time the men guarded trains on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Christmas found the battalion relieved of all labor so the men could enjoy the holiday. The only troops performing duties that day were the necessary camp guard and Lt. Col. Winslow, who was busy writing battalion orders. One order announced the issuing of a whiskey ration to the entire command to celebrate Christmas, except for the guard, who would receive it the next day.³⁷

The new year commenced with a change of duty for the 5th New York. In addition to guarding the railroad, the regiment had the new responsibilities of providing two officers and forty enlisted men to perform daily provost guard duty in Alexandria. The Zouaves patrolled the city to maintain law and order. However, discipline proved hard to sustain in the rowdy ranks of the red-legs.³⁸

³⁵ Regtl. Books.

³⁶ Misc. Regtl. Papers; Regtl. Books.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Winslow invariably dealt harshly with those who threatened order in his battalion. The old Duryée Zouaves had been a highly disciplined unit, and Winslow determined to force the new outfit to fit the mold of its progenitor. He wanted to carry on the proud tradition of the Zouaves as rivaling the regular army soldiers in drill and deportment. This made him unpopular, but he succeeded slowly in his mission. Winslow continued his efforts to mold a motley collection of unruly men into a well-organized and disciplined outfit so when the time for battle came, they could be counted upon to uphold the reputation of the original 5th New York.

On February 3, 1864, Lt. Col. Winslow fell ill. He was suffering with erysipelas--a painful skin infection that could spread rapidly over half the body, particularly on the arms, legs, and face. High fever, chills, and fatigue usually accompanied the rash. Over the next two weeks, Winslow tried to accomplish his duties in spite of his sickness. Then the erysipelas hospitalized him until March 3. Upon his return, Winslow wrote Hiram Duryea: "Having been obliged to give up all business for the past two months owing to a severe attack of Erysipelas in the face & head [,] I am now trying to overhaul my papers."³⁹

During Winslow's absence, one company of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteers had its first military confrontation--not with Southern troops, but

³⁹ Ibid.; "Report of the Adjutant General's Office, entry 544 Field Records of Hospitals 1821-1912," New York Regimental Registers No. 534-37, Record Group 94, National Archives [cited hereafter as Regimental Hospital Records]; Robert Berkow (ed.), *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy* (Rahway, NJ, 1987), 2265; Letter from Cleveland Winslow to Hiram Duryea, Mar. 10, 1864, Brian Pohanka Collection [cited hereafter as Duryea Papers].

with Northern ones. Returning from veterans' furlough, the 94th New York mutinied at the Soldiers' Rest near the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Depot. The Zouave company, along with a detachment of Regulars and men from the Invalid Corps, quelled the disturbance. None of the Zouaves sustained injuries in the encounter.⁴⁰

By March 14, veterans of the 5th New York Veterans began to prove proficient in company drill, which was not a surprise considering many men had been performing company drill for nearly three years. Three days later, the 5th New York confirmed its mastery of company drill when Maj. George S. Gallupe inspected the Zouaves. The red-legs presented a fine appearance. The next morning, Maj. Gallupe, accompanied by Gen. Slough, returned for another inspection. Both officers expressed satisfaction with the appearance of the Zouaves.⁴¹

Winslow's disciplinary measures slowly but surely began to transform the soldiers of the 5th New York from rabble to an effective military organization. Winslow responded to a letter from Hiram Duryea and did a little bragging about the progress of the unit. "I am again out & doing well. The Battn is in fine condition but I had to work very hard to get it so as I think I never saw a more demoralized set of men together than these were when I first took them from that miserable camp on Staten Island. Some of the officers were as bad as the men but I have had three officers cashiered & four dismissed & in their places I have [two] Swedish officers who are on leave of

⁴⁰ *Alexandria Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1864.

⁴¹ Regtl. Books; Misc. Regtl. Papers.

absence from their country--perfect gentlemen & thorough soldiers in every particular and some of my old officers who did not come out with me."⁴²

The colonel continued with praise for his well-tuned battalion: "My office cannot be bettered as I have learned by experience as you know what it is to begin right in this particular, the books are kept beautifully. My little command passed the best inspection in the 22nd Corps & it was mentioned in Corps Orders. I was in consequence allowed to change my arms. I selected [the] Springfield rifle 1862. 58. Cal and they gave me all new pieces first class make--I never allow a piece to be handled without a glove--the men take great pride in their new pieces."⁴³

March 19 was a tumultuous day for the Union troops in Alexandria. General Slough ordered the 5th New York under arms, as the enemy was rumored to be advancing on the town. At 6 p.m. Winslow formed his battalion and led it to a position near the bakery on Duke Street. The Zouaves remained there under arms ready until 7 a.m. the next day, when they returned to camp without spotting a single Confederate.⁴⁴

Despite the low numerical strength of the veteran 5th, Cleveland Winslow wanted to return to the fighting. On April 3, he wrote his friend Gen. Warren: "I have recovered from my sickness and am impatient as are all my officers to get to the front and take part in the next campaign. My battalion (321 men) is in excellent condition as good as the old Regt. . . . two

⁴² Duryea Papers, Mar. 30, 1864.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Regtl. Books; Misc. Regtl. Papers.

new companies are under process of formation in N. Y. City. I have asked to be sent to my old [V] Corps."⁴⁵

Guard duty for the 5th New York along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad was not a high-risk assignment. Even so, periodic rumors of attacks by Confederate raiders circulated. On May 11, Confederate guerrillas attacked an unidentified Zouave. The Zouave was part of a guard escorting a wagon train from Alexandria. On the march, he had fallen some distance behind when two men appeared out of a section of woods that ran near the road. The bushwhackers shot at the lone Zouave, who promptly returned the fire. The rest of the guard countermarched to aid its comrade. Upon their approach the two guerrillas fled into the woods. Zouaves rushed in pursuit, but the enemy soldiers made their escape.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, devastating fighting engulfed their comrades battling the Army of Northern Virginia. General Grant's efforts to drive south through Virginia had met with terrible repulses at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania. Yet Grant did not retreat. The army did better fighting along the North Anna River. However, with over two weeks of constant fighting, casualties were staggering. General George Meade's Army of the Potomac needed reinforcements. Cleveland Winslow and the men of the 5th New York were ready.

⁴⁵ Warren Papers.

⁴⁶ Misc. Regtl. Papers.

"I am anxious to be at the front": May 17 through June 15, 1864

Chapter II

"I am Anxious to be at the Front":

May 17 through June 15, 1864

On the afternoon on May 17, the 5th New York suddenly received orders to prepare for a move. The next day, the regiment temporarily brigaded with the 4th Delaware and the 2nd District of Columbia Volunteers. Anticipation filled Lt. Col. Cleveland Winslow, who believed this to be a sign of a return to the fighting.¹

Five days later, the 157th Pennsylvania joined the brigade. New orders notified the command to prepare to take the field. Winslow issued a circular to the men. He wanted the battalion to be ready to march at a moment's notice. Each Zouave needed to carry half a shelter tent as well as an overcoat, rubber blanket, knapsack, haversack, canteen, and an extra pair of shoes.²

Two days later, on May 25, with the 2nd D.C. left on guard along the railroad, the brigade marched to a new camp near Fort Worth. The next morning, the troops tramped to the wharves in Alexandria, and at noon they

¹ Regimental Books.

² Ibid.; Miscellaneous Regimental Papers.

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filed onto the *Andrew Hardin* for a voyage down the Potomac to join U. S. Grant and the Army of the Potomac.³

On May 27, the Zouaves disembarked on the Rappahannock River at Port Royal and went into camp. Winslow immediately wrote Gen. Meade: "May I ask to be placed under my old commander Gen. Warren. I am anxious to be at the front." Meade granted Winslow's request and assigned the 5th New York to Gen. Warren's V Corps. Over the next few days, the battalion marched to join the army along with other re-enforcements and a sizable supply train.⁴

Willing to do all he could to accommodate his friend Winslow, on June 1, 1864, Gen. Warren issued orders consolidating the 12th New York and 84th New York with the 5th New York to bring the four-company battalion to full regimental strength. The addition of these troops again made Cleveland Winslow a full colonel in command of ten companies of veterans. The 12th New York, affectionately known by its members as "the Dozen," comprised Companies E and F of the 5th. Like the original 5th New York, the two-year men of the 12th had mustered out in May 1863. The three-year men formed a two-company battalion that guarded V Corps headquarters. These two companies did not join the 5th immediately but remained on duty at headquarters.⁵

The 84th New York was better known throughout the army as the 14th Brooklyn (regiment's state militia designation). It was a three-year regiment. The men who enlisted after 1861 were now expected to serve out their unexpired terms as companies G, H, I, and K of the 5th Veterans. The

³ Regtl. Books.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Misc. Regtl. Papers; Phisterer, *New York*, 1873-74.

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14th Brooklyn was a proud outfit, having fought with distinction as part of the old I Corps at the battles of First Bull Run, Second Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg. Less than three weeks earlier, the 14th had lost 123 men in a bloody battle at Spotsylvania. The fact that the Brooklyn boys wore a distinctive red and blue uniform modeled on that of the French "Chasseurs a pied" was undoubtedly another reason Gen. Warren merged them with the similarly colorful Zouaves of the 5th New York.⁶

No one in the 12th New York or 14th Brooklyn favored being consolidated with the 5th New York. Both regiments had strong unit pride, a sense of identity, and a fighting record. They resented being absorbed into a strange organization that had spent the last seven months in comfortable garrison duty.⁷

On Wednesday night, June 1, the 5th New York went into camp on the banks of the Pamunkey River. The next morning, Col. Winslow received orders to report to Brig. Gen. Romeyn B. Ayres's First Brigade of Maj. Gen. Charles Griffin's First Division. Now the grumbling veterans of the 14th Brooklyn had no choice but to pitch camp with the Zouaves. The two combined organizations made quite a sight in their colorful but motley regalia, looking more French than American. Though the 12th New York men had yet to arrive, Winslow and his troops could finally call themselves a regiment.

⁶ Phisterer, *New York*, 2930. The fancy French Chasseur uniform of the 14th Brooklyn was similar in color, but not in design, to the Zouave uniform of the 5th. The 14th, like the 5th, had red trousers, but were not as baggy. White leggings secured the brilliant trousers at the bottom. The jacket was dark blue trimmed in red with a myriad of brass buttons. A red French style kepi adorned the head.

⁷ C. V. Tevis and D. R. Marquis, *The History of the Fighting Fourteenth* (New York, 1911), 126.

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Henry Nordhaus, a Company D Zouave, described the Brooklyn boys as "a fine body of superior tried veterans."⁸

The men of the 12th and 14th were disenchanted and bitter. One of the transferred men of the 12th, Robert Tilney, an English immigrant who came to the United States during the war and enlisted to fight for his adopted country, went into more detail. "General Warren was once Colonel of this regiment [the 5th] and consequently regards it with an eye of favor. . . . It numbers about three hundred men, and has a surplus of officers, and a Lieutenant-Colonel [Winslow]. Warren, I suppose, wishing the eagle on his friend's shoulders, thought proper to consolidate our regiment with this; consequently, the Twelfth ceases to exist, and we now belong to the Fifth. . . . There is great dissatisfaction, caused especially by the loss of our [regimental] number."⁹

Tilney was partially right in his assessment. General Warren did undoubtedly look on the 5th New York "with an eye of favor." Warren was also pleased to see Winslow returned to his former rank of colonel. In a note to Gen. Meade, Warren spelled out what he intended to do with the 5th. "I have just learned from Dr. [Gordon] Winslow, that among some re-enforcements coming to the army . . . is my old regiment. . . . When it comes I hope it will be assigned to me, as I can fill it up with men left from two New York regiments whose organizations are gone. This will make a full colonel of the present commander, as he was before the reorganization, and he is a most reliable officer." However, the 5th did not have a surplus of officers as Tilney claimed.

⁸ *National Tribune*, Apr. 1, 1897 [cited hereafter as Nordhaus, "Letter"]; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173; Robert Tilney, *My Life in the Army: Three and a Half Years with the Fifth Army Corps Army of the Potomac 1862-1865* (Philadelphia, 1912), 82.

⁹ Tilney, *My Life*, 82.

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If anything, it lacked officers. With Winslow now a full colonel, the positions of lieutenant colonel and major remained vacant.¹⁰

Ironically, the men of the 12th and 14th felt much the same as the three-year men of the 5th had when they were transferred to the 146th New York. The consolidation came from military necessity, not chauvinism or bias. The terrible casualties of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania drained the veteran regiments in the Army of the Potomac, and smaller units were less effective. The practice of consolidation became common in the army. The primary reason Warren consolidated the 12th and 14th into the 5th, and not vice versa, was that the strength of the 5th was numerically superior. Moreover, a lieutenant colonel commanded the 5th, while a captain led the 12th, and the 14th had no officers at all. Finally, the 5th had more than two years of service left, while the men of the 12th and 14th would remain only long enough to serve out the unexpired portions of their individual terms.

As the "old Fifth" had served in Sykes's Regular Army Division, the 5th Veterans also had the honor of being brigaded with the Regulars under Brig. Gen. Romeyn B. Ayres. He was a veteran West Pointer (1847) and a career artilleryman who sported a full dark moustache and beard. Ayres's brigade comprised four small U.S. Regular battalions and four volunteer Zouave regiments. One of the Zouave units was the 146th New York, which contained the three-year men of the old 5th. On June 2, the brigade contained nine

¹⁰ O. R., XXXVI, Pt. 3: 392. Warren sent Meade the note on May 31 at 2:15 p.m. Meade responded the same day at 2:45 p.m. when he assigned the 5th to Warren's Corps. The decision had already been made on May 27, when Winslow asked to be attached to Warren's Corps.

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organizations: the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 17th U.S., the 91st and 155th Pennsylvania, and the 140th, 146th, and 5th New York.¹¹

The previous day, June 1, the Federal VI Corps had assaulted the Confederate lines near Cold Harbor and suffered heavy losses. Major General Ambrose Burnside and the IX Corps now held the Union's far right flank. General Winfield Scott Hancock's II Corps was marching to its staging area for a planned assault on the Confederate position at Cold Harbor five miles south of Bethesda Church, though a fatiguing march delayed Hancock's attack until the 3rd. Also on June 1, Confederate divisions under Gens. Robert Rodes and Henry Heth engaged the advanced lines of Burnside's IX Corps lines west of Bethesda Church on the Shady Grove Road. They achieved some success before Union counterattacks restored the position. The V Corps also repulsed attacks. As the fighting concluded, the two armies paralleled each other. The Confederates secured both flanks on the Chickahominy River and faced east. Opposing Federal forces glared west in anticipation of further action.¹²

At 7:45 a.m. on June 2, Burnside received Meade's order to coordinate his movements with Warren's V Corps to his left. Meade wanted the IX Corps pulled back to a position north of Bethesda Church in order to cover on the right of the V Corps. Then both corps moved closer to Cold Harbor protecting the vital right flank of the army from any Confederate attempts to turn the position.¹³

In the afternoon, as Burnside's troops withdrew, Heth's division took advantage of the situation to press ahead. The fight began. Confederate troops

¹¹ Stewart Sifakis, *Who was Who in the Union* (New York, 1988), 14-15; Phisterer, *New York*, 3688; *O. R.*, XXXVI, Pt. 1: 170.

¹² *O. R.*, XXXVI, Pt. 3: 477-504; Robertson, *A. P. Hill*, 278.

¹³ *Ibid.*

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swung in a great arc and aimed the strongest blow at the point where the V and IX Corps joined near the Mechanicsville Road, just west of Bethesda Church. The fighting lagged when a violent thunderstorm erupted. As the storm abated, the Confederates pressed forward, drove in skirmish lines, and forced the IX Corps to give battle in an open field north of the road. At the same time, the Southern onslaught caught Griffin's First Division.¹⁴

On the morning of Thursday, June 2, the tired and dusty 5th New York reported to Ayres at the front, during a lull in the fighting. Ayres, realizing that the 5th had made a strenuous march, suggested to Winslow that he let the regiment rest. The feisty Winslow replied: "We came here to fight, not rest." Ayres quickly responded: "If your boys want to fight I shan't hinder them." Winslow rode back to the regiment. Informing them of his interview with Ayres, he bellowed the question: "Do you want to fight or not?" The red-legs answered with a cheer.¹⁵

Winslow formed his men in line of battle about a mile west of Bethesda Church in a heavily wooded area with plenty of underbrush. Two years earlier, the original 5th had fought at nearby Gaines' Mill. Near 3 p.m., it began raining heavily, thoroughly soaking the men. The regiment moved forward at a right oblique and then received orders to advance. Deployed as skirmishers, the 5th moved forward beyond the brigade line. Winslow fanned out his troops in skirmish order -- men spaced five paces apart, each soldier alternating fire with his file-mate. Winslow's men advanced and exchanged fire with Confederate pickets. While skirmishing with the enemy, the 5th

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 468.

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encountered troops of Burnside's IX Corps retiring to a new position closer to Bethesda Church. Sergeant Ephraim E. Myers of the 45th Pennsylvania observed the activities of the 5th. Noticing the flashy color of the Zouave uniform, Myers thought: "You are surely bright targets." The brilliantly dressed Zouaves continued to advance and "after some sharp fighting drove the Johnnies out of some works" built by Federal troops the day before.¹⁶

In the half-hour fight, the Zouaves paid a high price for gaining the rifle pits and breastworks held by the Confederate skirmishers. Colonel Winslow, mounted on a fine horse, made a conspicuous target. As he rode along the skirmish line, a bullet tore through the colonel's left shoulder. He returned to the main line where surgeons examined his injury, patched up the bullet hole, applied a water-dressing, and placed the arm in a sling.¹⁷

Soon after Winslow's wounding, Gen. Clement A. Evans' Georgia brigade swept forward in line of battle to push the 5th New York out of the recently occupied works. A former 14th Brooklyn soldier, William Pinckney, was shocked when "a Rebel line of battle suddenly appeared on our front and flanks." Lieutenant Leatz recalled: "secessionist caught us in the flank , and hit us with a murderous fire." Leatz went down with a bullet in his left shoulder. His fellow Swedish officer, Lt. Carl Weinberg, also lay wounded and immobile.¹⁸

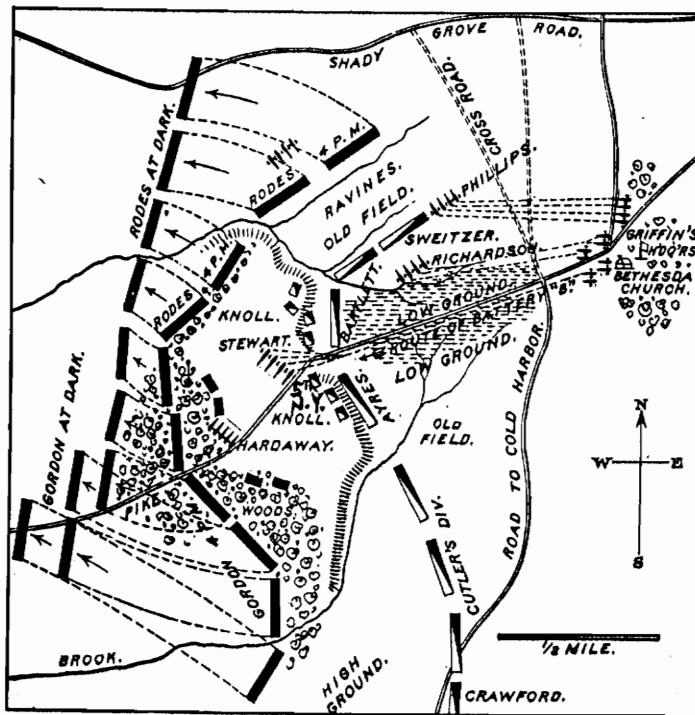
¹⁶ Nordhaus, "Letter"; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173; Ephraim E. Myers, *A True Story of a Civil War Veteran* (York, 1910), 289. The rain continued until 5:00 p.m.

¹⁷ Warren Papers.

¹⁸ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173; *Diary of Axel Leatz*, Sten Karlholm Collection. Weinberg died from his wounds on the field. Confederate troops captured Leatz. After spending several months at Libby Prison, he was exchanged.

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Evans' Brigade found the assault hard going. Private G. W. Nichols of the 61st Georgia recorded: "We advanced and soon found a very heavy skirmish line, composed entirely of New York zouaves who wore red shirts, pants and caps, and blue coats trimmed in red. They all seemed to be very large men and were very hard to drive at first; but we kept advancing on them until we got within thirty yards of them. They turned and fought us all the way back to their line of battle."¹⁹



Map 2. Bethesda Church, June 2, 1864. (Source: Augustus Buell, *The Cannoneer, Recollections of Service in the Army of the Potomac by a Detached Volunteer in the Regular Army* (Washington, 1890), 208.)

¹⁹ G. W. Nichols, *A Soldier's Story of His Regiment (61st Georgia): And Incidentally of the Lawton-Gordon-Evans Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia* (Kennesaw, Ga., 1961), 162-63.

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Evans' brigade, along with the rest of Gen. John B. Gordon's division, overlapped the 5th on both flanks and worked around into the Zouaves' rear. The New Yorkers began to withdraw in increasing disorder. Scrambling back to the brigade battle line, the scattered Zouaves passed through a section of woods where many men became disoriented. Private Henry Nordhaus of Company D was also lost in the thicket. Instead of retreating to safety, he inadvertently moved toward the Confederate troops. Before long, Nordhaus "came upon a rebel skirmish-line" advancing in his direction, with trail arms, at a brisk walk "barely 100 yards away." Nordhaus immediately knew in what direction to head "and made for it in splendid style." He reached the edge of the woods near Bethesda Church tired and out of breath.²⁰

Other red-legs had similar narrow escapes. Private James B. Rich, a fighting Quaker and a recent dissatisfied transfer from the 14th Brooklyn, wrote: "We charged the Rebs Breast Works and were flanked, and almost surrounded. . . . I came very near being taken prisoner. The Rebs were within fifty feet of me at one time. I wasn't [sic] aware of my danger until it was almost too late. I made a very narrow escape. Its the first time I ever run, and I tell thee . . . I went to the rear as fast as my legs could carry me. The bullets flew thick and fast but fortunately I escaped without a scratch." Not all of Rich's comrades were as fortunate.²¹

It was impossible to rally the regiment until the disorganized knots of men made it over a small creek and up a hill to the safety of the main Federal line near Bethesda Church. Closely pursued by Evans' Georgians, some Zouaves

²⁰ Nordhaus, "Letter."

²¹ *Quaker Soldier*, Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, PA, 25 (1987): 300.

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withdrew over the V Corps breastworks manned by Gen. Joseph Bartlett's brigade. Private Nichols of the 61st Georgia recalled: "Their skirmish line was getting over their works. While one [Zouave] was standing on their works in a daring way, I fired at him, but I do not know that I hurt him; but I know he fell from the works."²²

In fact, Nichols' shot probably did find its mark. James Robb of Company A was standing atop the breastworks when a bullet passed through his right ankle and exited upward through the calf. In falling, Robb fractured his skull and broke his nose when his head slammed against a tree stump.²³

Most of the Zouaves made it back to the Federal position near Bethesda Church. Not all arrived at the same location as a result of the skirmish line's extended length. Henry Nordhaus, panting from the exertion, saw a large number of red fezzed Zouaves about a quarter-mile south of Bethesda Church along the road to Cold Harbor. The fragmented and intermingled companies began to rally around Color Cpl. "Jack" Riley with the stars and stripes still in his grasp. Colonel Winslow, after having his shattered shoulder bandaged, remounted his horse, rode back to the front, and actively directed the formation of a new battle line. Many Zouaves reformed along the entrenchments of Ayres's brigade and helped repel the pursuing Confederates. Then the Zouaves strengthened the breastworks and prepared again to meet the advancing Southern infantry.²⁴

²² Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173; Nichols, *Soldier's Story*, 163.

²³ James Robb, Pension File.

²⁴ Nordhaus, "Letter."

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The main Confederate attack took place against the IX Corps, about 800 yards to the right of the reformed Zouaves. A few 5th New York men got caught up in the ranks of the IX Corps. Sergeant Myers of the 45th Pennsylvania recalled some Zouaves coming back in his direction "at a pretty lively gait." Between Myers' regiment and the retreating red-legs rode Gen. Burnside, who remarked: "Well, they didn't quite catch me."²⁵

Meanwhile, the Zouave skirmishers who rallied on Bartlett's brigade helped repulse a ferocious attack on that portion of the Federal line. The battle raged furiously, then died away as the Southerners withdrew. General Bartlett later informed Winslow that the Zouaves fighting with his command "had done themselves great credit."²⁶

In the meantime, just west of Bethesda Church, the Parrott guns of Battery D, 5th U.S. Artillery unlimbered on the Mechanicsville road next to the largest formation of the 5th New York. Lieutenant Benjamin F. Rittenhouse, the battery commander, asked Winslow to deploy some Zouaves to cover the guns. "I will go," the colonel responded. The blood-soaked Winslow ordered Sgt. John McNamara to gather some volunteers for the assignment. Twenty men quickly volunteered and Winslow positioned them in the timber on each side of the battery. Winslow took the rest of the command and began to scout westward down the road.²⁷

The Zouaves advanced about 400 yards. At a small bend in the road, they spotted a Confederate battle line 200 yards away along with a battery ready for

²⁵ Ibid.; Myers, *A True Story*, 298.

²⁶ Warren Papers.

²⁷ Nordhaus, "Letter." Battery D, 5th U.S. Artillery, was Hazlett's old battery saved by the original 5th New York at Second Bull Run.

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action. Winslow wheeled his horse and said to McNamara: "Sergeant, have the men fall back."²⁸

The red-legs began to leapfrog back in skirmish order toward their battery with Winslow calmly bringing up the rear. The Confederate battery shelled the retiring Zouaves and Rittenhouse's battery beyond. Upon reaching the regiment's former position, Winslow rode up to Rittenhouse, saluted, and said: "The enemy's guns are 600 yards in your front, sir!" The Federal Parrott guns roared into action and soon silenced the Confederate battery.²⁹

Again Confederate infantry advanced on Ayres's position. The Zouaves repulsed them with "considerable loss." Throughout the action Winslow grew weaker from loss of blood; still he refused to give up command. Finally, when Ayres rode over to the 5th and saw Winslow's condition, he ordered the Zouave commander to the hospital. The men of the 5th New York never saw Winslow again.³⁰

Artillery and rifle fire continued into the hours of darkness until another severe downpour commenced. Rain fell through the night. On Friday, June 3, the regiment (under the temporary command of the slightly wounded Capt. Montgomery) moved farther to the left and occupied some rifle pits. It engaged in "sharp skirmishing and artillery firing" that continued intermittently all day. The regiment lost two men wounded, while farther south at Cold Harbor the II, VI, and XVIII Corps suffered staggering losses. There, Grant had believed his men confident and Lee's troops demoralized. He advanced his men in head-long assaults against strong entrenched

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

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Confederates. With 7,000 casualties suffered in the repulse, Grant realized his error.³¹

The 5th New York's performance in the battle of Bethesda Church received mixed reviews. The disgruntled 12th New York transfer, Robert Tilney, was a harsh critic. He had not fought in the battle but decided that in "a rather severe engagement . . . at the first fire the Fifth broke and ran and could not be rallied." Tilney was more worried about how this would reflect on the reputation of his beloved "Dozen" than what had happened to the men of his new regiment.³²

On the other hand, praise for the Zouaves came from journalist L. A. Hendricks of the *New York Times*. Hendricks wrote that the veteran 5th New York fought as the original regiment "used to fight--heads cool, arms steady, aim sure. The Old Fifth New York Zouaves have a reputation as lasting as the Army of the Potomac. The new regiment shows a purpose to maintain the brilliant reputation of the founders of its name and imperishable glory."³³

Hendricks also praised Cleveland Winslow: "Col. Winslow was wounded in the first assault; but after the wound was dressed, resumed a place at the head of his regiment. He is the sort of man who will stick to his regiment and to fighting as long as he holds a sword and can sit upon his horse." Former 14th Brooklyn soldier William Pinckney probably gave the most accurate appraisal of the amalgamated unit's first battle: "The regiment did as well as can be expected under the circumstances."³⁴

³¹ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173.

³² Tilney, *My Life*, 83.

³³ Quoted in Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 468.

³⁴ Ibid; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173.

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The 5th New York suffered more casualties in the battle than any other regiment in Ayres's brigade. Winslow's command lost 107 men, seven of them officers. Eleven men died on the field, while seventeen others sustained mortal wounds. Forty-eight men were missing and presumed captured. The 140th New York took the second highest number of casualties in the brigade with sixty. For the 5th, Company A was the hardest hit, losing twenty-five men, followed by Company B which counted twenty-three (including three officers). Company C lost fifteen men, and D thirteen. The newly acquired 14th Brooklyn men suffered thirty casualties.³⁵

On the night of June 3, Rev. Gordon Winslow, chief representative of the Sanitary Commission, found his son Cleveland in the cellar of a house being used as a hospital. Confederate artillery shells exploded near the hospital as he arranged for his son's evacuation. Gordon Winslow moved Cleveland to the VI Corps hospital where they spent the night sleeping on the ground. The next day, Col. Winslow received special attention aboard the Sanitary Commission transport *Mary Ripley* at White House Landing. Before long, the boat started for Alexandria. On the morning of June 7, as the *Mary Ripley* steamed up the Potomac River, Rev. Winslow went to the edge of the ship to draw a bucket of water for his horse "Cap." The resisting force of the water pulled the old man overboard. Gordon Winslow struggled for a moment, then sank beneath the surface. His body was never recovered.³⁶

³⁵ Adjutant-General of the State of New York, *Report of the Adjutant-General*, 1009-1244; O. R., XXXVI, Pt. 1: 170.

³⁶ Davenport, *Camp and Field*, 440-41; Compiled Military Service Records. Colonel Winslow gave his friend, Gen. Warren, his father's horse "Cap."

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With his father's lifeless body left beneath the Potomac, Col. Winslow continued to Alexandria where he came under the care of Surg. Alexander Hammond at the Mansion House hospital on Fairfax Street. Hammond placed Winslow under chloroform and probed the inflamed wound. He found that the ball had struck the head of the humerus and shattered the shoulder blade. Operations removed the bone splinters. Gordon Winslow, Jr., soon obtained a leave of absence to join his grieving mother at Cleveland's bedside.³⁷

On June 4, the skirmishing and artillery firing continued. At times it grew heavy along the line to the left of the 5th New York in the direction of Cold Harbor. As ranking officer, Capt. Guthrie took command of the regiment. Skirmishing continued, but overall things were "comparatively quiet." Guthrie placed men from the original 5th New York Battalion in charge of the officerless 14th Brooklyn companies, which caused some dissatisfaction among the men of those companies. The army spent the next five days resting and reorganizing.³⁸

Here Gen. Warren restructured Ayres' brigade. Consisting of the 5th, 140th, and the 146th New York as well as the Regular organizations, it became the First Brigade, Second Division of the V Corps. Warren promoted Ayres to command the division. General Joseph Hayes became the brigade commander.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173. Although Stephen Wheeler of the original 5th New York remembered Guthrie as a "good - first class - a sober, upright man," others could not always say the same. James W. Webb, a Medal of Honor recipient in the original 5th New York, when asked the question, "Was he [Guthrie] a hard drinker," replied: "Well what you would call a steady drinker--never saw him intoxicated though." Edward Cahill of the 5th Veterans recalled Guthrie as "a pretty hard drinker." In July 1864, Asst. Surg. Abraham Ketchum of the 5th Veterans noted: "His reputation in the Regt. is not good . . . I have seen him take as many as 3 or 4 drinks before getting out of bed." George Guthrie, Pension File.

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Hayes, a dapper mustached Harvard graduate, had commanded V Corps brigades earlier in the war.³⁹

At 4 a.m. on June 11, the regiment along with the rest of the brigade began moving south on another one of Grant's sidling movements around the Confederate right. After four days of marching, the sweating Zouaves could hear "the whistle of the boats on the James River."⁴⁰

The 5th New York had passed through its first battle and campaign. Cleveland Winslow had taken an assortment of veteran soldiers from several organizations and through constant drilling and discipline, molded the 5th Veteran after the "old Fifth." With confidence in his men, Winslow eagerly led his Zouaves in close quarter fighting with the enemy at Bethesda Church. The unit proved full of fight, and the casualty list is a testament to their stubbornness and fortitude on the battlefield. Winslow had trained them well. Now Winslow was out of action, suffering a mortal wound in the battle. The job of upholding the outfit's distinguished reputation fell to subordinates. Could they continue implementing what was taught by their progenitor as the war took a new disturbing face--prolonged siege warfare?

³⁹ O. R., XXXVI, Pt. 1: 170; Sifakis, *Who was Who*, 187; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 218-19.

⁴⁰ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 173-74.

Chapter III

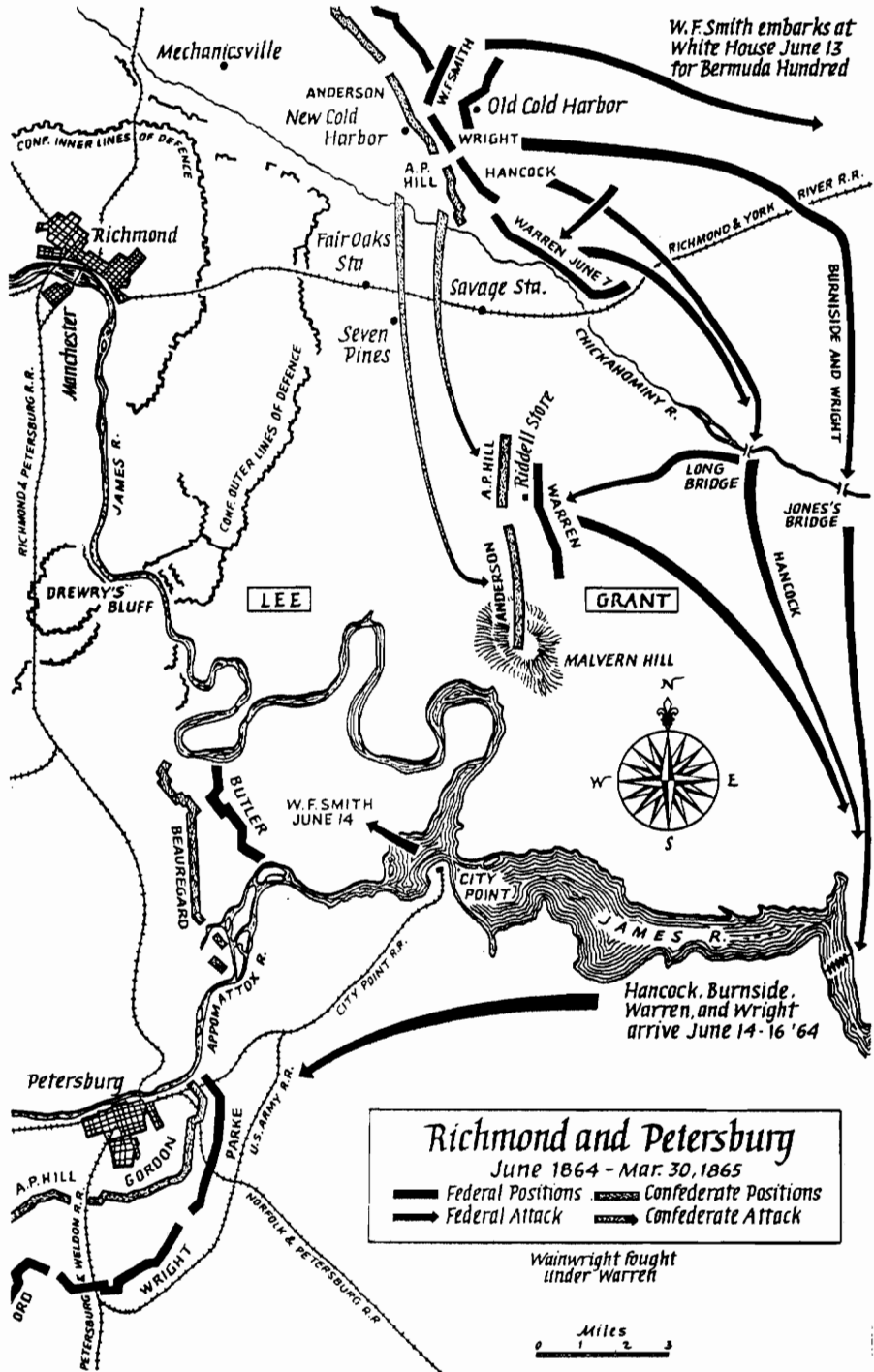
"Hell upon Earth": Petersburg, June 16 through December 1864

At daybreak on June 16, 1864, the men of the 5th New York marched to the James River. After a short wait at Wilcox's Landing, the Zouaves boarded the steamboat *James Brooks* to shuttle across the wide stream. While crossing the river, infantrymen gawked at the unaccustomed sights of transports and gunboats. The Zouaves disembarked at Windmill Point and took a two-hour rest. They then marched twenty-five miles in the direction of Petersburg. The men went into bivouac in an old Confederate winter camp. Captain Guthrie's Zouaves could hear the firing from the Federal II and IX Corps in the distance near Petersburg.¹

The next day, the V Corps remained in reserve as other elements of the Army of the Potomac assaulted the Confederate works around Petersburg. Federal troops were trying to capture the vital city whose railroad arteries were the lifelines for Richmond. At dusk, the regiment (along with the rest of Ayres's division) moved forward into some breastworks to support a charge. During the night, casual artillery shots continued to fall amid the eight

¹ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 174-75; Tilney, *My Life*, 97.

"Hell upon Earth": Petersburg, June 16 through December 1864



Map 3. Federal troop movement against Petersburg, June 1864.
(Source: Allan Nevins, *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865* (New York, 1962), 423.)

companies of red-legs, who bivouacked just southwest of the Avery house.²

On Saturday, June 18, Grant launched a massive assault on the Petersburg defenses. Ayres's division advanced west at 8 a.m. and quickly secured Confederate fortifications that had been abandoned during the night. Hayes's brigade constituted the far left of the V Corps and the entire army. To the right of the V Corps lay Burnside's IX Corps, then Gen. Hancock's II Corps.³

In a short time, the 5th New York moved forward with Hayes's brigade in the first line of battle supported by a second line of heavy artillery regiments acting as infantry. The regiment advanced across the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, thereby severing one of the city's supply lines. Just before noon the men took a short pause, then resumed the advance under heavy artillery fire from a Confederate fort. The Zouaves gained an abandoned Southern earthwork opposite a new enemy trench line blazing with cannon and rifle fire. Men of the 5th struggled to improve the breastworks, but could not finish before receiving orders to move to the right to support an attack by Gen. Lysander Cutler's division.⁴

At 3 p.m., Capt. George Guthrie, acting commander of the 5th, ordered the regiment to fix bayonets. When the command forward sounded, the troops emerged from cover and charged over rough stony ground. At the outset of the assault, Guthrie tripped over a stump, fell, and broke his left wrist. As the Zouaves entered an open corn field, Confederate artillery fire raked their line. The 5th advanced as far as possible and knelt down. One shell hurled at the

² Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 175. Companies E and F were still detached as the V Corps provost guard.

³ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 226-27; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*

regiment decapitated color bearer John Lynch. The same shell continued into the ranks and exploded, killing five other men. In his diary, William Pinckney stated tersely: "Most effective artillery firing on record; heavy casualties."⁵

As Confederate forces repulsed Cutler's division to the right, Hayes's men grabbed their plates, cups, and bayonets, and began to pile dirt for breastworks. The Southern infantry opened with rifle fire on the Zouaves. One of Hayes's staff officers rode up and told the Zouaves to resume the charge. He added that "the general expected them to keep up their record." Much to the men's relief, the order was revoked. Yet Confederate sharpshooters began to make the position unbearable. The Zouaves pulled back slightly to a more sheltered location.⁶

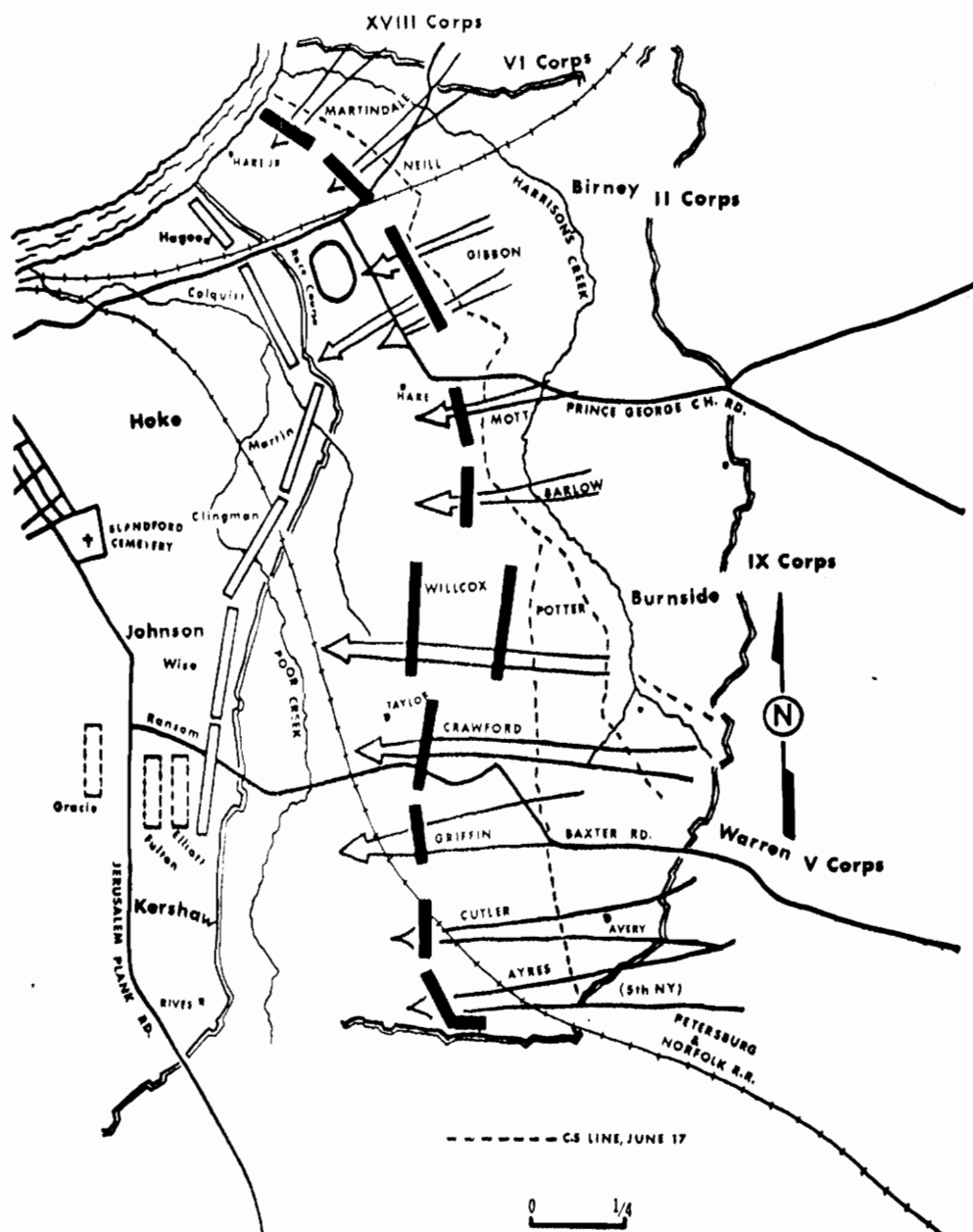
As the largest regiment in the brigade, the 5th New York suffered the heaviest casualties, thirty-three men. Thirteen were killed, mostly from artillery fire. Two other men suffered mortal wounds. Sixteen enlisted men sustained wounds while two more were missing.⁷

The style of fighting had changed dramatically that summer, and the men realized it. Captain Guthrie, who retained command despite his injury, described the change to Hiram Duryea: "You know how we formerly fought

⁵ George Guthrie, Pension File; Compiled Military Service Records; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 175.

⁶ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 175; CSR.

⁷ O. R., XL, Pt. 1: 224; Phisterer, *New York*, 1769.



Map 4. Federal Advance against Petersburg, 4 a.m. - 2 p.m., June 18, 1864. (Source: Thomas J. Howe, *The Petersburg Campaign, Wasted Valor, June 15-18, 1864* (Lynchburg, 1988), 113.)

"Hell upon Earth": Petersburg, June 16 through December 1864

(if possible) in the open field. Now every man is taught to dig, or wield an axe. I had the Regt. build six breastworks when advancing in the Line of Battle on the 18th of June."⁸

Siege warfare would characterize the service of the 5th New York for the next ten months. Sharpshooters for both sides were so busy that the men could not stand erect without risking death or wounds. The men of the 5th were content to huddle behind their breastworks. Private Tilney found the incessant noise "sickening."⁹

At 10 p.m. on June 29, the red-legs, along with the rest of Hayes's brigade, headed to the rear and settled down near the field hospitals. The New Yorkers were glad to get out of the trenches. "Now we can take off our belts and shoes, stretch our limbs, stand erect, get water to wash," Pvt. Henry Nordhaus rejoiced "What a welcome change!"¹⁰

The new bivouac was about three-quarters of a mile west of the Avery house and just south of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. The men received new shelter tents. Zouaves dragged out underbrush and trash and commenced setting up "dog" tents in rows forming company streets. They were no doubt grateful for the pines that screened them from the torrid sun. The Zouaves even built decorative arbors at the head of each company street. Private Nordhaus remarked: "We are at home in our new camp. It does not take a soldier long to make himself comfortable."¹¹

⁸ Hiram Duryea Papers, Aug. 10, 1864.

⁹ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 176; Tilney, *My Life*, 103.

¹⁰ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 176; Henry Nordhaus, "Fighting Them Over: What Veterans Have to Say About Their Campaigns," *The National Tribune*, Washington, DC, Aug. 31, 1899.

¹¹ Nordhaus, "Veterans."

For the next two weeks, the weather was warm and the 5th New York remained quietly in camp. Daily routine consisted a brief drill in the morning, inspection, then an afternoon parade. The regiment usually sent details each day, and often at night, to work on fortifications where they had to face the hazards of the front. The Zouaves learned of Confederate Gen. Jubal Early's foray against Washington. They hoped the government would recall the V Corps from Petersburg to protect the capital--anything to get them out of the dreaded trenches. Disappointment came when they saw the VI Corps leave Petersburg and learned that the XIX Corps, en route north from Louisiana, was also heading for Washington.¹²

As the 5th New York endured the hardships of the trenches, Cleveland Winslow battled for his life at the Mansion House Hospital on Fairfax Street in Alexandria. Despite the best efforts of the medical staff, Winslow's wound became progressively worse. After his father's drowning, he wrote and asked his mother to come to Alexandria. She did, accompanied by her sister, Isabelle Fish. On June 19, after placing Winslow under chloroform, Surgeon William Alexander Hammond operated on the colonel's shoulder. The bullet had fractured the head of the humerus, and shattered the scapula, or shoulder blade. Hammond carefully removed the bone fragments. Daily the doctor applied water dressings to Winslow's wound and sometimes coated it with glycerine. The wound discharged freely, which physicians considered a good sign. On July 3, Winslow dictated an optimistic letter to to his friend

¹² Ibid.; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 177; Tilney, *My Life*, 109 -11.

"Hell upon Earth": Petersburg, June 16 through December 1864

Gen. Warren. "I am doing well--and hope in the course of four or five weeks to be able to go north where I soon shall recover."¹³

Winslow closed the letter by mentioning that he longed to return to the front. He did not. Two days later, the colonel took a severe turn for the worse. Extensive necrosis developed at the head of the humerus and septic poisoning spread through Winslow's body. The amount of discharge increased, and respiration problems developed, causing pain in the right lung. At 5:30 p.m., July 7, Cleveland Winslow died with his mother and aunt at his bedside. The ladies accompanied the body to New York, where an impressive military funeral was held at Trinity Church on Wall Street. Following the service, his remains were buried at Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn.¹⁴

On July 12, upon learning of the death of Col. Winslow, the officers of the 5th held a meeting. They resolved that "the regiment has lost a tried and gallant commander and the country a faithful and earnest soldier. . . . Though young in years Colonel Winslow was remarkably endowed with those qualities which gave him a high standing as an efficient and fearless officer, and for him the admiration and esteem of every true soldier." The officers of the regiment resolved to wear a badge of mourning for thirty days.¹⁵

On July 7, while Winslow lay dying in Alexandria, a light rain fell and made it uncomfortable for the soldiers at Petersburg. Two days later, the quartermaster, Lt. John Raymond, finally issued the Zouave garb worn by companies A, B, C and D, to the transferred men from the 14th Brooklyn and

¹³ Cleveland Winslow, Pension File; Regtl. Hospital Records; Warren Papers; Pohanka, *Profile*, 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Miscellaneous Regimental Papers.

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the 12th New York. Thus attired, the regiment presented a uniform appearance for inspection.¹⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Guthrie informed Hiram Duryea about affairs in the 5th New York. "In Col. W. [we] have sustained a great loss, but still the remnant of the officers have sustained the old reputation, and brought a disorganized mass a fine style of discipline so that even our old friends the Regulars have been compelled to take pattern from the camp of the 5th N. Y. & alter their own. Genl. Warren is well & working like a beaver as usual." What had changed was the mode of combat--trench warfare. Guthrie added: "I wish you were here to witness the style of fighting. It beats everything I have seen yet. Every man has to be at it and it [is] Hell upon earth day and night."¹⁷

On July 30, the Zouaves' day began at 2 a.m., when they fell quietly into ranks. Two hours later, Ayres's division marched to the right to support the IX Corps in a planned assault following the explosion of a mine underneath a portion of the Confederate works. Hayes's brigade halted in a cut of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. There it waited for the explosion of the mine. The mine was a project of Col. Henry Pleasant's 48th Pennsylvania. His men had dug a tunnel under a Confederate fort opposite from them and filled the gallery with 8000 lbs. of black powder. After the detonation of the mine, the IX Corps was to assault through the breach and open the way into Petersburg.¹⁸

¹⁶ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 177.

¹⁷ Duryea Papers, July 28, 1864.

¹⁸ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 178. The undermined Confederate fort was known as Elliott's Salient.

At 4:40 a.m., Sgt. Pinckney recorded, "a grand explosion took place throwing a Rebel fort in Burnside's front in the air." Norman Harrington, an untutored soldier of the 140th New York Zouaves, wrote of the Crater explosion: "i was in sight of it, All i see the part when it was blone up so it was a nuff for me. the 9 Corpse Done all of the fighting that was Done." All the Zouaves could do was observe the spectacle.¹⁹

Following the explosion, the Federal batteries opened with a tremendous barrage against the Confederate lines. Elements of the IX Corps advanced toward the Crater, but Burnside's troops soon became trapped in and around the Crater. It was a military fiasco. Fortunately, the Zouaves remained observers in the debacle. The 5th suffered only one casualty in the day's fighting. At 10 a.m., the Hayes's brigade headed back for camp.²⁰

On a daily basis the men of the regiment worked constructing rifle pits and fortifications. Those not performing labor passed the time in camp by sleeping, reading, writing, gambling, and cooking. On Monday, August 8, an order read at dress parade temporarily detached the 5th New York from the brigade. It directed the red-legs to Gen. Warren's headquarters. Upon reporting, Col. Frederick Winthrop presented himself to the regiment as its new commanding officer. The Zouaves knew Winthrop well. He had served as a staff officer to Gen. Ayres and, like the most of the men, was a native of New York City. The officers of the 5th New York--including the man entitled to the position, Lt. Col. Guthrie--had unanimously requested Winthrop for the

¹⁹ Ibid., 178-80; Norman Harrington, Pension File. Harrington, a member of the 140th New York Zouaves, transferred to the 5th New York in 1865.

²⁰ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 180.

position of colonel. Winthrop greeted the Zouaves and issued an order praising the regiment.²¹

Winthrop, an unmarried twenty-five-year-old with blond moustache and side-whiskers, was from a well-to-do New York family. He was a direct descendant of the first governor of Massachusetts. General Warren thought highly of the young officer who had been cited for gallantry at First Bull Run and served as a company officer of the 12th U.S. Infantry in every campaign of the Army of the Potomac. In July, Warren recommended Winthrop for promotion to brigadier general. He "has shown the most marked ability in the battles of the campaign in command of his regiment."²²

After Col. Winslow's death, Warren wanted to find another strict disciplinarian for command of his pet regiment. He wrote Gen. John T. Sprague, Adjutant-General of New York State, and endorsed Winthrop for the appointment. "The interest I take in my old regiment, and keeping it worthy of the reputation it has acquired, makes me ask this as a special request. I believe there is no other officer in it now who can as well fill the vacancy as the officer I recommend." The *New York Times* later wrote of Winthrop as having been "conspicuous in every action for his intelligence, cool courage and determination . . . a splendid soldier, skillful, gallant, cool and accomplished."²³

With Winthrop's appointment, Guthrie remained lieutenant colonel of the regiment. Major Henry Ryder commanded the two companies at

²¹ Ibid.; CSR. Before his assignment to the 5th, Winthrop served at V Corps headquarters as captain and also commanded the 12th U.S. Battalion.

²² *New York Times*, April 13, 1865; Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *The Winthrop Family in America* (Boston, 1948), 384-87.

²³ Ibid.

headquarters and served as the provost marshal for the V Corps. General Warren was not in the least happy with Guthrie's lofty position. In fact, Warren, along with authorities in New York and several officers of the 5th, pressured to have Winthrop brought in as colonel in part because of Guthrie's shortcomings. Warren tried to delay the muster of Guthrie so that Winthrop could become familiar with the men under him and make his own choice for second in command. Warren wrote: "I knew Capt. Guthrie was not well qualified for this high position as he was a member of the old regiment when I was Colonel." Warren was well aware of Guthrie's occasional heavy drinking and rough demeanor. Though brave enough, Guthrie was no gentleman. Warren had no desire to see him associated with commanding the Zouaves. He feared that before long, Guthrie's incapacity would embarrass the 5th New York. Perhaps in an effort to evict Guthrie from the army, Warren formed a board of officers to test Guthrie's military competency.²⁴

Except for battalion drill and picket duty, all was quiet for the Zouaves. Yet more action had to occur to gain Petersburg. Private Robert Tilney surmised that it was "the calm before the storm." He was correct. At 3 a.m., August 17, reveille sounded; but after the troops packed up and waited in line for five hours, orders countermanded the march. The regiment remained in camp with instructions to be prepared to move the next day at 4 a.m. In the evening, another thunderstorm cooled the air. At 2 a.m. on the 18th, distant heavy shelling began. At 4 a.m., reveille roused the Zouaves. An hour later,

²⁴ CSR. Perhaps commanding another regiment would have been within Guthrie's capabilities, but he did not have the social prominence or the military background, such as that of Winslow or Winthrop, to head a regiment with such a distinguished heritage to maintain. Warren did not want any discredit cast on the "old Fifth" by Guthrie faltering with the veteran unit.

Warren's V Corps marched south along the Jerusalem Plank Road. Griffin's division was in the lead, followed by Ayres, Crawford, and finally Cutler. Soon, the corps turned west. Mud from recent rains slowed progress, and oppressive heat caused hundreds of men to fall out along the roadside. After covering only about two miles in three hours, Griffin's division bumped into a Confederate cavalry brigade. Skirmishers deployed and drove the enemy horsemen from the field.²⁵

Near Globe Tavern, shortly after 9 a.m., the corps reached the Weldon Railroad that paralleled the Halifax Road leading into Petersburg. Two hours later, Griffin's men had gone to work tearing up the tracks. Ayres's division formed in line of battle with Hayes's brigade deployed near the Blick house. To the left of Hayes's men was Col. Nathan Dushane's brigade of Maryland troops. The oversized 15th New York Heavy Artillery, acting as infantry, brought up the rear.²⁶

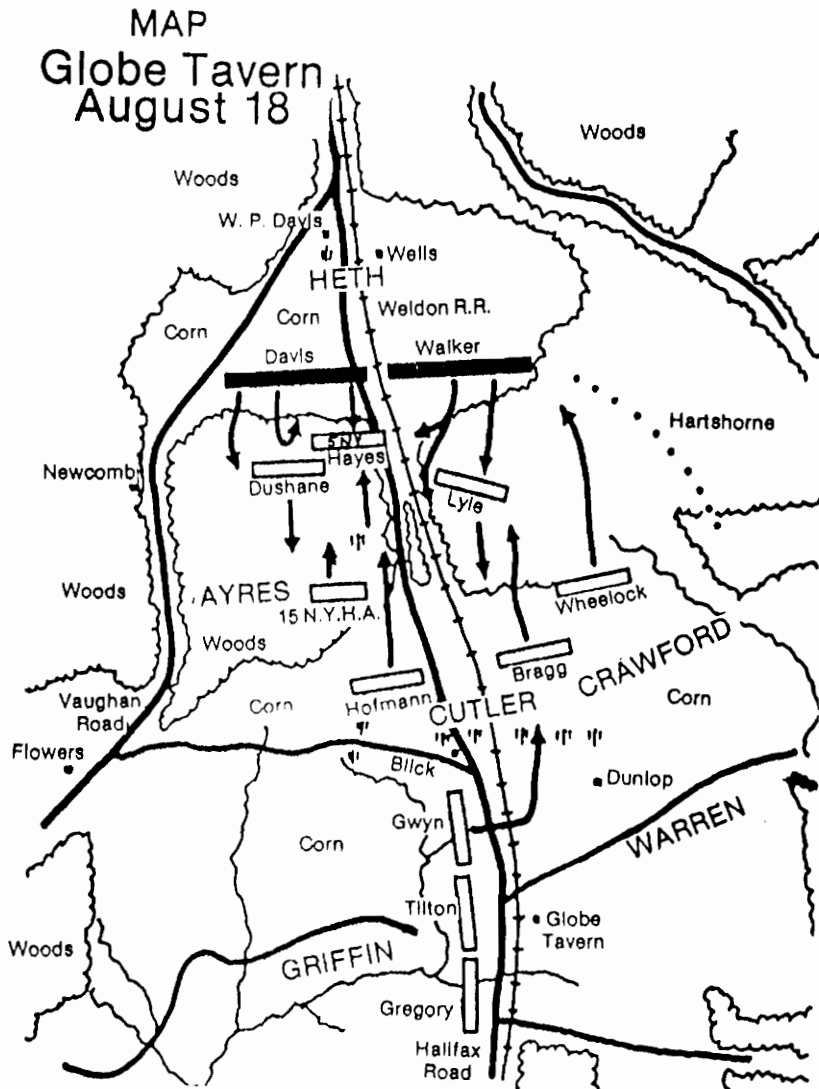
Hayes formed his brigade in two lines of battle stretching across the railroad. He placed the 140th New York and 146th New York in the first line, while companies of 12th U.S., deployed ahead as skirmishers. The 5th New York constituted the second line, on the right of the railroad. To the right of Ayres were Crawford's troops in support. Cutler's division acted as the reserve.²⁷

²⁵ Tilney, *My Life*, 126; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 181; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 452; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 237; *O. R.*, XLII, Pt. 1: 474.

²⁶ Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 181; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 452; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 237; *O. R.*, XLII, Pt. 1: 474; John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad* (Lynchburg, 1991), 59.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Destroying the railroad as they went, Hayes's men methodically advanced up the railroad toward Petersburg under Confederate artillery fire. The 5th began to take casualties as shot and shell tore through the regiment.



Map 5. Globe Tavern, August 18, 1864. (Source: John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad* (Lynchburg, 1991), 58.)

Map 5. Globe Tavern, August 18, 1864. (Source: John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad* (Lynchburg, 1991), 58.)

Moving through a dense wood of pine and oak trees, Hayes's brigade covered three-fourths of a mile. About thirty yards from the far edge of the woods the brigade halted. The men of the 5th could see the Zouave skirmishers of the other two New York Zouave regiments--the 140th and 146th--driving the opposing Confederate skirmishers through farmer W. P. Davis's cornfield. The 5th remained in the woods during a thunderstorm while the skirmishers continued to push the Confederates back beyond the Davis house.²⁸

Around 2 p.m., the skirmishers approached an extensive wood at the opposite edge of the cornfield. There, the main Confederate battle line was waiting. General Henry Heth's division burst out of the woods and quickly drove the Federal skirmishers back across the cornfield and engaged Ayres's division. Heth's men overlapped both flanks of the Federal position. They hit Dushane's exposed left flank and Hayes's unsupported right, working around toward their rear. Southerners also broke through a gap between the two brigades. Both Federal brigades resisted momentarily, but were outmatched and forced to fall back through the woods in growing confusion.²⁹

The men of the 5th retired a short distance, then attempted to rally in hopes of stemming the Confederate advance. The red-legs made a stubborn and effective stand. Yet Winthrop's men received orders to withdraw. Confederate troops made a quick dash and captured some men from the regiment. One was Sgt. Pinckney, who was struggling to reload his Springfield when a Southern soldier, near a Confederate battleflag, ordered him to

²⁸ CSR; Jacob Schneider, Pension File; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 238.

²⁹ Horn, *Destruction*, 61-63.

surrender and go to the rear. Pinckney quickly complied, wary of being hit by the heavy fire from his own troops.³⁰

Trying to stem the breakthrough, Gen. Ayres advanced the 15th New York Heavy Artillery into the woods. Hayes rallied elements of his brigade and formed on the right, while Dushane's Marylanders joined the 15th's left. The division then built breastworks, determined to hold their ground just in front of the area where they had begun the advance at 11 a.m. The 5th was now slightly west of the railroad.³¹

That night the troops got little rest as they tried to improve rifle pits and breastworks. Despite heavy Union losses, Gen. Warren had cut another vital supply line into Petersburg. Yet Confederate commander Robert E. Lee was determined to recover it the next day. Warren received orders to hold his position at all costs. In the desperate and confused fight of August 18, the 5th New York suffered seventy-three casualties. During the engagement on Aug. 18, 1864, the red-legs counted 13 men killed, 7 mortally wounded, 36 wounded, 8 wounded and captured, and 9 captured.³²

Rain fell on the morning of August 19, as the men of Hayes's brigade sallied forth to collect its dead and wounded. Throughout the day, Warren tried to extend his right to connect with the IX Corps near the Jerusalem Plank Road. Heavy reinforcements had reached the Confederates during the night. About 4 p.m., they assaulted the Federal positions. Ayres's division repulsed every attack Heth's division made against its front. Hayes's brigade performed well.

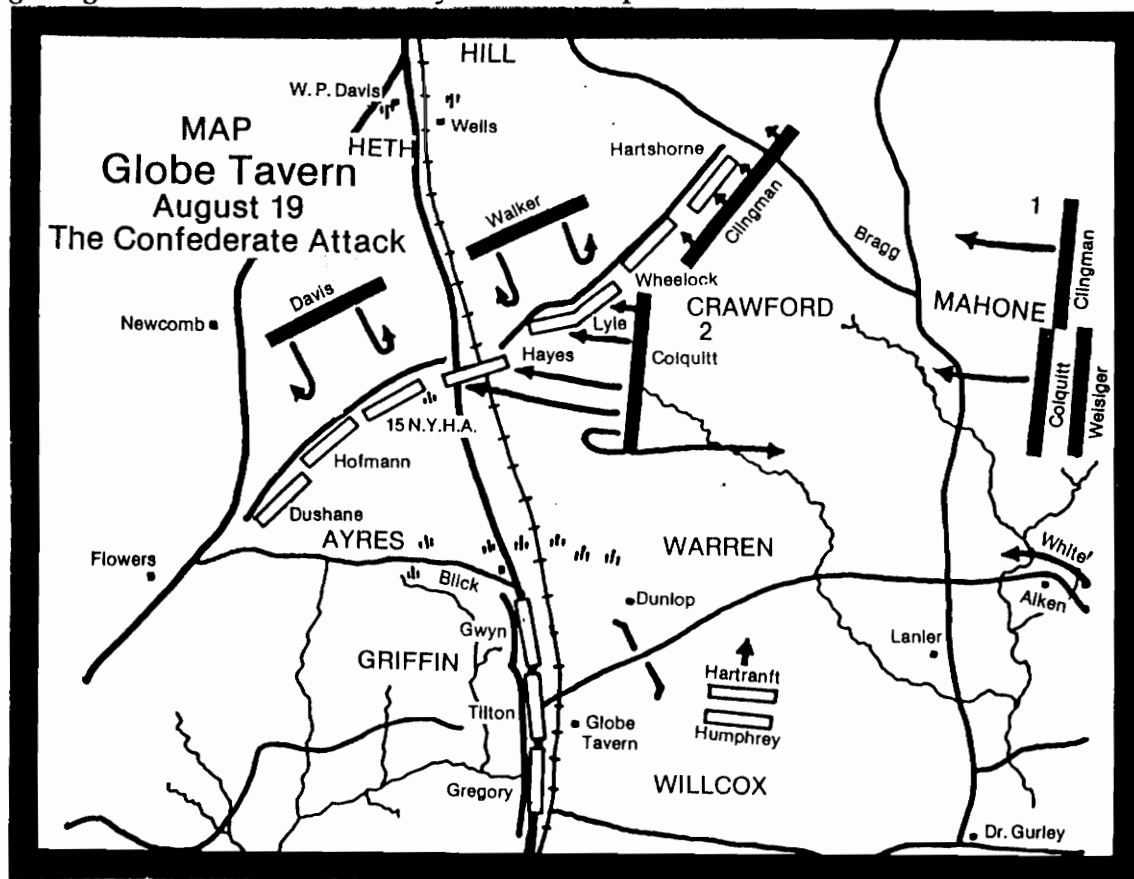
³⁰ O. R., XLII, Pt. 1: 474, 476; Tevis, *Fighting Fourteenth*, "Extracts from W. H. H. Pinckney's Diary," 182.

³¹ Horn, *Destruction*, 63.

³² CSR.

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Meanwhile, on the far right flank of the V Corps, the Confederates broke through Crawford's division and began to assault the Union lines from the rear. They smashed into Hayes's brigade in flank and rapidly rolled up the 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, and 17th U.S. Southerners captured over 200 of the Regulars as well as Gen. Hayes and forty-five members of the 5th New York. Colonel Winthrop took command of the brigade and strove to execute a fighting withdrawal about 700 yards to the protection of Federal batteries.³³



Map 6. Globe Tavern, August 19, 1864--The Confederate Attack. (Source: John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad* (Lynchburg, 1991), 71.)

³³ O. R., XLII, Pt. 1: 474; Horn, *Destruction*, 81-82; CSR.

Ayres reformed his disorganized units, then ordered Winthrop's brigade forward to try to retake the lost works. "This was promptly and successfully done, with great spirit," reported Winthrop. It was nearing 7:30 p.m. when the brigade advanced and drove the Confederates from the captured works. Winthrop's men had barely retaken the breastworks when Heth's division launched another attack against the right of the railroad. Once again, Ayres's men blunted Heth's onslaught. Heth tried again. The constant fighting exhausted Winthrop's soldiers and their ammunition. Winthrop called for reinforcements and got them. The 187th Pennsylvania from the First Division came up, took position to the right of the 5th New York near the railroad, and



Map 7. Globe Tavern, August 19, 1864--The Federal Counterattack.
(Source: John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad*
(Lynchburg, 1991), 71.)

became actively engaged. Again Winthrop's troops held firm. At 8:30 p.m., Heth finally withdrew. By 10 p.m., relief had come to Winthrop's men on the right of the railroad when the First Brigade, First Division arrived. That night, the 140th and 146th New York remained in position to the left of the railroad.³⁴

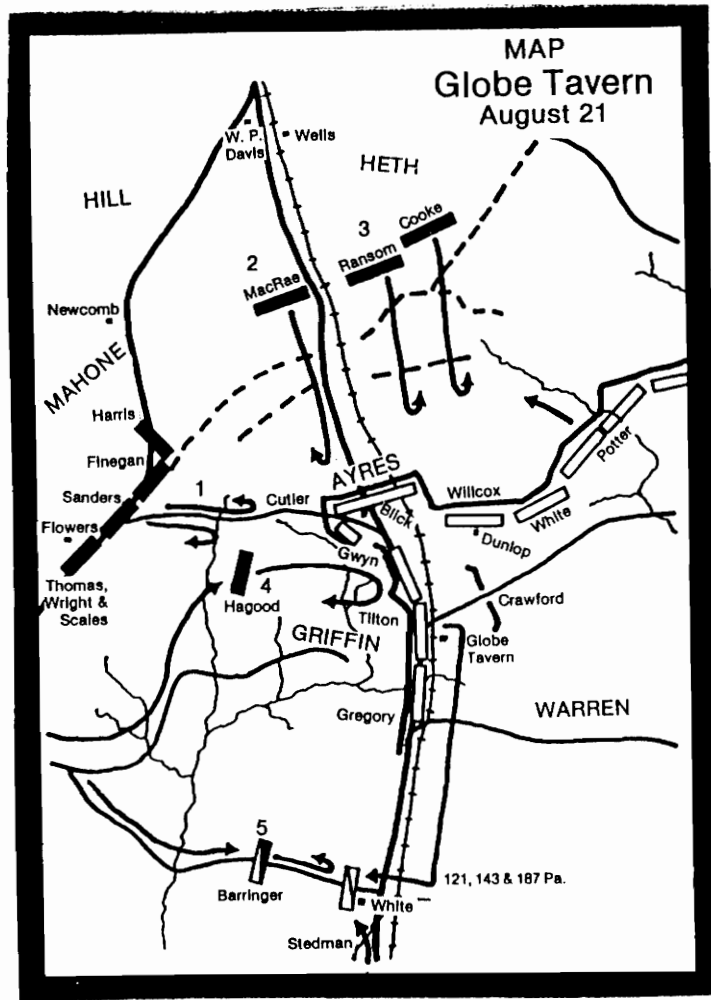
Warren thought the Confederates would continue to attack. On the 20th, he had part of the corps work on a new line a mile and a half to the rear paralleling the railroad. The new position was free of woods atop a slowly rising slope. The twenty-six guns of Col. Charles Wainwright's V Corps artillery could be used effectively. That night, during a steady rain, Winthrop's tired brigade along with the 15th New York Heavy Artillery tore down its breastworks and fell back to a new position.³⁵

At 9 a.m., August 21, two divisions from A. P. Hill's Third Corps launched an attack. Weary pickets from Winthrop's brigade ran to the main line, tripping over strung-out telegraph wire on their return. Several red-legs did not run fast enough and were scooped up by the rapidly advancing Southerners. The Confederates began a furious assault against the Federal position, but the V Corps troops were ready and waiting. Federal infantry and artillery raked the successive Confederate waves. The 5th New York held the right of the brigade. To its right was the 9th Massachusetts Battery, and to the left was Battery D, 5th U.S. Artillery. Meanwhile, the two provost guard companies of the 5th were busy herding skulkers back up to the firing line.³⁶

³⁴ O. R., XLII, Pt. 1: 475.

³⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 240; William C. Davis, *Death in the Trenches: Grant at Petersburg* (Alexandria, 1986), 103; O. R., XLII, Pt. 1: 475.

³⁶ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 241; CSR; Davis, *Death*, 106-7.



Map 8. Globe Tavern, August 21, 1864. (Source: John Horn, *The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad* (Lynchburg, 1991), 104.)

One Confederate assault surged directly against Winthrop's brigade. The colonel ordered portions of the 5th and 140th New York to concentrate their fire against the Confederate skirmishers and sharpshooters who were trying to pick off Wainwright's artillerymen. The other men were loading and firing as fast as possible to turn back the assault. They were successful. Then Ayres's division launched a counterattack from its entrenchments and captured a

large number of prisoners and several flags. Despite losses, Warren's men had performed admirably. Colonel Wainwright wrote: "We have had a love of a fight today. For once it was all on our side, everything was well managed, and Lee got a lesson which I guess will keep him from attempting this place again."³⁷

The next day, the Confederate troops drew back and the fighting ceased. Federal troops went to work improving their trenches and fortifications. During the fighting along the Weldon Railroad, the 5th New York suffered 134 casualties, second only to the the 12th U.S., which lost 196 men (175 of them captured). Casualties in the 5th included 2 officers and 12 men killed; 7 officers and 45 men wounded; and one officer and 67 men captured.³⁸

Lieutenant Col. Guthrie wrote Hiram Duryea about the recent battles. "Colonel we have been in many engagements together, but such fighting as this we have never experienced. . . . We lost on the 18th, 19th, & 21st just out of this Brigade alone 1500 men out of the 5000 lost in taking possession of the Weldon R. R.--Genl. Warren feels very proud over the exploits of the 5th Corps, we having beaten the enemy with one Corps. . . . Our old friends (the Regulars) you couldn't possibly recognize they are completely used up, nothing now but raw recruits amongst them." Feeling the burden of command, and possibly his own inadequacy, Guthrie remarked to Duryea: "Col. you have very little idea of the affection entertained for you amongst the old officers. In more respects than one I am very sorry you are not with us."³⁹

³⁷ *O. R.*, XLII, Pt. 1: 475; CSR; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 452.

³⁸ *O. R.*, XLII, Pt. 1: 123; CSR.

³⁹ Hiram Duryea Papers, Aug. 30, 1864.

On August 26, the men took time out from working on fortifications to witness the execution of five deserters from the V Corps. The corps was drawn up so all the troops could witness the sight and be deterred from doing the same. Five freshly dug graves awaited the doomed prisoners. Dressed in blue pants and white shirts, the culprits sat on the end of their coffins while the band played the dead march. The fifty men in the firing squad consisted of soldiers from the two 5th New York companies doing provost guard duty. The officers assigned ten Zouaves to fire at each man at a range of thirty paces. Four of the deserters tumbled back into their coffins, while the fifth, though dead, remained sitting up.⁴⁰

Two days later, a board of officers assembled by Gen. Warren convened "to examine into the capacity, qualifications propriety of conduct and efficiency of Lt. Col. Guthrie." Eleven days later, Abraham Lincoln approved the adverse report from the board, as Warren had predicted. Guthrie left service.⁴¹

When the fighting ended along the Weldon Railroad, Federal and Confederate outposts remained at close range. Before long, an amicable calm settled in along the picket line. Robert Tilney wrote: "there is much fraternizing between the picket lines of both armies when near each other, and when not in actual campaign. . . . They meet part way and exchange rations and other articles. The usual way of opening negotiations is the following: 'Hallo, Yank! have you'uns any coffee?' 'Say, Johnny, got any tobacco?' and these luxuries exchange hands."⁴²

⁴⁰ Tilney, *My Life*, 130.

⁴¹ CSR.

⁴² Tilney, *My Life*, 137-38.

A period of inactivity settled over the V Corps. On the evening of September 3, the Zouaves were elated to learn of Gen. William T. Sherman's capture of Atlanta. Tilney noted: "This is glorious news! This is the way to get peace; better than the Conventions and negotiations. A few more such victories and the end will be near."⁴³

Five days later, Tilney commented that the army would invest Petersburg until it fell. He felt that most of the Federal soldiers had determined to bring the war to an end with "total, uncompromising and unconditional surrender." Also on the 8th, with the official discharge of Lt. Col. Guthrie, and with Col. Winthrop still in command of the brigade, the leadership of the 5th New York devolved upon Capt. Henry Schickhardt. It appeared that Col. Winthrop would continue to command the brigade, so Warren arranged for another reliable Regular to take command of his favorite regiment. Captain William F. Drum of the 2nd U.S. Infantry received the appointment of lieutenant colonel.⁴⁴

Captain Paul Oliver thought a great deal of Drum and wrote his brother: "Capt. Drum of the 2d Infty is an officer I would like you . . . to become acquainted with--he is a perfect gentleman & a brave and gallant soldier. We in the Army think a great deal of him." However, for a Regular officer to be discharged from service to serve in command of volunteers, regulations stipulated that he must be offered at least the rank of colonel. Drum was thus

⁴³ Ibid., 131.

⁴⁴ CSR.

unable to obtain his discharge for promotion in the 5th New York and began writing letters to secure his release.⁴⁵

On September 13, the 5th New York moved camp farther to the rear of the works. The quartermaster distributed new Zouave uniforms to the men. These uniforms were nearly identical to those worn by the old 5th: full, baggy, red pantaloons and a dark blue jacket with red trim. At 6 p.m. the 5th New York held a dress parade and displayed its new finery. During the next several days, a series of reviews, including one by President Lincoln, took place for the V Corps. The uniformed red-legs made a splendid sight. A new commander headed the unit on these occasions. Captain Schickhardt waived rank and allowed Capt. Charles Montgomery (an experienced veteran of the "old Fifth") to take active command of the regiment.⁴⁶

As the month closed, the news of Gen. Phil Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah Valley at Winchester and Fisher's Hill cheered the Federal troops around Petersburg. On September 28, the Federal Army of the James swung into action north of the James River against Confederate Fort Harrison and Chapin's Bluff. As a large Confederate force shifted from Petersburg to confront this threat, Grant ordered Meade to have four divisions extend the Federal lines farther to the west and hopefully deter Confederate troops from their movement. Meade selected two divisions from the V and two from the IX Corps. At 7 a.m. on the 29th, Griffin's and Ayres's divisions from the V Corps,

⁴⁵ Paul A. Oliver Letters, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ [cited hereafter as Oliver Letters]; ACP Files, National Archives, file of William Findlay Drum.

⁴⁶ Regimental Books; Tilney, *My Life*, 134-35; Emerson Gifford Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren: The Life and Letters of an American Soldier* (Boston, 1932); reprint, Gaithersburg, Md., 1988), 200; Misc. Regtl. Papers.

and Parke's IX Corps division began to move. The force comprised some 12,000 men. Shortly after the march began, the skies opened in a heavy downpour, and rain fell intermittently during the next few days. With Winthrop away on furlough, the brigade was under the temporary command of Lt. Col. Elwell S. Otis of the 140th New York. The troops marched west until Griffin's men ran into Confederate pickets near Poplar Spring Church. During the fighting Griffin's division captured Fort Archer, which overlooked the junction of Squirrel Level and Poplar Spring Roads. Ayres came up on Griffin's right, while the IX Corps troops pitched in on his left. By evening, Otis's brigade had deployed on the right and left of the fort and had begun to dig entrenchments. The 5th New York, with Capt. Montgomery in command, took position inside the fort.⁴⁷

The next morning, Saturday, October 1, the Confederates advanced to retake the fort. Federal troops repulsed the attack and inflicted heavy losses. Meade's forces also suffered casualties, including Lt. Col. Otis, who suffered a severe wound to his face and neck. The Regulars were particularly hard-hit, losing seventy-six men. The 5th New York lost three killed and a few men wounded.⁴⁸

On October 2, Col. Samuel Graham's Maryland brigade, supported by the 5th and 140th New York, moved out on a one-mile reconnaissance. Skirmishing flared and the 5th suffered one casualty. Return of the reconnaissance ended the fighting around Poplar Spring Church. The brigade

⁴⁷ Tilney, *My Life*, 139-40; Misc. Regtl. Papers; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 466-9; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 244-45.

⁴⁸ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 245-46; Brian Bennett, *Sons of Old Monroe* (Dayton, 1992), 480. Upon the wounding of Lt. Col. Otis, Maj. James Grindlay from the 146th New York took over temporary command of the brigade.

took a position in the breastworks near the Vaughan Road. There it remained for the next three weeks. Montgomery's Zouaves made camp near the Peebles house. In the recent maneuvering the Federals pushed their lines farther west, closer to cutting off more vital supply lines into Petersburg and threatening the South Side Railroad. The V Corps lost 626 men in the fighting, including 4 men killed and 8 wounded from the 5th New York.⁴⁹

Things remained quiet along the V Corps line. The forthcoming Presidential election was a major topic of discussion among the soldiers. It was the first time troops in the field could vote in an election. On October 21 and 22, news of Gen. Sheridan's victory at Cedar Creek arrived and reinforced confidence in the Republican administration. Robert Tilney estimated that most regiments would give only two votes to the Democrats, while casting 300 or 400 for "the Union."⁵⁰

At 4 a.m., October 27, the V Corps troops moved out on another expedition against Petersburg's supply lines. Warren's men worked in conjunction with the II and IX Corps. They moved to strike the South Side Railroad from the lower portion of the Weldon Railroad via Hatcher's Run and the Boydton Plank Road. About forty-five minutes after starting the march, rain began pouring and added to the confusion in the pre-dawn darkness. Tilney lamented that "the Army of the Potomac can never move without rain." The two-day expedition accomplished nothing other than more casualties for the Federal army. The II Corps did most of the fighting, while the futile expedition

⁴⁹ William H. Powell, *The Fifth Army Corps (Army of the Potomac): A Record of Operations during the Civil War in the United States of America, 1861-1865* (New York, 1896), 733-35; CSR; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 246.

⁵⁰ Tilney, *My Life*, 142-43; Regtl. Books.

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frustrated and angered the men of the V Corps. Ayres's division never became actively engaged with the Confederates. Winthrop's brigade reported one casualty, a wounded member of the 5th New York.

Two days later, the 5th New York was again back in its former camp. Winthrop's brigade was slimmed down, as Grant ordered what remained of the regular troops of the V Corps to report to Gen. John Dix in New York City to keep peace during the election. The soldiers left the next day. Captain Paul Oliver noted: "The regulars have all left for the North. I don't think they number 1500 men. They are a sorry looking set to what they once were." Winthrop's brigade, now consisted of three New York Zouave regiments--the 5th, 140th, and 146th, along with the 15th New York Heavy Artillery, which continued to serve as infantry.⁵¹

November was a pleasantly quiet month for the regiment and the V Corps. Cold weather, accompanied by harsh winds, kept the soldiers busy trying to stay warm. The regiment busied itself building winter quarters. Tuesday morning, November 8, orders suspended drilling and the men in the trenches cast their votes for President. Captain Paul Oliver wrote his brother: "I vote for Lincoln."⁵²

They eagerly awaited the news of the outcome. By the next day, telegraph messages announced Lincoln's victory. The news overjoyed Robert Tilney. As a headquarters clerk, Tilney did some tabulating from the corps election return, then wrote to a friend: "You will see by it that the Fifth [Corps] can vote as well as fight. The red ink figures show the only regiments

⁵¹ Tilney, *My Life*, 148-49; Misc. Regtl. Papers; Powell, *Fifth*, 748; Paul Oliver Letters, Nov. 5, 1864.

⁵² Paul Oliver Letters, Oct. 23, 1864; Regtl. Books.

that voted for McClellan. The ratio of the Union majority is about two and a half to one" even though "the Fifth Corps has always been considered a McClellan Corps."⁵³

Early in November Col. Frederick Winthrop received appointment to brevet brigadier general. Winthrop, proud of his new rank, began to pay social calls on other officers of the corps. In the middle of November, he dined with the corps artillery commander, Col. Charles Wainwright, who commented: "We have very few visitors at the artillery headquarters from other officers; Griffin stops once in a while to see Major Fitzhugh, and Ayres has looked in a few times. Colonel Winthrop dined with us the other day. . . . He is very pleasant, a thorough gentleman, a most capital officer, and universally liked. He and Ayres have the finest headquarters in the corps."⁵⁴

Reinforcements arrived on December 5, when the VI Corps rejoined the Army of the Potomac after successful campaigning with Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. It relieved the V Corps in its portion of the Petersburg lines. Warren's disgruntled troops realized that they had built winter quarters too soon, and that it would not be long before they were again on active campaign. On the 6th, the men received six days' rations in preparation for a march. Robert Tilney speculated about the movement: "I . . . believe it to be to the South Side Railroad; or perhaps the Weldon again. It would seem that they

⁵³ Tilney, *My Life*, 149-52. While McClellan commanded the Army of the Potomac, he seemed to have the most confidence in the V Corps particularly since it was commanded by his friend Fitz John Porter. Therefore, it was believed that the V Corps regarded McClellan even higher than the rest of the army.

⁵⁴ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 481-82. Photographs show that Winthrop wore the frock coat and shoulder straps of a brigadier general, although by definition his brevet rank was only honorary.

can not trust any Corps but this for that kind of work. . . . I hope we shall do something worth while this time, and then settle down for the winter."⁵⁵

Tilney was right; the V Corps was moving to destroy the Weldon Railroad once and for all. Although the V Corps had earlier severed the tracks, the Confederates had found a way to bring supplies into Petersburg. The Southerners secured the supplies via wagon trains rendezvousing with the railroad at points farther south. Grant dispatched the V Corps on a raid aimed at the tracks near the North Carolina border. Grant added the weight of Gershom Mott's division from the II Corps and David Gregg's cavalry to the expedition. At 6 a.m. on December 7, they departed. The cavalry was followed by Griffin's, Crawford's, Ayres's, and Mott's divisions.⁵⁶

Six days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition weighted down each Zouave. They marched south down the Jerusalem Plank Road. Two and a half hours after starting, it began to rain. The precipitation made the roads muddy and difficult for marching. By nightfall, part of the column had crossed the Nottoway River. Griffin's and Crawford's troops traversed the river on a pontoon bridge, while Ayres's and Mott's divisions bivouacked on the north bank.⁵⁷

Around midnight, it began to rain more heavily. About 2 a.m., Ayres's division crossed the pontoon bridge. Shortly after that, the rain subsided. By 4:30 a.m., the other divisions were on the move toward Jarratt's Station. The wooded countryside sharply contrasted with the wasteland of the Petersburg trenches. On December 8 at 1 p.m., Ayres's division reached another

⁵⁵ Tilney, *My Life*, 158-59; Misc. Regtl. Papers; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 249-50.

⁵⁶ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 249-50.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 250; Powell, *Fifth*, 749-50; Misc. Regtl. Papers.

operational portion of the railroad. The troops cooked dinner and rested for a short time. At 6 p.m., V Corps soldiers set to work tearing up the track. Mott's II Corps division was deployed in case of an attack. The men lined up along the track and lifted together, raising the rails. They tossed them on piled ties and set the stacks on fire. When the iron rails softened in the flames, soldiers took them and wrapped them around trees. A soldier in Griffin's division commented: "The sight presented by a burning road, bridges, piles of wood, and fences, was sad and grand in the extreme. A terrible comment on the waste and ravages of war."⁵⁸

The troops continued the destruction until midnight. On the morning of the 9th, the work resumed. By that evening the Federals had ripped up the Weldon Railroad all the way to Belfield. That night, Winthrop's brigade went into camp in a cornfield on the north bank of the Meherrin River. At 8 p.m., a rain and sleet storm began and continued through the night. Colonel Theodore Lyman of Gen. Meade's staff later wrote: "General Winthrop said . . . it blew, snowed and sleeted all night, and when reveille beat in the morning, you could only see what seemed a field full of dead bodies, each covered with a rubber blanket and encased with ice. Some of the men had to kick and struggle, they were so hard frozen down."⁵⁹

The next day, the troops marched on icy, muddy roads. The Federal column passed through Sussex Court House two days earlier. That evening,

⁵⁸ Tilney, *My Life*, 161-62; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 250; Misc. Regtl. Papers; Powell, *Fifth*, 750; Robert Goldwaite Carter, *Four Brothers in Blue* (Austin, 1978), 495.

⁵⁹ Tilney, *My Life*, 162-63; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 251-52; Misc. Regtl. Papers; Powell, *Fifth*, 751-52; George R. Agassiz, *Meade's Headquarters 1863-1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman from The Wilderness to Appomattox* (Boston, 1922), 300. Hicksford is now Emporia.

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Winthrop's troops camped along the road while a cold drizzle fell. After a miserable sleepless night, the march resumed. As the troops headed back to Petersburg, re-enforcements from Robert Potter's division of the IX Corps arrived to assist in repelling an expected attack. The attack never came. By nightfall, the Federal forces had crossed the Nottoway River closely pursued by Confederate Cavalry. Captain Paul Oliver with the two headquarters guard companies of the 5th New York, under the eye of General Warren, acted as the rear guard during the crossing of the river.⁶⁰

Oliver noted that "this had been an anxious point in the campaign--the crossing of this river." He was the last one over the bridge and rode up to Warren and said: "They are all across General." Warren responded, "all right then" and the two galloped off.⁶¹

Winthrop's brigade bivouacked near Belsches's Mill. On the 12th, freezing weather hardened the roads, and the troops soon gained the Federal entrenchments. The 5th New York camped about two miles from where it had started at "Yellow House"--the soldiers' name for Globe Tavern. The 5th New York lost five men in the expedition.⁶²

Despite all the hardships, the expedition was successful with little overall loss, but the grueling march completely fatigued the men. Captain Paul Oliver wrote: "I came home that afternoon half unconscious, with eyes open, but half asleep, nor have I got quite warm yet. There was little chance for me to sleep & indeed I slept hardly at all in these 6 days, nor was

⁶⁰ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 490-91; CSR; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 252-53; Powell, *Fifth*, 752; Oliver Letters, Dec. 14, 1865.

⁶¹ Oliver Letters, Dec. 14, 1865.

⁶² Powell, *Fifth*, 752; Phisterer, *New York*, 1769.

there much to eat." They had covered over 100 miles and torn up about twenty-five miles of railroad track, all in cold winds that Robert Tilney commented "almost cut us in two."⁶³

Oliver likewise noted that the weather was "bitter cold, but the men stood it wonderfully well . . . I think two of my toes are nipped for I have no feeling in them." However, Gen. Warren's expertises in maneuvering and handling troops impressed Oliver, who noted: "General Warren engaged this difficult expedition with a skill & completeness I have never seen equalled." This judgment came from a man who had been in more than "23 fights in both the main armies" and won the Congressional Medal of Honor at the battle of Resaca while in command of two brigades as a staff officer.⁶⁴

On the 16th, welcome news arrived announcing Sherman's investment of Savannah and George Thomas' victory over Gen. John Bell Hood's Army of Tennessee in the battle of Nashville. Christmas day found the Federal troops celebrating in the trenches with news of Sherman's occupation of Savannah. The abundance of good news, Tilney related, "makes us veterans feel much elated."⁶⁵

As 1864 drew to a close with the troops hunkered down in winter camp. Three months' pay and whiskey ration added to the festivities planned to celebrate the new year, a year that all hoped would at last bring an end to the bloodshed.⁶⁶

⁶³ Tilney, *My Life*, 165.

⁶⁴ Oliver Letters, Dec. 14, 1864.

⁶⁵ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 491-92; Tilney, *My Life*, 170-71.

⁶⁶ Misc. Regtl. Papers.

"With such troops I shall always feel confident of success": Petersburg to Appomattox, and the Grand Review, January through August 1865

Chapter IV

**"With such troops I shall always feel confident of success":
Petersburg to Appomattox, and the Grand Review,
January through August 1865**

As the cold month of January passed with occasional snow and ice storms, the men of the Army of the Potomac tried to stay warm in their crude log huts. No doubt the twenty-two officers and 375 enlisted men of the 5th New York speculated on the Federal expeditions to capture Fort Fisher and hoped for the war's end. Some Zouaves received assignment to new duties. Among them was Capt. Paul A. Oliver, who joined the staff of Gen. Marsena R. Patrick, Provost Marshal General for the armies operating against Richmond and Petersburg. Many Zouaves requested and received furloughs. Invariably, it was easier for enlisted men with good service records to obtain leaves of absence.¹

The 5th New York provided many men for special service. About 120 of the 397 red-legs were assigned throughout the army to extra daily duty. Nearly half of these men served with two provost guard companies. Seventeen men pulled duty with the V Corps hospital and Second Division hospital as guards or nurses. Another eleven men served with the V Corps ambulances,

¹ Compiled Military Service Records.

"With such troops I shall always feel confident of success": Petersburg to Appomattox, and the Grand Review, January through August 1865

while nine others, including Robert Tilney, performed duty as clerks at brigade, corps, or army headquarters.²

The beginning of February brought warmer weather and with it rumors of a move. Soldiers filled their cartridge boxes in preparation for battle, although the four days' marching rations, consisting merely of salt pork and hardtack, were a source of complaint. On February 4, orders had come to be prepared to get underway at 6:30 the following morning. The men did not know where they were headed, but found out when two divisions of the II Corps joined the V Corps. With Gen. David M. Gregg's cavalry division in advance, Ayres's division led the infantry column. The expedition was intended to destroy the Confederate supply line that extended from a point below Hicksford, up the Meherrin River, through Dinwiddie Court House and into the defenses of Petersburg by the Boydton Plank Road.³

At 10 a.m. February 5, Ayres's division reached Rowanty Creek. There they found the bridge burned. Approximately 100 Confederates waited on the opposite bank ready to contest a fording. Part of Gregg's cavalry engaged the Confederates while Col. James Gwyn's infantry brigade crossed the sixty-foot-wide stream by marching on a layer of ice. Yet by the time Winthrop's brigade was ready to cross, much of the ice had broken apart. Unhesitatingly, the men splashed across the cold, ice-jammed stream. The sodden Zouaves formed in line of battle near the intersection of the Military and Vaughan roads. Once assured that no enemy troops remained, the soldiers of Winthrop's brigade quickly built fires to dry their clothes. They then made coffee to warm

² Miscellaneous Regimental Papers; CSR.

³ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 280-81.

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themselves while the cavalry, artillery, and supply trains crossed the stream over a newly constructed bridge. Meanwhile, the II Corps men had thrown up entrenchments and repulsed several assaults made by Confederate Generals Heth and Evans.⁴

At 9 p.m., the march resumed. The V Corps spent most of the bitter cold night moving up the Vaughan Road to a position about a mile west of Hatcher's Run, where at daybreak they linked up with the II Corps. At the frigid dawn of February 6, Winthrop's exhausted soldiers huddled behind breastworks. Hopes of a warm meal were dashed when orders came to advance to the attack. Crawford's division of the V Corps led the assault, while the rest of the Corps waited in line of battle. Confederate troops soon drove back Crawford's division, while the cavalymen guarding the V Corps' southwestern flank were also forced to give ground.⁵

General Ayres moved northwestward to support the hard-pressed troops of Crawford's division, while at 1 p.m., Winthrop's brigade was sent to support the cavalry engaging the enemy further west along the Vaughan Road. By the time Winthrop's Zouave brigade reached the contested area, the fighting had died down. The 146th New York relieved the cavalry pickets on the skirmish line. The 5th and 140th New York deployed to the right side of the road and the 15th New York Heavy Artillery to the left. The brigade rested in an open field in front of several Union batteries. Once Winthrop had secured the position, the Federal cavalry reformed and charged. The Zouaves listened

⁴ Ibid, 281; Chris Calkins, "To Cut the Remaining Supply Lines: The Battle of Hatcher's Run, February 5-7, 1865" (unpublished article), 2.

⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 281; *O. R.*, XLVI, Pt. 2: 280.

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to the fast firing carbines of the horsemen in their front, but the troopers soon came riding back in confusion.⁶

Confederate infantry followed the scurrying cavalymen. Colonel Winthrop ordered his line to attention, then at about 4 p.m., advanced the 5th, 140th, and 15th at the double quick. The brigade charged up the road, across the field, firing while they advanced and driving the Confederates into a grove of trees. As his regiment pushed ahead, the 5th's commander, Capt. Charles Montgomery, toppled from the saddle with a bullet through his head. A few Zouaves carried their commander to the rear where he died as the charge continued. Captain Henry Schickhardt took command of the regiment, which halted at Winthrop's order. The men assumed defensive positions, which were bolstered by reinforcements from the Griffin's First Division, and "handsomely" drove back each enemy attempt to counterattack from the woods across the field.⁷

By 5 p.m., most soldiers in Winthrop's brigade had exhausted their ammunition. One of Griffin's brigades then relieved Winthrop's men. The 5th New York marched to the rear with the other units, refilled cartridge boxes, then went on picket along the road leading to Dabney's Steam-Sawmill. They remained on picket until the afternoon of February 7.⁸

The battle of Hatcher's Run cost the 5th New York fourteen casualties. Captain Montgomery and two other Zouaves were killed. An additional eleven red-legs suffered wounds. The 140th New York and 15th New York sustained

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 281-82; Claxton, *C. S. M.*, 14.

⁸ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 282.

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more casualties than the 5th, losing twenty-three and thirty men respectively. The skirmishers of the 146th New York suffered no casualties.⁹

The death of regimental commander Montgomery was tragic, particularly since he had only recently returned from leave. As Winthrop reported: "I regret to mention the loss of Capt. Charles S. Montgomery . . . who was shot through the brain during the engagement. He handled the regiment in the most creditable manner, and is a severe loss to the command." Winthrop went on to praise the regiment and the brigade: "I have rarely seen troops fight with more animation, or maintain their ground so stubbornly against superior numbers as confronted them in the earlier part of the engagement. With such troops I shall always feel confident of success." Winthrop also had effusive praise for 5th New Yorkers on his staff. He cited the veteran Swede, Lt. Axel Leatz, and Lt. William Raymond, his pioneer officer, for "the most efficient assistance," adding that "each of these gentlemen were conspicuous along the line, encouraging the men by their own gallant bearing."¹⁰

After the battle at Hatcher's Run, news of the exemplary service of Winthrop's brigade spread through the army. The Federal troops suffered heavier casualties than the Southerners, but the movement had succeeded in forcing the Confederates to extend their already thin lines. The action also gained a portion of the Boydton Plank Road from which the Union army could operate against the South Side Railroad.¹¹

⁹ Regt. Hosp. Records; CSR; Oscar Weil, Pension File; *O. R.*, XLVI, Pt. 2: 66.

¹⁰ *O. R.*, XLVI, Pt. 2: 280.

¹¹ Calkins, "Hatcher's Run," 5.

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Captain Schickhardt's Zouaves bivouacked with the rest of the brigade near the Vaughan Road. They built a new winter camp in an area which offered plenty of wood and clean water. The men universally preferred their new camp to the old one. They found the sanitary conditions much better. The health of the unit rapidly improved.¹²

On February 15, the officers of the 5th New York held a meeting to adopt resolutions in remembrance of Capt. Montgomery. After the battle, the saddened Zouaves entrusted Montgomery's body to Sydney Munn of the 140th New York. The 140th had been raised in Montgomery's home town, Rochester. On the 18th, First Sgt. Thomas Burns of Company B accompanied Montgomery's remains to that city. On February 24, a steady toll of Rochester's church bells with city flags at half-mast announced Montgomery's funeral at St. Luke's Church.¹³

On March 1, Frederick Winthrop received notification that Congress had confirmed his rank as brigadier general. However, the promotion did not pass the Senate, so the colonel had to content himself with the brevet rank. At the Army's Provost Marshal's Office, Gen. Marsena Patrick was taken aback by what he read in a New York newspaper about another 5th New York officer. Patrick recorded in his diary: "The papers of this evening announce that Capt. Paul Oliver of My Staff is Brevetted a Brigadier General! What next?" Oliver was probably just as surprised. The brevet rank was a reward for his gallant service at the battle of Resaca the previous year.¹⁴

¹² Brainard, *Campaigns*, 282-83.

¹³ Claxton, *C. S. M.*, 4-15; CSR.

¹⁴ Misc. Regtl. Papers; David S. Sparks, *Inside Lincoln's Army: The Diary of Marsena Rudolph Patrick, Provost Marshal General, Army of the Potomac* (New

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With the arrival of March also came spring rains. As the men endured the wet weather, they learned that Sheridan had crushed the remainder of Confederate Gen. Early's forces in the Shenandoah Valley at Waynesboro. The V Corps artillery commander, Col. Charles Wainwright, predicted an early beginning to the spring campaign for the Army of the Potomac. He was right.¹⁵

Despite their hardships, the Federal troops in the Petersburg trenches could sense the war drawing to a close. Confederate desertions to the Union lines increased. Robert Tilney recorded that the newspapers were "teeming with prophecies of the speedy termination of the war." However, Southern troops still held formidable lines from Richmond to Petersburg. Grant feared that Lee's army might evacuate Richmond and Petersburg, cut its way through the Union positions, then march south to join forces with Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina. Once united, the Confederate forces could strike at Sherman's troops. Grant made preparations to prevent such a movement.¹⁶

On March 24, Grant issued orders for all troops to be prepared to move in five days. Simultaneously, Lee made a bold move of his own. The next day, Southern forces launched a dawn assault against Fort Stedman in hopes of breaking the Federal stranglehold. A victory would facilitate the contemplated march south. The assault was initially successful and carried portions of the IX Corps lines, but resistance stiffened and a Federal counterattack netted some

York, 1964), 478. Extensive research in the has not revealed why Winthrop did not receive his promotion. Although Winthrop was universally well liked and respected, it appears that the bill never made it out of committee.

¹⁵ Misc. Regtl. Papers; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 499.

¹⁶ Tilney, *My Life*, 191-93.

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4,000 prisoners. The V Corps marched over in support, but returned to camp in the evening without being engaged.¹⁷

Lee had failed in his attempt to break the siege. Now it was Grant's turn. On March 27, Sheridan arrived from the Shenandoah Valley with two cavalry divisions. Grant stealthily shifted three infantry divisions of the Army of the James from the lines near Richmond to the Petersburg front.

On the 29th, Sheridan's cavalry pushed west into Dinwiddie County to draw Confederate troops out of their entrenchments. With support from the II and V Corps, they made efforts to cut off the remaining Confederate supply lines--the South Side and the Richmond and Danville Railroads. At 3 a.m., Ayres's division led the V Corps on the march south through Arthur's Swamp.¹⁸

As was all too often the case when troops moved, it started to rain. Griffin's, then Crawford's divisions followed Ayres over the swampy ground. Artillery and ambulances made slow progress through the mud. Ayres's men forded a branch of Arthur's Swamp and continued to Rowanty Creek, where they brushed aside Confederate pickets. The Federals crossed the creek on Monk's Neck Bridge and continued to the Chapple House along the Old (Dinwiddie) Stage and Vaughan Roads. At 8 a.m., Ayres's men reached Dinwiddie Court House where they halted and rested until noon.¹⁹

The march resumed. Griffin's men took the lead, followed by Ayres's, and continued along the Vaughan Road to the Quaker Road, with intentions of

¹⁷ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 502-5.

¹⁸ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 288.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 288-89.

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joining the II Corps on the Boydton Plank Road. Griffin's division encountered Confederate forces on the Quaker Road, about a half-mile south of the Boydton Plank Road junction.²⁰

Griffin's men pitched into four Confederate brigades, which had come out of their trenches about a mile north along White Oak Road. The 5th New York, along with the rest of Winthrop's brigade, advanced in support of the First Division. The Federals drove the Confederate troops back to their works in the fight known as Lewis's Farm. Tilney commented: "We have had some success. . . . took possession of the Boydton plank road, one more step to the Southside railroad."²¹

That night, Griffin's and Ayres's troops made camp in the woods along the Quaker Road from north to south. Crawford's division bivouacked west of the Quaker Road along the Boydton Plank Road. After sunset, heavy wind and a rainstorm made the mired roads impassable for wagons and artillery. The exhausted Zouaves slept, despite the drenching rain and the tree branches falling around them.²²

The rain continued on March 30. At 7:30 a.m., Griffin advanced his skirmishers through a thick fog in an attempt to locate the enemy position. As the mist lifted, skirmishers found Confederates occupying rifle-pits in front of the White Oak Road. The Zouaves were also on the move. After munching some hardtack and gulping steaming cups of coffee, the troops of Ayres's division reconnoitered the ground northwest of the Boydton Plank Road. Winthrop's

²⁰ Ibid.; Ed Bearss and Chris Calkins, *The Battle of Five Forks* (Lynchburg, 1985), 23.

²¹ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 288-89; Tilney, *My Life*, 198.

²² Brainard, *Campaigns*, 289.

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brigade went ahead as skirmishers. Their extended lines ran from the Dabney house on the left to the First Division skirmishers on the right. The Zouaves came against the Confederate trenches; operations ground to a halt when no artillery could be advanced over the road to support an attack. The 5th New York and the rest of Winthrop's brigade made camp near the Dabney house.²³

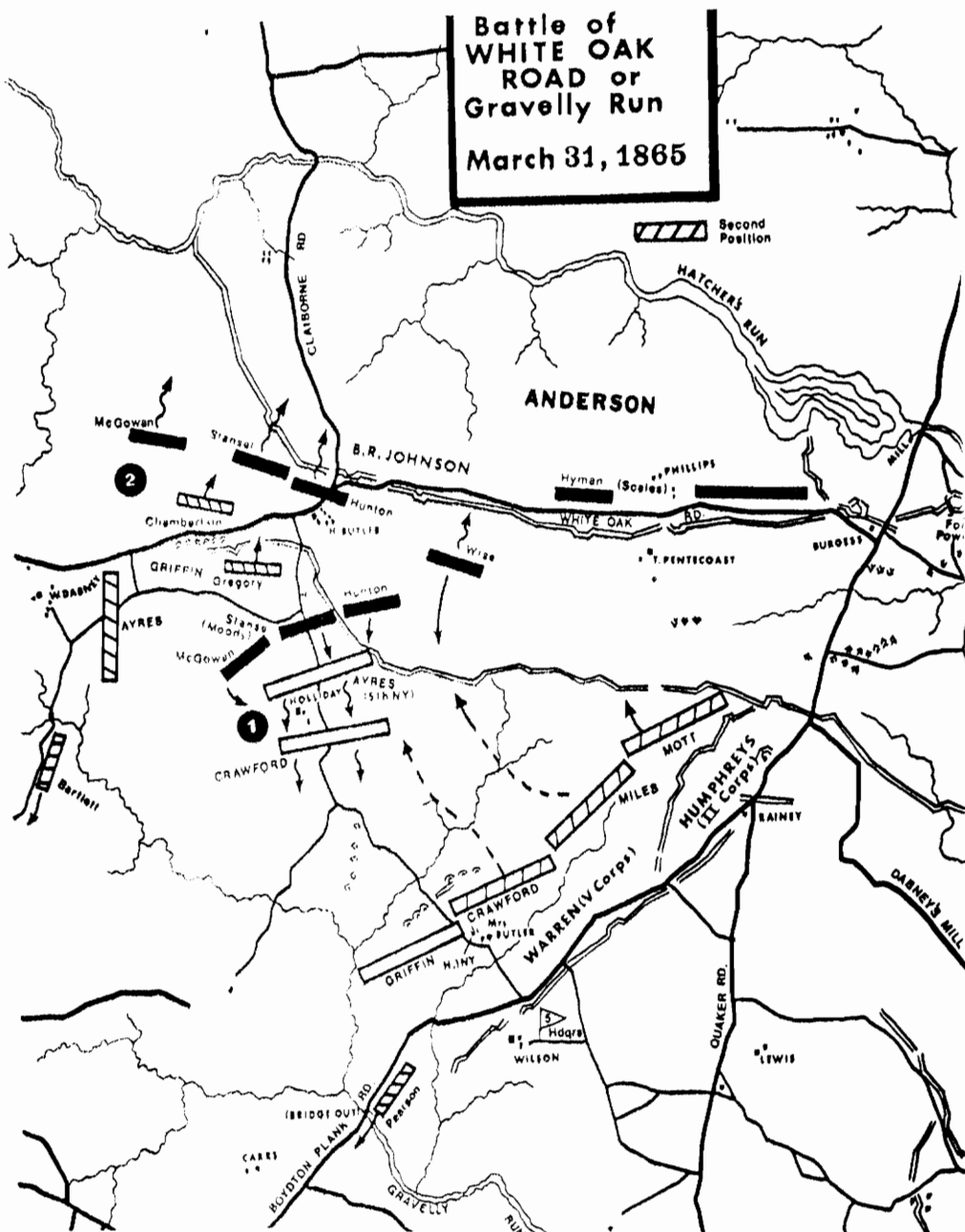
On the morning of the 31st, Ayres concentrated his men in a field east of the Dabney house. Ayres placed the Second Brigade on the left, the Third Brigade in the center, and Winthrop's First Brigade on the right. The 140th relieved the 146th New York on the picket line in front of Winthrop's brigade. Winthrop's men, in Halter Butler's elevated open field, could see a large number of Confederates occupying the works along the White Oak Road a half-mile to the front. The quickest route for the Southerners to reinforce their forces to the west, in the direction of Five Forks, was via the White Oak Road. General Warren ordered Ayres to advance his division and occupy the road west of the Confederate trenches, with one brigade to dig in facing the enemy breastworks. The Zouaves began to make themselves comfortable, when orders arrived directing Winthrop to take the brigade forward. At 1 p.m., the brigade advanced. Soon, to their chagrin, the men noticed that they were advancing alone. Ayres's other two brigades, along with one from the Third Division, remained behind in support. Outnumbered, the obedient Zouaves and heavy artillerymen started forward in line of battle at a double-quick.²⁴

²³ Powell, *Fifth*, 778; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 289-90.

²⁴ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 290-91; Chris Calkins, "Hold Five Forks at all Hazards!," *Blue and Gray Magazine*, IX (April 1992) 4: 12.

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The 5th New York occupied the left flank of the charging line, with the 15th New York Heavy Artillery in the center and the 146th New York Zouaves on the right. The three units passed through the skirmish line of their



Map 9. White Oak Road, March 31, 1865. (Source: Ed Bearss and Chris Calkins, *The Battle of Five Forks* (Lynchburg, 1985), 49.)

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comrades in the 140th New York Zouaves, and continued forward. Bullets and shells tore into the Zouaves and the artillerymen, but the line continued to advance unbroken. From horseback, Winthrop urged the men forward. Casualties increased as the range closed. As Winthrop's thinned-down brigade approached within seventy-five feet of the enemy works, three Confederate brigades poured a heavy fire into the New Yorkers.²⁵

General Eppa Hutton's brigade met the Yankee attack head-on, while McGowan's and Gracie's brigades struck at Winthrop's front and flank. The 5th New York had out-paced the other two regiments, and hit the Confederate works first, followed by the 15th and 146th. Each New York regiment was repulsed in turn. Captain Henry Schickhardt, the 5th's commander, reported that the Duryée Zouaves "advanced to within thirty yards of the enemy works, when we were met unexpectedly by the enemy in force in our front and on our left flank, which compelled us to fall back." The companies fell into confusion, but Winthrop and his staff got the men back in ranks, then commenced to retreat. Gwyn's brigade, the nearest in support, also retired. When the New Yorkers reached the supporting brigade from Crawford's Third Division, the supports fired a ragged volley, then took to their heels.²⁶

As Winthrop's brigade fell back for nearly a mile, the Confederate troops followed them, working into the flanks of the remainder of Ayres's division. Soon the whole division gave way before the jubilant Confederates. When Ayres recoiled, the rest of Crawford's division became caught in the

²⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 291; Calkins, "Hold Five Forks," 12.

²⁶ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 291-92; Powell, *Fifth*, 782; Regimental Books; *O.R.*, XLVI, Pt. 1: 873.

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retreat. Both divisions continued to fall back, crossing Gravelly Run where Griffin's division was waiting. The First Division held firm. The Southerner counterattack stalled.²⁷

The three units of Winthrop's brigade engaged in the fight had all sustained severe losses. The 5th and 15th New York incurred heavier casualties than the 146th. The 5th counted eight enlisted men killed, one officer and 24 enlisted men wounded, and 30 men missing, for a total loss of 63. The 15th lost twice as many men as the 5th, the regiment being twice as large. The 146th incurred about fifty casualties. As skirmishers, the 140th sustained the fewest casualties in the brigade--under fifty--its fighting being done after the charge and repulse of the other three regiments.²⁸

That night, Winthrop's brigade rested along the muddy Boydton Plank Road. The unusually dark night concluded a strenuous and bloody day. The men's spirits were low, yet the weary could not rest. At 12:30 a.m. on April 1, the troops were ordered to fall in and began to march in support of Sheridan's cavalry, which had spent the day fighting near Dinwiddie Court House. The extreme darkness and muddy roads made for a slow and difficult night march. The V Corps tramped south along the Boydton Plank Road toward Dinwiddie Court House. Sheridan's troopers faced Southern infantry and cavalry forces commanded by Gen. George Pickett, who occupied a strong position. The Confederate flanks were unprotected except for a cavalry screen. Sensing an opportunity, Sheridan sent word for Warren to turn the V Corps west on the White Oak Road, and strike Pickett's left flank. During the night, Federal

²⁷ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 292.

²⁸ Regtl. Books; Phisterer, *New York*, 1149, 1769, 3616, 3688.

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Gen. Joseph Bartlett's brigade from the First Division of the V Corps arrived in the rear of the Southern left. As a result, the Confederates withdrew northward to a new position at Five Forks. At daybreak, after covering four difficult miles, Ayres's division had the lead. When the Federals approached, the Confederates encamped along the road quickly moved out. Deeming it unwise to follow, Ayres ordered a halt for his tired men.²⁹

At noon, the rest of the V Corps arrived. Orders came for an assault. The attack was designed to isolate Pickett's Confederates at Five Forks from the rest of their army, destroy or drive them west, and cut the last supply line running into Petersburg--the South Side Railroad. Crawford's and Griffin's divisions deployed to the right of the Gravelly Run Church Road. They were to assault the left flank of the Confederate line at the "return" or angle, the strongest part of the enemy position. Ayres's division was formed to the left of the road. Exhausted by the previous day's fighting, Warren assigned Ayres's men to stop Confederate reinforcements from reaching the angle when they were needed. Sheridan's cavalry hoped to pin down the Confederate line in front while Warren's V Corps assaulted the left flank of Pickett's force. The V Corps had orders to advance to the White Oak Road and left wheel forming a right angle with the road, then charge and roll up the Confederate flank.³⁰

While the V Corps troops formed, Brevet Gen. Winthrop approached Gen. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, the battle-scarred professor-turned-soldier who commanded a brigade in Griffin's First Division. "Dear old fellow, have you managed to bring up anything to eat?" Winthrop asked; "We moved

²⁹ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 292; Regtl. Books.

³⁰ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 293; Regtl. Books.

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so suddenly I had to leave everything. I have had scarcely a mouthful to-day."³¹

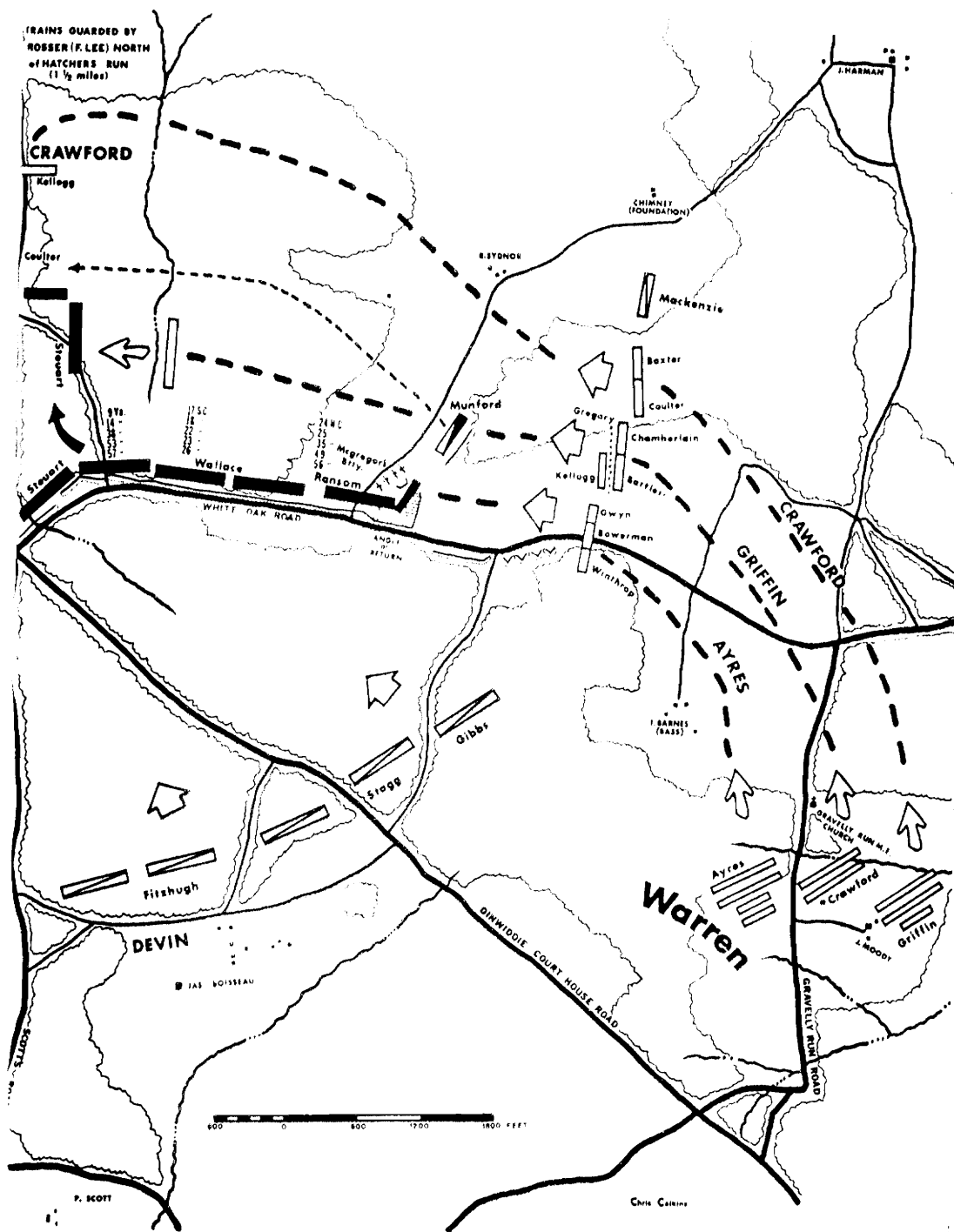
Chamberlain quickly sent an orderly to scrounge up any available food. "The best was poor, and there was not much of it," recalled Chamberlain. "We sat there on a log, close behind the lines, and acted as host and guest, while he opened his heart to me as men will quite differently from their common custom, under the shadow of a forecasting presence. It was a homely scene and humblest fare, but ever to be held in memory as the last supper of high companionship and vision of the higher. Half an hour afterwards, in the flame and whirl of battle, leading his brigade like a demigod, as in a chariot of fire he was lifted to his like."³²

Ayres's formed his division with Bowerman's and Gwyn's brigades in the advance, and Winthrop's brigade in reserve. Winthrop's troops formed two lines. The 5th New York was in front, immediately to the rear of the 210th Pennsylvania of Gwyn's brigade. On the right of the 5th was the 15th New York Heavy Artillery. To the rear of the 5th was the 146th New York, with the 140th to their right. At 4 p.m., the V Corps fixed bayonets and with the command "Foreword," advanced about a mile across wooded terrain cut by ravines. Confederate skirmishers were quickly brushed aside. Pushing through a screen of wood, the First and Third divisions over-marched their objective, unaware that the Confederate works did not extend as far east as

³¹ Joshua Chamberlain, *Passing of the Armies: An Account of the Final Campaign of the Army of the Potomac, Based upon Personal Reminiscences of the Fifth Army Corps* (New York, 1915); reprint (Dayton, 1981), 123-24.

³² Ibid.

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Map 10. Five Forks (V Corps action), April 1, 1865. (Source: Ed Bearss and Chris Calkins, *The Battle of Five Forks* (Lynchburg, 1985), right half of appendix map.)

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supposed. Things were different for Ayres's division. Artillery and musket fire raked the left flank after crossing the White Oak Road. Desperately the officers tried to rectify the faulty deployment and turn the lines to face the enemy.³³

With some confusion Winthrop's brigade faced left, Bowerman aligning to its right and Gwyn forming the reserve. After the men advanced down a hill and through swampy ground, they spotted Confederate trenches through the undergrowth. Calm and cool, possibly even smoking a cigar, Winthrop ordered his brigade to charge the enemy position. Thick underbrush and abatis hindered the progress of the New Yorkers as lead and iron tore into their ranks. Yet the men were only temporarily held in check. Winthrop was on horseback and in the lead. He ordered his men to double-quick. They resumed the charge cheering as they went. One witness recalled that Winthrop's men assaulted the Confederate breastworks "with such gallantry that the enemy did not have time to escape."³⁴

Winthrop's onrushing brigade broke through the Confederate works at their strongest point, the "angle" or "return," defended by Gen. Matthew Ransom's North Carolina brigade. Regimental and national colors crested the Confederate entrenchments as Zouaves and heavy artillerymen scrambled over the earthworks. Captain Axel Leatz, decked out in white trousers, galloped

³³ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 293; Bearss and Calkins, *Five Forks*, 74 and map appendix.

³⁴ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 294; Bearss and Calkins, *Five Forks*, map appendix; *Official Records* (reprint), "Proceedings of Court of Inquiry in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel G. K. Warren, Corps of Engineers, Late Major-General U.S. Volunteers, Commanding the Fifth Army Corps" (Wilmington, 1995), 211. Frederick S. White, *The National Tribune*, "Battle of Five Forks," March 26, 1903.

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headlong beside Winthrop. The brigade commander, spurring his horse over the works, was shot in the left lung and fell from the saddle. After a flurry of hand-to-hand fighting at the angle, those men of the 24th, 25th, 35th, 49th, and 56th North Carolina who had not been captured started to flee.³⁵

Grieving men of his brigade carried Winthrop to the rear on a stretcher. The dying commander lapsed into delirium. "Captain Weaver, how is that line?" he shouted, "Has the attack succeeded?" Upon reaching a surgeon, Winthrop remarked: "Doctor, I am done for," then he commanded, "Straighten the line!" and died.³⁶

As comrades bore Winthrop from the field, Col. James Grindlay of the 146th New York assumed command of the brigade and reformed its disordered ranks. The men again wheeled to the left and poured a murderous fire into the disintegrating Confederate flank. Fresh Southern troops arrived, but were quickly repulsed. Again the brigade drove the Confederates, advancing about a mile. With darkness falling, the 5th New York and rest of the brigade moved about four miles to the rear and bivouacked for the night.³⁷

Elsewhere on the field, the Union troops were uniformly successful. General Warren, upon seeing Griffin's and Crawford's divisions overmarching the point of assault, personally redirected them. When Crawford's men went far past the Confederate left flank, Warren moved to correct the error and led Crawford's troops in an assault against the Confederate rear. At the climax of the charge, "Cap," Warren's white horse, given to him by

³⁵ Bearss and Calkins, *Five Forks*, map appendix; Axel Leatz, Pension File.

³⁶ Joseph W. Morton, Jr., *Sparks from the Camp Fire or Tales of the Old Veterans* (Philadelphia, 1892), 341.

³⁷ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 295; Regtl. Books.

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Cleveland Winslow, was shot beneath the corps commander. Simultaneously, a bullet killed one of Warren's orderlies. Warren was getting to his feet, amid a hail of bullets, when Lt. Col. Hollon Richardson of the 7th Wisconsin stepped between the general and the enemy and suffered a severe wound. Meanwhile, Sheridan's dismounted cavalry broke through the Southern lines, then mounted, and pursued the retreating Confederates until dark. The V Corps remained on the field.³⁸

In this stunning victory at Five Forks, Winthrop's brigade captured four flags, inflicted dozens of casualties, and captured over 1,000 prisoners, while sustaining only four fatalities and thirty-seven wounded. In addition to Brevet Brig. Gen. Winthrop, the 5th New York lost eight enlisted men wounded. After his death, the army breveted Winthrop major general for gallant conduct at Five Forks.³⁹

Captain Schickhardt commanded the regiment "with much gallantry" until after his men carried the breastworks, reported Lt. Col. William Findlay Drum, who took charge of the 5th at that point. Upon his arrival from New York, Gen. Ayres sent Col. Drum to take over command of the Zouaves. Drum, a U.S. Regular officer formerly in charge of the V Corps Ambulance Trains, had nothing but praise for his new command. "The officers behaved with gallantry, and deserve much credit for their exertions to keep the men up, while making so rapid an advance," wrote Drum. He similarly praised the men in the ranks: "It is also due the enlisted men of the regiment to say during the

³⁸ CSR; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 294-95.

³⁹ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 294-95; Bearss and Calkins, *Five Forks*, 131; Phisterer, *New York*, 176; CSR.

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fight and rapid advance following, they displayed much spirit and endurance."⁴⁰

Elation filled the New Yorkers. One day after the repulse at White Oak Road the men of Winthrop's brigade, despite little food, sleep, and rest, achieved their greatest victory of the war. At Five Forks, Winthrop's men killed, wounded, and captured nearly as many Confederates as they had in their own brigade, while themselves suffering less than one-twentieth as many casualties. They realized the end of the war was fast approaching. As artillery Col. Wainwright wrote of Five Forks: "This has been the most momentous day of the war so far, I think; a glorious day; a day of real victory."⁴¹

Despite the success, the loss of their commander in the battle dampened the Zouaves' spirits. General Griffin remarked: "This victory is not worth Winthrop's life." Colonel Wainwright, too, was crestfallen: "In the very middle of these thousand prisoners, captured by his own brigade, came poor Winthrop; dead or at least very nearly dead, quite insensible and borne on the shoulders of four of his own men. . . . It was a glorious death to die, in the very moment of victory; a glorious funeral procession, the victor's body surrounded by prisoners he had captured. But very sad to be shot down so young, so beloved, so promising, just as the fight appears to be closing, and after having gone through four years of it unscathed."⁴²

⁴⁰ Regtl. Books; Powell, *Fifth*, 722 and 745; CSR. After months of letter writing Drum secured his discharge from the Regulars. The thirty-one-year-old joined the 5th New York during the Battle of Five Forks.

⁴¹ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 510.

⁴² Morton, *Sparks*, 342; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 512.

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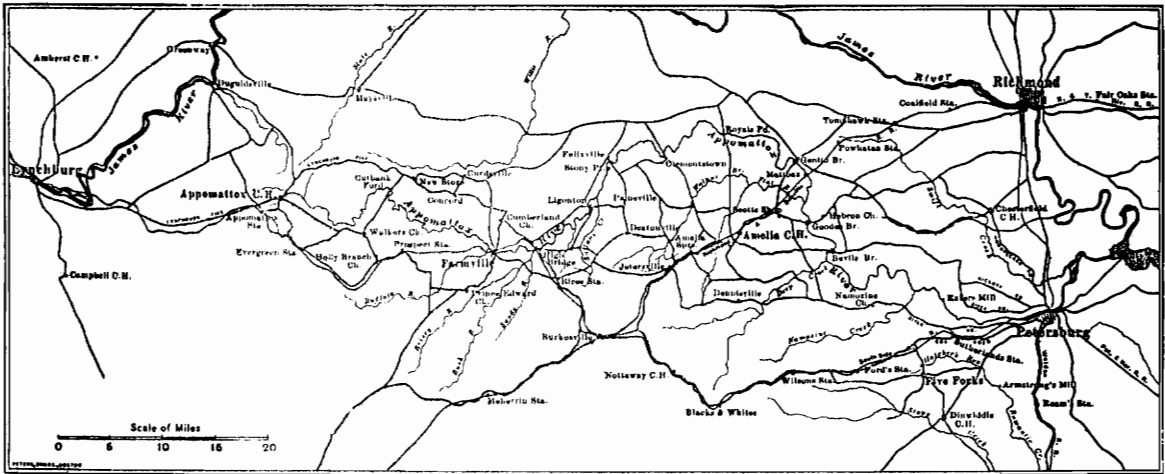
Additional bad news reached the Zouaves when they learned that Sheridan, with Grant's backing, had relieved Warren of command of the V Corps. Like Winthrop, the Zouaves' revered corps commander lost his crowning glory at the apex of victory. Sheridan, enraged that Griffin's and Crawford's divisions had missed their assigned mark, sacked Warren on the spot and placed Griffin in command of the corps. This action stunned and outraged the troops.

One of Warren's brothers serving with Winthrop's Brigade wrote: "The relieving of Gouv has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the command. It is a mystery to us all why he was relieved after the fighting was over and the day won." The men of the 5th New York regretted the loss of the general who had forged the old regiment and had always looked on the new regiment with a favorable eye. Whatever his faults, it seemed cruel indeed to disgrace the hero of Little Round Top after the attainment of a great victory and with the end of the war so imminent.⁴³

The Federal victory at Five Forks necessitated Lee's withdrawal of troops from Petersburg. On the morning of April 2, while the V Corps attended to the dead and wounded, Federal cavalry cut the South Side Railroad. Grant launched successful assaults against the city with the II, VI, XI, and parts of the XXIV Corps, as the Confederate troops attempted to evacuate Petersburg. The same

⁴³ Taylor, *Life and Letters*, 232. Warren had the habit of not always moving as promptly as expected, he failed to adhere strictly to orders, he had several heated confrontations with Meade, and undoubtedly still had a high regard for McClellan. Yet Warren was a capable general who held the respect of his men, and was known as the Savior of Little Round Top stemming from his actions at Gettysburg. When Sheridan returned from the Shenandoah Valley with his cavalry, Grant had his tool to remove Warren. Although Five Forks was a victory, Sheridan made it the time to relieve Warren. On Nov. 21, 1882, a court of inquiry exonerated Warren of any wrong doing. He died on Aug. 8, 1882.

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Map 11. Appomattox Campaign Map. (Source: Morris Schaff, *The Sunset of the Confederacy* (Boston 1912), Appendix.)

day, Robert Tilney recorded: "Victory! Victory! Our troops are in Petersburg! It was carried by assault this morning, after fifteen hours' bombardment. Yesterday we thrashed the rebels outside."⁴⁴

At noon of April 2, the V Corps marched north, then west to cut the Army of Northern Virginia's line of retreat. The march proceeded on the Ford Road, across Hatcher's Run to the South Side Railroad and the Cox Road leading into Petersburg. Chamberlain's and Gregory's brigades from Bartlett's First Division deployed and drove back Confederate forces who retarded the advance. The V Corps troops gained Church Road Crossing and captured a train of railroad cars. They then moved along the Cox Road and turned onto the Namozine Road. The corps bivouacked that night near Sutherland Station.⁴⁵

On April 3, with the cavalry in the lead, the V Corps pursued the enemy. At the same time, to the northeast, Federal troops entered Richmond. Griffin's men marched west along the Namozine Road, crossing Namozine Creek on an

⁴⁴ Tilney, *My Life*, 198-99.

⁴⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 296-97.

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improvised bridge made by engineers, closely pursuing the disintegrating enemy column. The Zouaves found the road littered with discarded Confederate equipment, wagons, and artillery pieces. Exhausted and famished Southern stragglers emerged from the woods, surrendering with hopes of receiving rations. After covering about twenty-five miles, the V Corps halted at Deep Creek. Some footsore men bathed in the cold stream, while most quickly fell asleep. During the day, Gen. Joseph Hayes, recently exchanged from prison, arrived to take command the brigade. Much of Winthrop's staff, including Capt. Axel Leatz, remained to serve Hayes.⁴⁶

At 4:30 a.m. on April 4, the march resumed. At 5:30 p.m., after marching another twenty-five miles by way of Dennisville, the V Corps reached Jetersville. These Federals severed the Richmond and Danville Railroad. More importantly, the V Corps and the cavalry advanced west and slightly south positioning them in front of Lee's army at Amelia Court House. After cooking their meager rations, the V Corps troops began to build breastworks preparing for an expected Confederate assault. Griffin's Corps intended to sustain their position and hoped to stop the Confederates from breaking through, or at least hold until the II and VI Corps could arrive in support. If the Confederates were able to pierce the V Corps, they would have a chance to move south to Danville, resupply, then link forces with Gen. Joseph Johnston in North Carolina. Griffin was determined to hold the position. The men worked long into the night improving their breastworks. Finally, the exhausted Zouaves snatched a few hours of precious sleep.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid, 297; Powell, *Fifth*, 771; Axel Leatz, Pension File.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 298; CSR.

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Early on April 5, the men continued strengthening the position. They finished their task by noon, then collapsed behind the works for a much needed rest. At 2:30 p.m., Gen. Andrew Humphrey's long expected II Corps arrived. The Confederate army had missed its chance to cut through the unsupported V Corps. Pressure by Federal forces caused Lee to move his army west out of Amelia Court House, north of the V and II Corps' positions at Jetersville. The Confederates then headed toward Farmville.⁴⁸

On the evening of April 5, Cpl. Robert Tilney dashed off a letter to a friend, by the light of a burning fence rail. Tilney remarked: "like the Confederacy, I am nearly 'gone up' . . . we are having such a busy time with forced marches . . . I have not been able to write." He continued: "What splendid events have been crowded into these last nine days! . . . By long and rapid marches we have reached this station [Jetersville] on the Danville railroad, and cut off the enemy's retreat; and they will either have to evade us or surrender. Our cavalry has been busy all day, and brought in an enormous number of teams. . . . Oh the captured flags, which have been pouring down the road! It is really astonishing; we have whole regiments guarding prisoners. A splendid battery of Whitworth guns, quite new, was taken to-day. There will be precious little left of the Army of Northern Virginia by the time we are done with it." Tilney added: "The troops are in capital spirits and trim; the cheering on all sides is deafening. . . . We are having splendid weather now; beautiful moonlight nights and warm days."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Tilney, *My Life*, 199-200.

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At 6 a.m. on April 6, the weather had turned colder as the V Corps once again moved out leading the infantry in pursuit of Lee's army. Griffin's men gained the Prideville Road and headed west via Paineville to Ligintown Ferry on the south bank of the Appomattox River. Through the course of the day, elements of the Army of the Potomac marched thirty-two miles, the longest march in V Corps history. Along the way, the Zouaves continued to see more signs of the continuing disintegration of the once vaunted Army of Northern Virginia. During the day, the II and VI Corps, along with cavalry, surrounded and captured approximately 8,000 Confederates southeast of Farmville at Sailor's Creek. Colonel Wainwright recorded: "After three o'clock we could not only hear them, but distinctly see the smoke of their guns, . . . we pushed the men as hard as it was possible for the men to go."⁵⁰

At 5:30 a.m., April 7, the march resumed. Turning southwest, the V Corps covered eighteen miles, crossed Bush Creek and encamped near Prince Edward Court House. The men found the day's march easy compared to the one the day before, though they were on the road longer. It was after 11 p.m. before many troops bedded down. Colonel Wainwright commented: "I . . . was so completely tired out that I went to bed supperless sooner than lose half an hour sleep."⁵¹

The 8th brought another day of marching. Early in the morning, the V Corps started from the area of Prince Edward Court House and passed by Hampden and Sydney College. After marching four miles, the infantrymen became perturbed by a two-hour halt, caused by Gen. George Custer's Cavalry

⁵⁰ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 298-99; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 520.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

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division passing to the front. The men continued trodding west. They gained the South Side Railroad at Prospect Station, then fell in line of march behind Gen. Edward O. C. Ord's Army of the James. Cavalry advanced in front of the infantry. The V Corps marched until 2 a.m., nearly duplicating their feat of April 6 by covering twenty-nine miles. Griffin's men went into camp about three miles west of Appomattox Station, where earlier in the evening Custer's cavalry division had captured Confederate supply trains and numerous artillery pieces.⁵²

At 4 a.m., April 9, Palm Sunday, reveille sounded. Shortly thereafter the sleepy-eyed Zouaves stumbled into line and began to march toward Appomattox Court House. West of the tiny hamlet, Confederate Gen. John Gordon's II Corps and Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry Corps were driving back Col. Charles Smith's brigade of Federal cavalry in attempt to open their line of retreat to the west. The Army of the James moved in direct support of the cavalry. Ayres's division formed to the right of the XXIV Corps. Bartlett's division aligned to the right of Ayres and Crawford's men formed the reserve. The 5th New York with Hayes's brigade formed the right of Ayres's division, adjoining Bartlett's division. Immediately to Hayes's left was Col. David Stanton's brigade followed by Gwyn's.⁵³

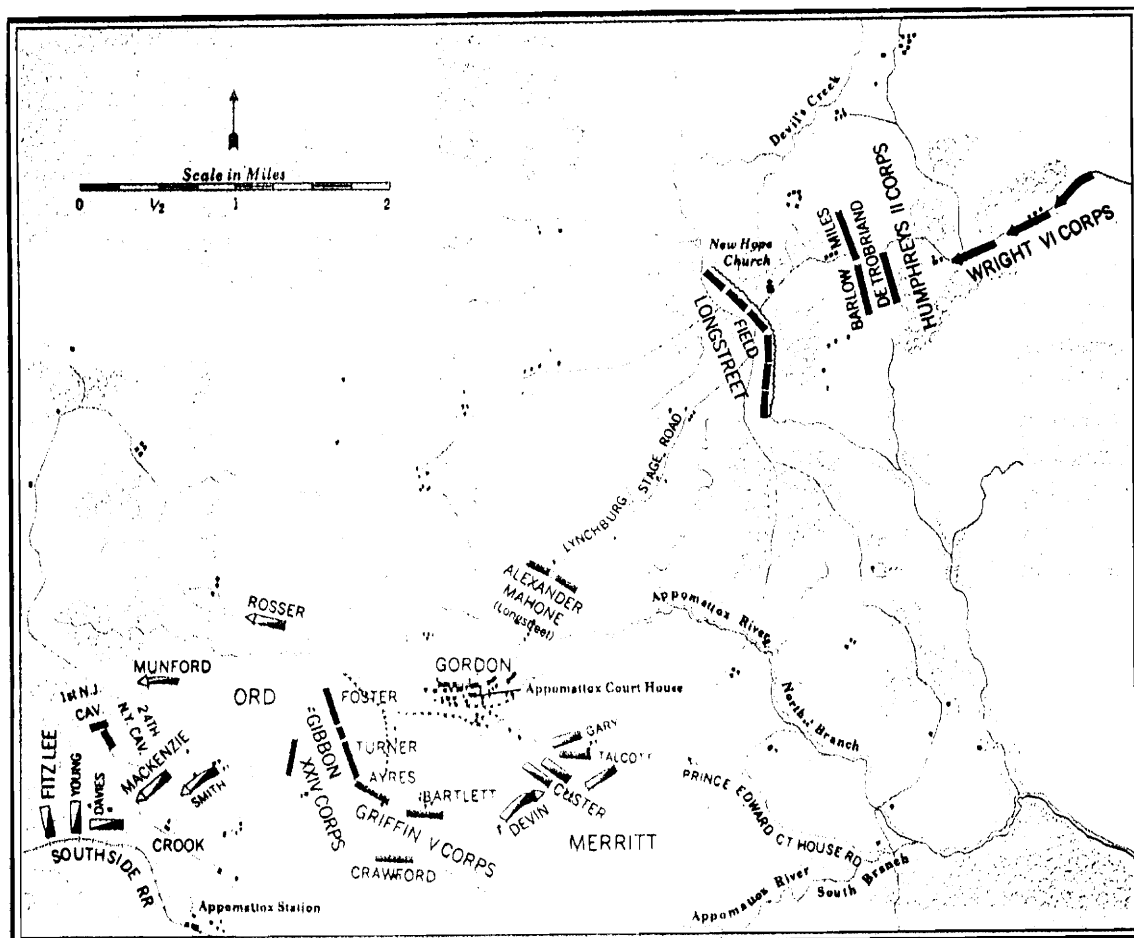
Once the V Corps was ready, the lines advanced at the double quick. The Army of the James engaged the Confederates to the V Corps' left and started to drive them. The V Corps skirmishers also engaged the Confederates and

⁵² Brainard, *Campaigns*, 299; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 520.

⁵³ Ibid; Chris Calkins, *The Battles of Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, April 8-9, 1865* (Lynchburg, 1987), Appendix-Battle Map.

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pushed them back. Ayres's division charged down a hillside and crossed a field south of Plain Run. Moving at trail arms, the division passed over some skirmishers. The pressure proved too great for the Confederate troops. They



Map 12. Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865. (Source: Jerry Korn, *Pursuit to Appomattox* (Alexandria, 1987), 138.)

withdrew through the village of Appomattox Court House followed by V Corps skirmishers. As Hayes's brigade prepared to charge the Confederate artillery

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pieces deployed in George Peers's yard, a Confederate officer with a white flag appeared in front of the V Corps. Other white flags sprang up along other portions of the Confederates lines.⁵⁴

Federals halted. Hayes's brigade remained in line of battle for about an hour, when they received orders to stack arms and rest in place. Exhausted men dropped to the ground. Both armies remained poised for a resumption of the fighting, while Generals Grant and Lee met at the home of Wilmer McLean. Grant's men had effectively surrounded the Confederate troops. Lee saw no recourse but to surrender. Sixty thousand Federal soldiers bristled on three sides of the 28,231 survivors of the Army of Northern Virginia. In little over a week, Grant's forces had killed, wounded or captured approximately 30,000 Confederates. Other Southern soldiers simply walked away.⁵⁵

Just after 3 p.m., news of the official surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia reached the V Corps. The Federals reacted with joyful exuberance. The moment was especially heartfelt by the handful of 5th New York Zouaves who had served all four years of the war. On April 9, what they had been fighting so long and hard for was finally accomplished. About an hour before dark, the Union troops received a copy of Grant's stipulations for the Confederate surrender. After hours of unbounded jubilation, with rain falling, many of the men in the brigade drifted off to a happy, exhausted sleep. Colonel Wainwright recorded: "How thankful the infantry must be that there is no picket duty! I am going for a twelve hour sleep."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 300; O. R., XLVI, Pt. 1, 1277-79; William G. Nine and Ronald G. Wilson, *The Appomattox Paroles April 9-15, 1865* (Lynchburg, 1989).

⁵⁶ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 300; Nevins, *Wainwright*, 522.

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On April 10, another rainy day, in a letter headed Appomattox Court-House, Cpl. Robert Tilney summed up the campaign: "We have had a very hard time since leaving the Southside Railroad; marching from 6:00 o'clock in the morning to 11:00 or 12:00 o'clock at night; but what glorious results! General Lee yesterday surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at this place, and the Army of the Potomac has now no enemy to run after or fight. What a glorious campaign this has been! From the very first, success has been with us, and in twelve days from the time we moved the rebel army is no more. Our captures along the road were enormous."⁵⁷

Tilney was right, Grant had weakened Lee's army, then when the evacuation of Petersburg commenced, he hounded the Confederate army every step of its retreat until it was surrounded. Tilney speculated on what the V Corps might do next: "Perhaps we shall be divided up and sent off to other parts, if the rest of the Confederate armies do not surrender before, or if Davis will not give up the ship, as it is more than probable he will." Later that day, Tilney wandered into the village of Appomattox Court House to witness the surrender of the Southern cavalry and the paroling of Confederate soldiers.⁵⁸

On April 11, as steady rain persisted, Ayres's division remained in camp near Appomattox Court House. The laborious paroling of Confederate soldiers continued. Orders were issued directing all patrols and guards to respect the parole passes presented by the former Confederate soldiers. Meanwhile, fraternizing between Confederate and Union soldiers, which had been going

⁵⁷ Tilney, *My Life*, 200.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 200-1.

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on since the surrender--particularly among the officers--continued with surprising good will.⁵⁹

On April 12, Gen. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and the First Division of the V Corps had the honor of receiving the ceremonial stacking of arms of the Confederate infantry. The division lined both sides of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. Chamberlain's line ran from a point near the Appomattox River extending west to Wilmer McLean's home. The ceremony took most of the day. Many Federal soldiers from the rest of the V Corps and the Army of the James wandered into town to witness the solemn, tearful proceedings. The same day, Gen. Ayres deemed it appropriate to announce officially to the division the death of Bvt. Brig. Gen. Frederick Winthrop, former colonel of the 5th New York. Ayres eulogized Winthrop: "Young, Gallant, and True, he sought promotion only through his merits; and received it for his skill and courage on the battlefield. He fell mortally wounded, just as his brigade was gallantly charging the enemy's breastworks; and, in the moment of triumph, freely laid down his life for his country. His dying thoughts were for his comrades, and his last anxious inquiries were concerning the fate of the day; and as the trophies of victory--prisoners and flags--were borne past him, he died content." Ayres ordered that all the officers in the division wear a black mourning badge in memory of Winthrop.⁶⁰

As the troops mourned in the field, Winthrop's funeral was taking place in New York. At 3 p.m., the 12th, 22nd, and 71st New York regiments escorted

⁵⁹ Misc. Regtl. Papers.

⁶⁰ Misc. Regtl. Papers.

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the flag-draped coffin through the city streets. Pall-bearers consisted of four generals, including Warren, three lieutenant colonels, and one captain. "A more imposing cortege has rarely been seen on Broadway," recorded the *New York Times*. Thousands of distinguished and common people witnessed the elaborate procession making its way to Trinity Church. After formalities inside the overcrowded church, the coffin was carried to a vault where Companies B and F of the 71st New York fired three volleys to conclude the solemn occasion.⁶¹

By April 13, the Federal troops remaining near Appomattox Court House became bored, apprehensive, and uncomfortable. It had rained for nearly four days. The men of the V Corps had been without rations for two days and without mail for nine days. By the 15th, all of the Confederate soldiers had been paroled and started on their way home. During all the proceedings, one 5th New Yorker had a prominent role. Captain Paul A. Oliver with the Provost Marshal's office for the Army of the Potomac, among others, worked with Gen. George Sharpe paroling the Army of Northern Virginia. Oliver had the distinguished honor of carrying the duplicate parole roster to Lee's headquarters.⁶²

Around noon on April 15, the V Corps took up the march for Washington via Richmond. Early in the afternoon of April 16, the Corps crossed the Appomattox River and halted in Farmville where, at 4 p.m., tragic news struck like a thunderbolt. An assassin had killed President Abraham Lincoln. Many soldiers were shocked and grief-stricken, feeling as if they had lost a best

⁶¹ *New York Times*, Apr. 13, 1865.

⁶² Brainard, *Campaigns*, 301; Tilney, *My Life*, 201; Oliver Papers.

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friend. Robert Tilney expressed their sense of loss when he wrote: "What an awful thing that assassination was; it is a terrible blow to the country. It has quite damped [sic] our joy at our glorious successes."⁶³

The assassination also agitated the men. Quartermaster Sergeant Wilbur Rossell wrote his sister: "The death of President Lincoln, what a sad time for north & south. I can't tell how I feel on the subject. I only wish I had his murderer turned over to me for Humane Treatment. I hope President Johnson will do as he says he will, deal sternly with all traitors. The boys don't like the assassination any better than I do, all get very wild when they talk about it."⁶⁴

On the morning of April 17, the V Corps again moved out. During the march the Zouaves meditated on the assassination. Robert Tilney again reflected on Lincoln's death: "I am sorry that our noble President met with so sad a fate. Had he been accidentally killed it would have grieved me greatly, but to be murdered,--it is too bad, just as victory was attending all our efforts, and when his firm and honest principles were so much needed to pave the way for reconciliation."⁶⁵

At the end of April, a substantial number of recruits arrived to swell the ranks of the 5th New York. Sergeant Rossell commented on the camp and the new recruits to his sister: "We are settled in a nice camp just outside the town of Nottaway Court House, Va, on the Southside Rail Road. We had about two hundred seventy-five recruits arrive for the Regiment a few days ago so that we hardly know ourselves on parade." On April 28, the army received the

⁶³ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 301-2; Tilney, *My Life*, 201, 217-18.

⁶⁴ Rossell Letters, Apr. 22, 1865.

⁶⁵ Brainard, *Campaigns*, 302; Tilney, *My Life*, 218.

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official announcement of the capture and death of John Wilkes Booth and the surrender of Johnston's army. Sergeant Rossell responded to his sister's letter on the subject: "I think with you that the death of Booth was too good for him and that the sergeant that shot him had ought to have been choked. He did a very cowardly thing besides cheating the gallows of its due."⁶⁶

On May 3, the Corps passed through Petersburg in review for Gen. Warren. The General received assignment to command of the city after his relief at Five Forks. As each regiment passed Gen. Warren on the reviewing stand in front of the Bolingbroke House, it gave a chorus of hurrahs for the disgraced but revered former commander. The corps continued toward Richmond. There, on the 6th, Gen. Henry Halleck reviewed the army. May 12 was the final day of march. It began at 6 a.m. and, after covering eighteen miles, the corps made permanent camp at Four Mile Run near Falls Station along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. After pitching camp, the grimy and footsore men gladly received a much needed rest. While recovering, the troops learned of the capture of Jefferson Davis. The next day Sgt. Rossell wrote his sister: "I see by this mornings papers that Jefferson D. is captured. Andy Johnson will cook his goose."⁶⁷

As Gen. Sherman's forces arrived in Alexandria, the troops of the two very different armies mingled with each other. While the armies waited outside Washington, the troops busied themselves with turning in ammunition, polishing brass, and blackening leather for the Grand Review scheduled May 23. On May 22, the men of 5th New York received new

⁶⁶ Ibid; Tilney, *My Life*, 226; Rossell Letters, Apr. 30 and May 14, 1865.

⁶⁷ Tilney, *My Life*, 229-31; Powell, *Fifth*, 871; Rossell Letters, May 14, 1865.

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uniforms. The Zouave regalia remained the same as the last issue, almost exactly like that worn by the original 5th. Robert Tilney, who once grumbled that he would never wear the gaudy uniform, had undergone a change of heart and recorded: "The Fifth drew a new uniform to-day,--Zouave, of course,--and they look very fine; it will be a crack regiment in the Review to-morrow." The troops looked forward to the Review--a reward for all they had accomplished.⁶⁸

At 3:30 a.m. on May 23, the men of the V Corps emerged from their tents. A half hour later, the great march began. Clouds hid the stars on this crowning day. The corps crossed the Long Bridge and proceeded up Maryland Avenue to Pennsylvania Avenue, halting at East First Street at about 6 a.m. As dawn broke, the clouds dispersed and a light wind dried the muddy streets. At 9 a.m., the Grand Review of the Army of the Potomac commenced with Gen. Meade and his staff riding at the head of the column, followed by the cavalry and the Signal Corps. The IX Corps led the infantry ranks, followed by the V, and lastly the II. All units uniformly marched in company front, twenty men abreast. The army passed by President Andrew Johnson and the Cabinet in the reviewing stand in front of the White House and thousands of cheering spectators.⁶⁹

Hayes's brigade made quite a sight. Three of the four regiments wore Zouave uniforms, each of a different color and style. The men did their best to uphold their reputation. They succeeded. Bystanders were taken by the sight

⁶⁸ Tilney, *My Life*, 236-37.

⁶⁹ Nevins, *Wainwright*, 526-28; Chamberlain, *Passing*, 329; Brainard, *Campaigns*, 303.

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of the Zouave uniforms and tattered colors of the New York regiments. After the First Division of the V Corps passed, Gen. Joshua Chamberlain wrote: "But now comes in sight a form before which the tumult of applause swells in mightier volume." It was Gen. Ayres followed by his First Brigade--the New Yorkers, the once honored position of the "Regulars." Chamberlain continued: "the superb 5th, 140th, and 146th, and 15th Artillery, their equal in honor. At the head of this, on the fire swept angle at Five Forks the high-hearted Fred Winthrop fell. . . . At its head to-day rides the accomplished General Joe Hayes, scarcely recovered from dangerous wounds. . . . So they pass, those that had come to take the place of the Regulars; they pass into immortal history. Oh! good people smiling, applauding, tossing flowers, waving handkerchiefs from your lips with vicarious suggestion,--what forms do you see under that white cross, now also going its long way?"⁷⁰

With the memorable Grand Review completed, the V Corps passed over the Long Bridge and returned to Virginia. The review went splendidly. Hayes's brigade made a dashing and well disciplined appearance and received many compliments.

The Army of the Potomac never assembled en masse again. Though the war was over, the Zouaves' service had not yet ended. On the morning of June 3, orders arrived from Gen. Meade for the 5th New York to proceed immediately to Hart's Island in New York Harbor and report to Gen. John A. Dix, in command of the Department of the East. The Zouaves departed Washington that evening. Jubilant red-legs boarded cars at the Baltimore and

⁷⁰ Chamberlain, *Passing*, 345-47.

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Ohio Railroad Depot. On Monday morning, June 5th, the regiment arrived at Battery Barrack in New York City.⁷¹

While posted at Hart's Island, Col. Drum determined to see the remaining service of his colorful unit pass as quietly and comfortably as possible. He exerted himself to help the men and liberally issued passes to the city. Even so, time passed slowly. The Zouaves wanted to go home. Finally, on Aug. 10, Gen. Hooker notified Col. Drum to compile the final muster rolls pending the regiments' imminent muster out.⁷²

August 21, 1865, was an unforgettable day for the war-weary Zouaves--the climax of their military career. That day, the Zouaves received final pay and Capt. Charles T. Green mustered the regiment out of service. After two hard and trying years, the service of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteers had come to an end. The men could finally return home without a pass, and never have to return to the hardships of service. Some men had risked their lives for more than two years, a few served the entire war. For them the final disbanding of the Duryée Zouaves was a particularly joyful event.⁷³

⁷¹ Misc. Regtl. Papers; *New York Times*, June 7, 1865.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

Conclusion

Of course the Federal armies would have been victorious in the war with or without the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry, Duryée Zouaves. Yet without veteran volunteer units such as the 5th, a lack of cohesion in the army could have proved disastrous. The 5th New York was one of the first veteran volunteer organizations to reorganize and return to the field. Cleveland Winslow found it difficult convincing men who had seen the grim face of war to re-enlist.

During its two-year term of service from 1861 to 1863, the original 5th New York had distinguished itself at the battles of Big Bethel, Gaines' Mill, Second Bull Run and Fredericksburg. The regiment was a favorite of Gen. McClellan and throughout the Army of the Potomac, the 5th was recognized as one of the very best volunteer outfits. Upon mustering out in May 1863, Winslow attempted to keep the proud tradition alive. Yet, despite Winslow's best efforts, most of his old command would not re-enlist. He therefore looked to fill out the new unit with veterans from other organizations. This he did, but the quality of soldiers filling the ranks of the new 5th New York contrasted sharply with the level of discipline that had existed in the "old Fifth."

During the reorganization process, Winslow successfully led troops in helping suppress the New York City draft riots. By the fall of 1863, only four companies had been organized, and the War Department ordered Winslow's under-strengthened command into the field. Clad in Zouave uniforms of a pattern somewhat different from the garb of the original 5th, the red-legs performed guard duty in Alexandria and along the Orange and Alexandria

Railroad for the next seven months. This was a critical period for the outfit. His men did not measure up to the character of the original 5th, so Winslow constantly drilled and disciplined them to make the Zouaves reliable soldiers. He succeeded. Following an official inspection in March 1864 the Zouaves were rated the best unit in the XXII Corps. Winslow longed to take his battalion into action.

His opportunity came after the costly battles of Wilderness and Spotsylvania caused a severe need for reinforcements in the Army of the Potomac. Upon arriving at the front on June 1, 1864, Gen. Warren saw to it that Winslow was again made a full colonel by consolidating the 12th New York and 14th Brooklyn into the 5th New York. Winslow led his men into battle the next day at Bethesda Church. During a sharp engagement Winslow sustained a mortal wound and the unit suffered 106 additional casualties.

The Zouaves held their own, but it was apparent that they did not match up to the distinguished laurels held by the original 5th New York. Winslow was out of action and the role of maintaining a dependable organization fell to subordinates. Captain George Guthrie commanded the red-legs during their June 18 assault at Petersburg, but Gen. Warren had little faith in Guthrie's abilities. Warren arranged for a Regular Army officer, Frederick Winthrop, to take charge of his old unit and uphold its proud heritage. Winthrop filled the void left by Winslow and before long, Guthrie was dismissed from service. In mid-August, the red-legs made a stubborn stand in battle along the strategically vital Weldon Railroad. In three days of fighting the 5th New York lost 134 men.

The Zouaves performed duty as the Provost Guard for the V Corps, and several 5th New York officers filled staff positions at brigade and corps headquarters. Winthrop quickly rose to command the brigade and again Warren looked for a Regular Army officer to lead the Zouaves. In the meantime, Capt. Charles Montgomery capably commanded the unit until his death in the battle of Hatcher's Run on February 7, 1865. During that engagement the 5th New York fought admirably, as did Winthrop's entire brigade.

On March 31, 1865, the battle of White Oak Road was the worst engagement for the 5th New York. Winthrop's brigade advanced unsupported by other elements of the V Corps. Three Confederate brigades hit it in front and on both flanks, forcing the brigade to beat a hasty retreat. The 5th New York suffered 63 casualties. Yet the next day, at Five Forks, it was a far different story. On April 1, Winthrop's men charged and overran the strongest point of the Confederate line. The triumph yielded over 1,000 prisoners to the brigade and the Southside Railroad to the Federal forces. The victory came at a price--eight red-legs were wounded, Winthrop was killed, and Warren was relieved from command of the corps.

During the battle of Five Forks, Lt. Col. Drum, a Regular, arrived to take command of the 5th. Drum led the unit to Appomattox, to Washington for the Grand Review, and home to New York for its muster out.

The nature of the fighting had changed drastically from earlier battles in the war. By 1864 and 1865, the armies were in daily contact and at Petersburg the soldier experienced protracted siege warfare. However, the colorful Zouave uniforms did not disappear from the Federal armies as asserted

by several prominent historians. The 5th New York appeared on the first battlefield of the war at Big Bethel in Zouave attire, and the men still donned their red trousers, short trimmed jackets, leggings, sashes, and fezzes at Appomattox Court House.

The 5th New York Veteran Volunteers did not prove to be the premiere regiment that the "old Fifth" was, but the reorganized unit was nonetheless reliable in an army that was filling with conscripts and substitutes. Veteran volunteer units such as the 5th New York provided a necessary fiber for the Federal armies to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

APPENDIX

Table A: Men Who Served in the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry in 1863.[†]

Name	Co	Age	Hgt.	Born	Occupation	Previous Service
Issac D. Arron	B	29				
Joseph N. Allen	A	20	5'8"	MI	Printer	2nd MI 13th MI
William Alpers	B	24	5'10.5"	Ger	Engraver	21st NY
James Anderson	A	23	5'5.5"	Ire	Cabinetmaker	1st NY
Hiram Angiers	B	25	5'6"	Eng	Soldier	31st NY
Herman Balthazer	C	29	5'8"	Swi	Shoemaker	31st NYV
Michael Baker	A	45	5'6"	Bel	Cabinetmaker	
Abraham Banker	B	33	5'8.75"	NYC	Hatter	5th NY
John Barr	C	20	5'8"	NYC	Druggist	31st NY
Matthew Barr	C	39	5'4.25	Sco	Soldier	31st NY
Robert Barr	D	43	5'9"	Sco	Laborer	
John F. Barry	C	33	5'8.5"	Eng	Soldier	31st NY
Richard Barry	D	31	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
Levi Bassani	A	19	5'7"	GI	Farrier	
Elias Beheim	C	33	5'5"	Ger	Soldier	31st NY
George W. Bell	C	22	5'6"	NY	Clerk	31st NY
Patrick Benson	D	33	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
William Benson	B	18	5'4.5"	Eng	Harnessmakr	
Joseph Bentz	C	40	5'3"	Ger	Tailor	31st NY
John Benvanges	B	30	5'6"	Fra	Farmer	
Louis Bereless	B	18	5'5"	Ger	Clerk	
John Bird	D	16	4'9"		Musician	
Charles Bolding	A	23	5'5"	NY	Mason	
Richard Boldman	B	45	5'4.5"	Eng	Mechanic	
John F. Bone	D	21	5'6.5"	CI	Weaver	5th NY
John Bong	A	25	5'4.5"	NYC	Laborer	
Arthur Bradley	C	40	5'9.5"	Ire	Tailor	
Felix Bradley	A	21	5'3"	PA	Boatman	9th NY
Edward Brawley	C	29	5'5.5"	Ire	Cooper	31st NY
William G. Braznell	B	19				
Thomas B. Brenagan	D	26	5'8"	Ire	Laborer	
Michael Brennan	A	39	5'4.5"	Ire	Laborer	6th NY
Charles Brown	A	19	5'5"	Eng	Cigarmaker	
John J. Brown	C	24	5'10"	CI	Shoemaker	31st NY
William Brown	B	41	5'5.5'	Sco	Laborer	36th NY
Frederick Buchler	D	35				29th NY
James Burke	A	45	5'6"	Ire	Tailor	2nd NY

[†] The chart is a compilation of the regimental descriptive cards located at the National Archives, *Miscellaneous Regimental Papers*, Record Group 94, 5th New York Veteran Infantry. Additional information was also gained from the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York For the Year 1898*, Serial No. 17 (Albany N. Y., 1899), 1009 -1244.

John F. Burley	D	29	5'9"	NH	Carpenter	
Thomas F. Burnham	D	42				4th NY
Thomas J. Burns	B	21	5'4"	Ire	Seaman	31st NY
Asa G. Burras	A	29	5'6"	NYC	Carpenter	Vet.
James Butler	D	28	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	Vet.
John Byrne	A	23	5'9"	Ire	Cartman	9th NY
Patrick Byrnes	C	34	5'6"	Ire	Soldier	31st NY
Henry Cable	A	33	5'5.5"	NY	Farrier	
Thomas Cahill	A	37	5'7"	Ire	Mason	
Andrew Caldwell	B	27	5'10.5"	Ire	Boilermaker	36th NY
George Callahan	B	41	5'8"	Ire	Soldier	37th NY
Henry Campbell	C	23	5'5"	MD	Soldier	Vet.
John Carey	A	16	5'1"	MA	Tabbacconist	
Richard Carpenter	A	36	5'10"	Eng	Teamster	Vet.
Joseph Carst	A	35	5'6.5"	PA	Cigarmaker	36th NY
William Carter	C	43	5'6"	Eng	Laborer	31st NY
Charles Chickering	B	25				36th NY
Frank Clark	A	19	5'6"	NYC	Laborer	
James Clark	D	35	5'6"	Ire	Weaver	37th NY
Isaac Cleaver	D	20				20th NYM 80th NY
Patrick Clinton	B	22	5'4"	Ire	Cook	
Samuel Clinton	A	36	5'7.5"	NYC	Laborer	
George Cloud	D	25	5'7"	IL	Druggist	
Patrick J. Cockley	D	23				
Charles W. Coleman	B	32	5'8.5"	NYC	Hackdriver	
Henry J. Coles	C	36	5'8"	NYC	Optician	31st NY
John Collins	C	28	5'10"	Ire	Mason	31st NY
Daniel Conland	A	41	5'4"	Ire	Tailor	
Edward Connel	B	22	5'8"	Ire	Laborer	69th NY
James J. Conway	B	21	5'10"	Ire	Wagondriver	
John Cooper	D	26	5'6"	Eng	Sailor	37th NY
Noble M. Cornish	A	22	5'8"	NY	Cigarmaker	37th NY
Patrick Cosgrove	D	34	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	
Hugh Cox	D	23				37th NY
John Cromwell	B	23	5'7"	NYC	Butcher	31st NY
William Crosier	D	36	5'4"	NY	Farmer	
Timothy Crowley	D	38	5'6"	Ire	Plasterer	
Thomas Cunningham	A	23	5'5"	NYC	Seaman	17th NY
Cyrus Cutler	A	26	5'5"	NY	Farmer	
Nathaniel Cutler	A	19	5'6"	NY	Laborer	
John Dagnan	C	29	5'5.75"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
James Dailey	D	31	5'9.5"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
Patrick Daly	A	44	5'5.5"	Ire	Laborer	Vet.
Edward Darlington	A	32	5'10.5"	OH	Printer	
Abe Decker	D	37				37th NY
Carl A. Deimer	A	30	5'9"	Swi	Laborer	
James Delaney	A	32	5'6.5"	Ire	Bricklayer	36th NY
Smith Denman	B	20	5'5"	NYC	Painter	56th NY
George Dieffenback	A	21	5'5"	Ger	Clerk	Ind Reg NY Inf

Michael Dignam	B	21	5'4.5"	NYC	Porter	
Cornelius Doherty	C	43	5'5"	Ire	Sailor	31st NYV
John Donley	A	21	5'4.5"	Eng	Sailor	
Daniel Donnelly	C	43	5'4.5"	Ire	Tailor	31st NYV
Frank W. Doolittle						5th NY
Richard Dorsey	B	36	5'2"	Eng	Tailor	
Thomas Dorson	C	26	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NYV
Bernard J. Dougherty	B	20	5'6"	NYC	Waiter	
Michael Dowd	A	19	5'4"	Ire	Boatman	
Robert Dowd	D	21	5'9"	Ire	Sailmaker	
John Drennan	B	21	5'6"	NYC	Pedlar	
Henry Ehlers	C	20	5'6"	Ger	Laborer	31st NYV
David Elston	C	22	5'11.5"	NJ	Farmer	31st NY
John Evans	C	35	5'11"	Eng	Seaman	31st NY
Thomas Fagan	D	21	5'6.5"	Ire	Draper	
Edward Farley	A	25	5'8"	Ire	Carman	
Phillip Farrington	C	42	5'9"	NY	Shoemaker	31st NYV
John Faulkner	C	38	5'8"	Ire	Tailor	31st NYV
William Feeney	B	17	5'5"	NYC	Scenepainter	
Frederick Fink	B	19	5'5"	PA	Laborer	
Patrick Finn	D	23	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
Michael Fitzpartick	C	34	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
Richard Fitzsimons	C	27	5'5"	Ire	Shoemaker	31st NY
Patrick Flood	C	35	5'5"	Ire	Soldier	31st NY
William Flood	C	34	5'6.5"	Ire	Painter	99th NY
James H. Flynn	D	33	5'9.5"	Ire	Baker	
William Foley	C	36	5'10"	Ire	Shoemaker	31st NY
Peter Folhardt	B	20	5'7"	Ger	Farmer	
James French	A	28	5'6.5"	Ire	Musician	36th NY
Charles Fritze	A	21	5'6"	Ger	Waiter	
Eugene Frossard	C	26				31st NY
William Lee Fuller	B	18	5'7"	NYC	Clerk	14th NY
Walter Furlong	B	45	5'8"	Ire	Shipcarpentr	
Edward Gallagher	D	32		Eng	Laborer	
Michael Gallagher	D	32		Eng	Laborer	
Michael Gallagher	D	20	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	
Humphrey Galvin	B	18	5'6"	NYC	Laborer	
Benjamin Garthwaite	B	42	5'10"	NYC	Shipcarpentr	71st NY
John Garwood	A	27	5'6.5"	NJ		68th PA
Owen Gately	C	28	5'5"	Ire	Tailor	31st NYV
Hugh George	A	35	5'3.75"	Ire	Mariner	
Thomas George	C	34	5'5"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
Thomas Gibson	A	21	5'10"	Ire	Clerk	
William Gillian	D	16	5'4"	NYC		
Andrew Gilmartin	D	35	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	
Thomas F. Gleason	A	22	5'4"	NY	Plumber	10th NY
James Golding	A	38	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	36th NY
Charles Goodrich	A	21	5'5"	NYC	Farmer	57th NY
Thomas K. Gould	A	27	5'6"	NYC	Teamster	
John Grant	A	23	5'9"	Ire	Seaman	
Robert Greene	D	23	5'7.5"	Eng	Tinker	37th NY

Stephen O. Gregory	A	18	5'6"	CT	Farmer	
Morris Griffin	C	38	5'3"	Ire	Laborer	6th NY
Patrick Griffin	C	25	5'7"	Ire	Bricklayer	31st NYV
Andrew Groves	C	30	5'5"	NYC	Laborer	31st NY
George L. Guthrie	A	31	5'11"	Ire	Soldier	5th NY
George Haddon	B	27	5'7"	NYC	Butcher	
Atkinson Hall	C	42	5'10.5"	Ire	Porter	31st NY
Thomas Hall	A	35	5'1.5"	Eng	Seaman	
Alexander Hamilton	D	23	5'4"	Eng	Bookkeeper	
Thomas Hamilton	B	35	5'7"	Ire	Baker	
William Hartford	A	26	5'8"	MI	Moulder	36th NY
Michael Hartman	C	26	5'6"	Ger	Farmer	29th NY
Thomas S. Hayes	D	30	5'6"	Ire	Mason	
James Hazell	A	34	5'10"	Ire	Laborer	
Chas. Hazenclever	A	23	5'7"	Ger	Farmer	
John Healy	D	29	5'5"	Ire	Plasterer	37th NY
Christain Heinzelman	B	43	5'8"	Ger	Boatman	
John Hilan	A	18	5'4.5"	NYC		
William Hinchman	B	28	5'8.5"	NY	Boatman	4th NY
David Hogan	A	27	6'1.5"	Ire	Blacksmith	
John Hogan	C	32	5'6"	Ire	Tailor	
John Hogue	B	18	5'6"	NYC	Moulder	
John Holahan	A	35	5'10.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	36th NY
William Hope	D	24	5'7.5"	Ire	Farmer	
John Hourihan	D	30	5'11.5"	Ire	Soldier	Vet.
Stephen Hugins	A	27				
Jacob S. Hulshart	A	30	5'10"	NJ	Sailor	5th NY
Patrick Hurley	D	40	5'9.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	37th NY
James H. Johnson	C	21	5'6"	Eng	Boatman	31st NY
James R. Johnson	B	18	5'5.5"	NYC	Farmer	
Thomas Jones	B	32	5'7"	Ire	Porkpacker	
George Jotry	C	40	6'4"	NYC	Marketman	31st NY
Jeremiah Joyce	D	23	5'8"	Ire	Butcher	37th NY
						59th NY
Frank Judge	B	23	5'11.5"	Ire	Driver	71st NY
James Kelly	B	25	5'7"	NYC	Paperhanger	31st NY
Arthur Kerrigan	C	30	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
Michael Kettle	D	21	5'5"	Ger	Baker	
Auguste Killien	A	18	5'3"	Fra	Sailor	
Michael King	A	18	5'4.5"	NYC	Tinsmith	
Robert King	C	28	5'5"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
Joseph Koch	D	33	5'6"	Ger	Laborer	37th NY
John D. Koskaba	D	20	5'5.5"	Ger	Barber	
Peter Kraus	C	42	5'4"	Ger	Shoemaker	31st NYV
Charles Larman	D	31	5'8"	Ire	Laborer	
Timothy Leary	D	18	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	
Axel Leatz	D	25		Swe	Soldier	
Peter Leonard	B	37	5'6"	Ire	Shoemaker	
William Lewis	A	24	5'6"	NYC	Laborer	
James Locke	B	19	5'3"	Eng	Laborer	
Luke Logan	D	29	5'4.5"	Ire	Laborer	Vet.

James Loney	B	29	5'5"	Sco	Moulder	
William Long	B	28	5'8.5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
Thomas Lord	A	35	5'6"	Eng	Shoemaker	
Emmett Lynch	A	18	5'8"	MA	Printer	
James Lynch	D	19	5'6"	Ire	Boatman	37th NY
John Lynch	D	40	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
Morris Lynch	D	19	5'6"	NYC	Cooper	
Peter Lynch	A	24	5'1"	Eng	Laborer	
John Maher	C	40	5'3.75"	Ire	Tailor	31st NYV
John Mahon	C	29	5'4"	Ire	Coachmaker	31st Vet.
Ferdinand Maillard	A	22	5'3"	Fra	Mason	
James Maloney	C	26	5'10"	Ire	Clerk	31st NY
George Martin	A	34	5'7"	Ger	Tailor	31st NY
David Maskell	D	35	5'8"	Eng	Laborer	Vet.
Arthur J. Mathews	C	21	5'8"	NY	Laborer	
David Mathews	C	20	5'6"	NY	Laborer	
Harry Maxwell	A	21	5'4"	NYC	Shoemaker	2nd NY
John McAndrew	B	40	6'0.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	
John McCabe	A	23	5'7"	Ire	Clerk	17th NY
Barney McCann	B	26	5'2"	Ire	Baker	
Daniel McCarthy	A	21	5'10.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	
James McCarthy	A	21	5'6"	Eng	Laborer	6th NY
James McCarty	D	20	5'6"	Eng	Laborer	
John McCauley	C	24	5'9"	Eng	Laborer	31st NY
David McClure	C	27	5'5"	Ire	Hatter	Vet.
Bernard McCormick	B	24	5'5"	Ire	Waiter	25th NY
James McCormick	D	28				
Edward McEnrie	D	24	5'6"	Ire	Gardener	Vet.
Luke McGee	D	28	5'7.5"	Ire	Laborer	
John McGinness	B	27	5'6"	Ire	Auctioneer	Vet.
John McGinness	B	27	6'0"	Ire	Dyer	
Joseph McGlade	A	35	5'8"	Ire	Laborer	
Michael McGuigan	D	31	5'5.5"	Ire	Cook	
John McGonigle	D	23	5'5"	Ire	Sailor	37th NY
Michael McGuirck	B	40	5'6"	Ire	Sugarrefiner	
Edward McKenna	C	21	5'8"	Ire	Pedlar	31st NYV
Patrick McKenna	C	39	5'5.5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NYV
James McKeon	A	20	5'5"	Ire	Clerk	5th NY
Bartolomew McMahan	D	26	5'7"	Ire	Schoolteacher	37th NY
James McMenamy	D	30	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
James McNamara	C	35	5'4"	Ire	Tailor	
John McNamara	D	28	5'8"	Ire	Printer	37th NY
Thomas McNamara	A	31	5'10"	Ire	Caulker	
John McNeil	C	37	5'6.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	31st NY
James Mealia	B	18	5'5.5"	Ire	Trunkmaker	
John Metcalf	C	44	5'7"	Eng	Tailor	31st NYV
George Mimm	B	38	5'10.75"	Ger	Carpenter	
James Moffatt	B	28	5'6"	Sco	Cabinetmaker	25th NY
George Moir	B	18	5'4.5"	NYC	Butcher	
Charles Montgomery	B	32		NY	Engineer	5th NY
Leroy D. Moody	D	39				6th NY

Franklin D. Moore	B	17	5'1"	MA	Clerk	
Thomas Morrissey	D	17	5'4.5"	NYC	Printer	
William Mortimer	A	19	5'6"	MA	Clerk	
Walter S. Mullen	B	26	5'5"	PA	Sailor	
Edward Mulrooney	D	16	5'3.5"	Ire	Cabinetmaker	84th NY
Edward Murphy	B	27	5'6"	Ire	Shoemaker	37th NY
Frank Murphy	A	19	5'4"	NYC	None	
Lawrence Murphy	D	22	5'8"	Ire	Merchant	37th NY
Patrick Murphy	C	20	5'4"	NY	Laborer	
Lawrence Murray	B	28	5'7"	Eng	Umbrellamkr	10th NY
Henry Naylor	A	21	5'6"	NYC	Soldier	37th NY
John H. Naylor	B	22	5'10"	NYC	Soldier	6th US
Gerard Nicholas	C	36	5'6"	Fra	Soldier	39th NY
Richard Nichols	C	44	5'5"	Sco	Tailor	31st NY
Patrick Noonan	C	35	5'7.5"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
Peter Norton	D	28	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	
Louis Oazan	A	36	5'7"	Fra		25th NY 163d NY
Edward O'Brien	D	17	5'2"	NYC	Gardner	
James O'Brien	C	23	5'8"	NYC	Laborer	31st NY
Michael O'Brien	A	18	5'4.5"	NYC	None	
Patrick O'Brien	D	42	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
Terrence O'Brien	C	30	5'8"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
Daniel O'Conner	D	20	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	
Charles O'Connor	B	43	5'2"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
Michael O'Connor	C	36	5'8"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY
David O'Laughlin	C	27	5'7.25"	Ire	Tailor	31st NYV
John O'Malley	B	19	5'4.5"	MA	Laborer	
David Owens	B	24	5'6"	NYC	Locksmith	32nd NY
Samuel S. Owens	A	23	5'4.5"	NYC	Carpenter	5th NY
Charles I. Parker	B	25	5'6"	NYC	Clerk	
Henry Pertz	A	36	5'7"	Ger	Shoemaker	14th NY
Frank Peterson	C	20	5'8"	Swe	Carpenter	31st NY
William Phillips	A	21	5'8.75"	NYC	Clerk	Vet.
John Prenderville	D	43	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	
Edgar H. Price	D	33	5'9"	CI	Hatter	4th NJ
Charles Pross	C	16	4'10"	Ger	Cigarmaker	31st NY
Martin Quackenbush	B	42	5'4"	NYC	Soldier	
John S. Raymond	B	23				5th NY
Walter Rees	D	40	5'5"	Eng	Tinker	37th NY
Charles Reighley	A	23	5'5.5"	MI	Clerk	1st NYC 36th NY
Augustus Renard	D	28	5'8"	Fra	Potter	31st NYV
James Richards	B	23	5'6"	NYC	Carpenter	5th NY
Edward Riechenbach	C	26	5'6"	Ger	Ropemaker	
Fidelis Ries	C	44	5'7"	Fra	Cabinetmaker	31st NY
John Riley	D	23	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
John Riley	D	32	5'8"	Ire	Plasterer	Vet.
Charles Rininsland	A	21		Ger		5th NY
James Robb	A	28	5'6.5"	Sco	Boatmaker	3rd NY
Charles E. Roberts	C	22	5'6.25"	NYC	Tinsmith	31st NY

Christopher Roberts	C	33	5'3"	Eng	Seaman	31st NY
John W. Rogers	A	23	5'7.5"	Ire	Carpenter	37th NY
Augustus Rudi	D	25	5'3"	Ger	Tailor	Vet.
John Ryan	D	27	5'7"	Ire	Carpenter	37th NY
Fidel Ryer	B	32	5'8"	Hol	Laborer	
Alfred Ryhard	D	36	6'0"	Ger	Laborer	
Benjamin Saunders	D	29	5'8"	Ire	Gardener	37th NY
Henry Schickhardt	C	37	5'4.75"		Stonecutter	31st NY
Jacob Schneider	C	39	5'8.5"	Ger	Soldier	
Martin J. Schuler	B	36	5'5"	Ger	Shoemaker	
Fritz Schultz	C	30	5'7"	Ger	Butcher	31st NY
John P. Scullen	A	32	6'0"	NYC	Carpenter	62nd NY
George Seabring	B	22	5'8"	NYC	Laborer	
Patrick Sharkey	C	39	5'6.5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
William Sheehan	A	26	5'6"	Ire	Laborer	
John Sheridan	C	20	5'3"	NYC	Pedlar	
John A. Sheridan	D	35	5'11"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
William Sherwood	B	25	5'10.5"	NYC	Cartman	
John Shields	D	35	5'7"	Ire	Laborer	
John Smith	B	28	5'6"	Ire	Coppersmith	
Thomas Smith	C	28	5'7"	Ire	Soldier	31st NY
Thomas Smith	B	42	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	
Timothy Spillane	D	29	5'7"	Ire	Laborer	Vet.
Maurice Stack	C	44	5'5"	Ire	Printer	31st NY
John Stevenson	A	21	5'6.5"	Ire	Brushmaker	5th NY
Peter Stewart	B	26	5'8"	Sco	Machinist	
Charles Stoll	C	38	5'3"	Ger	Tailor	31st NYV
James Sullivan	D	20	5'3.75"	Ire	Laborer	37th NY
John Sullivan	A	28	5'7"	Ire	Shoemaker	
George Taylor	D	33	5'10.5"	Ire	Drugclerk	37th NY
Thomas Taylor	D	32	5'6.5"	Eng	Shoemaker	37th NY
Emile Terasse	A	18	5'5"	Ira	Sailor	
James Tiernan	B	24	5'7.5"	Ire	Laborer	
David Tilton	A	25	5'10"	NYC	Sailor	32nd NY
Michael Tracy	C	39	5'7"	Ire	Carman	31st NY
Patrick Treston	A	35	5'6.25"	Ire	Plasterer	36th NY
James Tuite	B	34	5'8.75"	NYC	Butcher	5th NY & 5th NYHA
James A. Van Fleet	C	21	5'7.5"	PA	Clerk	32nd NY
George D. Veder	C	21	5'9"	NY	Clerk	32nd NY
Hendrick Veither	A	44	5'10.5"	Ger	Cabinetmaker	Vet.
John Vernon	C	44	5'4.5"	Ire	Shoemaker	31st NY
Hermann Von Rottenburg	B	34	5'6"	Pol	Soldier	103d NY
John C. Waldwill	D	34	5'6"	NY	Laborer	
John E. Walker	D	27	5'11"	Ire	Druggist	Vet.
John Ward	D	30	5'6"	Ire	Baker	
James Watson	B	32	5'9"	Ire	Laborer	Vet.
Oscar Weil	B	24	5'7.5"	NY	Student	16th CT
Carl Weinberg	B	30		Swe	Soldier	
John Welch	C	34	5'9"	Ire	Tailor	31st NY

John Wellington	B	21	5'6"	Ire	Waiter	25th NY
William Welsh	D	25	5'5"	Ire		37th NY
Edward Williams	B	25	5'8'	Ire	Carpenter	37th NY
William J. C. Willison	C	28				31st NY
William Wilson	C	25	5'5"	Ire	Laborer	31st NY
Cleveland Winslow	-	28		MA	Soldier	5th NY
Gordon Winslow Jr.	B	25	5'8.5"	NY	Clerk	5th NY
Augustus Withe	D	28	5'3"	Ger	Laborer	
Andreas Wolff	B	27	5'4"	Ger	Boxmaker	
John Wust	A	38	5'6"	Ger	Laborer	5th NY
Henry Zimmerman	A	40	5'4"	Ger	Shoemaker	45th NY

Statistics Concerning the Men Who Served in the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry in 1863.[†]

In 1863 a total of 347 men enlisted in the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry.

The break down by company was: A: 90; B: 84; C: 84; D: 87.

The average age in the Federal Army and Navy was: 25.8 years old.

The average age in the unit was: 29.48 years old.

The oldest men were forty-five years old: Michael Baker, Richard Boldman, James Burke, and Walter Furlong.

Seven men were forty-four years old.

*Peter Lenard gave his age as 37, but was actually 49. Christian Heintzleman gave his age as 43, but was really 52 making him the oldest man in the Battalion. The average age of the unit is therefore slightly older.

The youngest men in the battalion were sixteen years old: John Bird, John Carey, William Gillian, Edward Mulrooney, and Charles Pross.

Four men were seventeen-years-old.

The tallest man in the battalion was George Jotry at 6'4", followed by John McAndrew at 6'0.5".

Three men reported at 6'0".

The shortest man in the battalion was John Bird at 4'9", followed by Charles Pross at 4'10", both of whom were sixteen-year-old musicians.

Enlisted men John Carey and Peter Lynch were 5'1".

The average height in the Federal Army and Navy was 5'8".

[†] The figures for the Federal Army and Navy are found in Editors of Time-Life Books, *Master Index An Illustrated Guide* (Alexandria, 1987), 136.

The average weight in the Federal Army and Navy was 143.5 lbs.

A total of 329 of the 347 men's birthplaces are known.

Ninety-seven or 29% were American born, while 232 or 71% were foreign born.

The Federal Army and Navy average of American born was 75%.

The Federal Army and Navy average of foreign born was 25%.

Irish-born men, 147 or 45%, were most prevalent in the battalion.

Men born in New York City were the second most common, 53: 16%; then German, 33: 10%; followed by English, 29: 9%; then born in New York State, but outside the city, 20: 6%; France, 8: 2%; and Scotland, 8: 2%.

Foreign-born troops in the Federal Army and Navy was: Germany: 175,000; Ireland: 150,000; England: 50,000; Canada: 50,000; Others: 75,000.

The most common occupation was that of laborer at 77: 23%; followed by tailor, 24: 7%; shoemaker, 22: 7%; soldier, 20: 6%; clerk, 15: 5%; and farmer, 12: 3%.

Average civilian occupation for the Federal Army and Navy was: farmers: 48%; mechanics: 24%; laborers: 16%; commercial: 5%; professional: 3%; miscellaneous: 4%.

The men of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteers had predominantly previously served in four regiments: 31st N. Y.: 57; 37th N. Y.: 35; 5th N. Y.: 16; 36th N. Y.: 11.

Seventeen men enlisted in the 31st New York Veteran Volunteers (31st NYV), who were transferred to the 5th New York, their previous service status is unknown.

John Mahon, shown as 31st Vet. enlisted in the 31st New York Veteran Volunteers, but previously served with a different regiment.

Eighteen men designated Vet., had seen previous service, but with whom is undetermined.

B. Losses of the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry at Bethesda Church, June 2, 1864.¹

	<u>KIA</u>	<u>MW</u>	<u>WIA</u>	<u>W&POW</u>	<u>MW&POW</u>	<u>POW</u>	<u>MIA</u>	<u>TOT</u>
F&S		1/						1/
Co. A	1	3	11	3	5	2		25
Co. B	2/1	1	4	1/3	1	9	1	3/20
Co. C	2	2	1/8	1		1		1/14
Co. D	1/1	1	5	1/1		3		2/11
Co. E								
Co. F								
Co. G	1		3			2		6
Co. H	1	1				4	1	7
Co. I	1		4		1	6		12
Co. K		1	2			1	1	5
Total	3/8	1/9	1/37	2/8	7	28	3	7/100

Key: Officers/Enlisted Men

¹ The table was made based on the thorough researching of the National Archives, "Compiled Military Service Records," 5th New York Veteran Infantry and the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York For the Year 1898*, Serial No. 17 (Albany, 1899).

C. Casualties in the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry,
1864-1865.²

<u>Battle</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>M/C</u>	<u>T</u>
Bethesda Church (6/2/64)	28	48	31	107
March to the James River(6/11-12 /64)	0	0	1	1
Assault of Petersburg (6/18/64)	15	16	2	33
Weldon Railroad (8/18-21/64)	24	42	68	134
Poplar Spring Church (9/30 to 10/2/64)	3	5	0	8
Hatcher's Run (10/27-28/64)	0	1	0	1
Hicksford Raid (12/6-11/64)	1	0	4	5
Petersburg Trenches (6/16/64 to 3/30/65)	5	13	11	29
Hatcher's Run (2/5-7/65)	2	12	0	14
White Oak Road (3/31/65)	8	25	30	63
Five Forks (4/1/65)	1	8	0	9
Total	87	170	147	404

²The table was compiled from the "Compiled Military Service Records" and Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1865* (Albany, 1912), II. The table does not differentiate the specific nature of the casualty, therefore men were lumped into the best suited column. Many of the wounded continued to serve after their injury without leaving the outfit. Still, they were listed as casualties on reports. Many of the men listed as captured were also wounded. At Weldon Railroad 12 of the 69 men captured were also wounded.

D. Men who served in the original 5th New York (1861-1863) and also served in the 5th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry (1863-1865).³

Col. Cleveland Winslow - Mortally Wounded, June 2, 1864
Lt. Col. George L. Guthrie - Dismissed
Bvt. Maj. & Lt. Col., Capt. James McKeon - Mustered Out
Bvt. Maj., Capt. William H. Chambers - Dismissed
Bvt. Maj., Capt. Charles S. Montgomery - Killed In Action, Feb. 6, 1865
Bvt. Maj., Gordon Winslow, Jr. - Mustered Out
Capt. Stephen W. Wheeler - Commissioned but not Mustered
Capt. William H. Uckele - Wounded, New York City Draft Riots
Q. M. Lt. John S. Raymond - Mustered Out
Lt. Richard Berrian - Dismissed
Surgn. Frank W. Doolittle - Mustered Out by consolidation, Oct. 1863
Sgt. Maj. Perrin Burdick - Mustered Out
Sgt. Jacob Hulshart - Killed In Action, Aug. 18, 1864
Cpl. James Richards - POW Aug. 19, 1864; died at Salisbury Prison
Cpl. John Wust - Mustered Out
Pvt. Abraham Bancker - Deserted
Pvt. John F. Bone - Deserted
Pvt. Edward Carroll - Mustered Out
Pvt. States Clark - Mustered Out
Pvt. Samuel S. Owens - Killed In Action, Aug. 18, 1864
Pvt. Charles Rininsland - Wounded, June 2, 1864
Pvt. George W. Shaw - Mustered Out
Pvt. Charles S. Singer - Mustered Out
Pvt. James Tuite - Mustered Out
Pvt. John Stevenson - Dishonorably Discharged
Pvt. George H. Wheeler - Mustered Out May 31, 1865

³ Also given is the highest rank the man attained in the Veteran 5th and his final status with the unit. The list was made through the combined researching of the National Archives, "Compiled Military Service Records," 5th New York Veteran Infantry, the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York For the Year 1898*, Serial No. 17 (Albany, 1899), Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1865* (Albany, 1912), II, and Alfred Davenport, *Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry* (New York, 1879); reprint, (Gaithersburg, Md., 1984).

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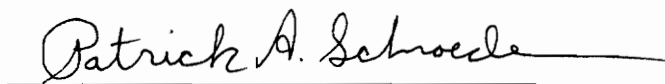
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Vita

Patrick Andrew Schroeder was born at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, on January 1, 1968. In 1990, he graduated *cum laude* with a B. S. in Historical Park Administration from Shepherd College. From 1986 until 1993, he was employed as a seasonal at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. In 1994, Schroeder began work at Red Hill, the Patrick Henry National Memorial. On June 18, 1994, he married Maria Ann Dorsett. In June of 1996, he received his M. A. in history from Virginia Tech. Schroeder has written and/or published six books concerning the American Civil War: *Thirty Myths About Lee's Surrender*, *More Myths About Lee's Surrender*, *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861-5*, *The Fighting Quakers*, *A Duryee Zouave*, and *Civil War Soldier Life: In Camp and Battle*.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Patrick A. Schroeder". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Patrick A. Schroeder