The history of the one hundred and thirtieth regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry

Terrence W. Beltz

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In August 1862, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania quickly responded to President Lincoln's request for more troops. An overwhelming number of Pennsylvania volunteers promptly answered the call that supplied the Union Army eighteen new infantry regiments who were to serve for a period of nine months. This devoted group of central Pennsylvanians, rendezvoused at Camp Simmons, Pennsylvania, in mid-August 1862, was to become soldiers of 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers who, with no military experience and little training, would face hardened Confederate veterans at "Bloody Lane" at the Battle of Antietam and "Marye's Heights" at the Battle of Fredericksburg. They were to do their best to halt the stampede of fleeing Eleventh Corps soldiers and "hold the line" stopping Confederate
Lieutenant General Thomas J. Jackson's advancing Second Corps troops at the Battle of Chancellorsville. An officer of the regiment may well have been the indirect cause of the innocent shooting and resulting death of the Lieutenant General Jackson. After their initial terms of enlistment had expired, most of the men who served in the regiment re-enlisted to serve their country until the end of the war. One of the regiment's commanders, Colonel Levi Maish, became a member of the United States Congress. Through their diaries, letters, memoirs, and personal accounts, the men themselves bequeathed their story to later generations.
I certify that I have read this thesis and found that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor

John D. Treadway

Hugh A. West
THE HISTORY OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH REGIMENT
PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

By

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Lastly and most importantly, I wish to thank my mother, Darl L. Beltz, now deceased, for her love and encouragement. It was her endless work as our family historian, who gave me this door to open.

During a trip to York, Pennsylvania, when I first began this endeavor, I felt it necessary to visit the grave of my ancestor, William H. Seifert, who served in the regiment. Not finding a visible marker, knowing I was in the correct cemetery location, I was able to uncover the fallen sunken stone under three to four inches of sod, hidden for countless years, revealing the inscription “Gone, but not forgotten.” As I was able to later raise his marker from obscurity, my hope is that this work will somehow uncover the forgotten deeds, and sacrifices of the men of the 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.
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INTRODUCTION

"A SENSE OF DUTY"

By July of 1862, faced with a succession of mounting battlefield losses and expiring enlistments, President Abraham Lincoln's administration needed volunteers to fill a critical gap in the war effort. By then, the once patriotic fervor in the North had significantly declined and countless returning veterans refused to support the cause by not re-enlisting, while potential recruits who had learned of the realities of war avoided recruiting offices. The supply of men was dwindling and organizing regiments became difficult. In June 1862, although contemplating a military draft, Congress gave the President authority to raise an additional 300,000 troops through imposed enlistment quotas to be filled by each state. Concerned with a low turnout, the term of enlistment was set at nine months.¹

The individual motivations prompting enlistment in the Union Army in the summer of 1862 are debatable. For instance, Mark A. Snell hints that an impending draft triggered volunteerism in York, Pennsylvania, particularly with members of companies B, C, I, and K of the 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.² Yet, after reading the letters, diaries, and memoirs of many of these men, I found no single reference to a soldier volunteering out of fear of being forced to serve via military draft. Instead, there are many references to "a spirit of loyalty" and a "sense of duty" prompting their enlist-

² Snell, 84-85.
ment. Perhaps they enlisted with the sentiment that their services were now necessary, to once and for all put an end to the rebellion. Oftentimes, however, soldiers were reluctant to express their genuine thoughts to pen and paper, particularly with issues concerning their manhood. I found no instance when a soldier openly stated in a diary entry, letter, or memoir that he had enlisted merely to avoid the draft.

Other notable Civil War historians addressing the motivations of Union enlistees have reached similar conclusions. My work points to evidence similar to that offered by James M. McPherson’s *For Cause & Comrades* supporting the concept that “duty and honor” were strong motivating factors in an era dominated by the traditional values of Victorian mores. McPherson dwells deeper, borrowing a concept from John A. Lynn, maintaining that there are three categories of motivations: “initial motivation,” “sustaining motivation,” and “combat motivation” that relate to why a soldier would enlist, why he would stay in the army and what prompted him to face the danger of battle. Although a soldier may have been motivated to enlist in response to an impending draft, during his service, his motivation could change over time despite being sick of war. A soldier would not let down his comrades. With few exceptions, most soldiers felt that it was better to die in combat rather than being cast as coward if he ran.

McPherson also contends that “community pressure” prompted enlisting. Based upon my research, I fully concur, particularly where in smaller towns everybody knew everybody. I would argue that community pressure equally influenced an individual’s

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4 McPherson, 12.
5 McPherson, 13.
sustaining and combat motivations. Quite often, small town newspapers would provide detailed personal accounts of its “citizens in blue.” To be disgraced by desertion, dereliction of duty, or similar intolerable acts would haunt the retuning citizen-soldier for life and negatively reflect upon his family.

Neither McPherson nor Gerald F. Linderman in Embattled Courage mention “family” as being a motivation factor to serve. Throughout my research I continuously found brothers, fathers and sons, and cousins serving often in the same company or regiment. On numerous occasions, the enlistment of an older brother would soon be followed by his younger sibling. In many of the letters home by members of the 130th Pennsylvania, the soldiers would inquire about the well being of their brothers and cousins serving in other units. On occasion, they would chastise those who had not yet enlisted and poke fun at those who were later drafted, claiming, “it was about time!”

In concert with McPherson, Linderman also cites manliness, duty, and honor as significant factors prompting enlistment.⁶ He also introduces another factor—that of religion.⁷ Linderman discusses the correlation between courage and godliness. If a soldier believed in God, putting himself in God’s care would provide him the courage to endure the test of combat and even death. Often a soldier with no prior religious conviction would find God while others would often become more religious. Religion played a significant role in the 130th Pennsylvania. Initially, the regiment lacked a chaplain, which was a continual concern for the regimental commander and was the topic of many of the soldiers’ letters. Until the regiment’s chaplain arrived, some of the more religiously-

⁷ Linderman, 8-14.
versed officers filled in for him. In some of the soldiers’ letters, the reference to God was revealed. In a September 21, 1862 letter to his wife, the regiment’s Quartermaster Officer, John R. Turner, wrote:

As I write the wind blows strong some appearance of rain I now stop and lay me down to sleep and pray the Lord my soul to take and also to protect you all at home as you lay upon your beds at home no doubt you think of me often and as soon as you go to bed no doubt I am remembered by you and the children in your prayers.8

The focus of this study concerns itself with the vital role that the men of the 130th Pennsylvania performed during its nine-month term of enlistment. One of eighteen nine-month regiments recruited during the month of August 1862, this regiment served with silent distinction on the killing fields of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Many of these nine-month regiments have often been ignored, overshadowed by the more notable and sensationalized three-year regiments. These regiments often played critical roles during significant engagements, yet received no, if little, recognition. For instance, both the 130th and 132nd Pennsylvania Volunteers were, in part, responsible for the Army of the Potomac’s success at “Bloody Lane” in the battle of Antietam. Yet, little is known or written of their deeds on that infamous day in America’s history. Although, hundreds of Civil War regimental histories have been written, many of the nine-month units are non-existent, including the 130th Pennsylvania.

This regiment was selected as it typifies common Pennsylvanians torn between duty to their county and devotion to their families. This study is not intended to re-write

8 John R. Turner to his wife, September 21, 1862, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle Pennsylvania.
the history of significant eastern theater Civil War battles, but to provide a historical perspective into the critical role the soldiers of the 130th Pennsylvania played in them. To accomplish this study and accurately portray the realities of war that the men faced on a daily basis, I have drawn heavily upon primary source materials such as soldiers' diaries, letters, memoirs, newspaper, official regimental records, and federal records. In building an organizational framework in sequencing military events, I have relied upon Francis A. Walker's, *History of the Second Army Corps.*

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CHAPTER 1

"DEEDS, NOT WORDS"

FROM THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

Seven Days Hard Fighting

The Army correspondent of the Associated Press, who claims to have arrived at Fortress Monroe direct from General McClellan's headquarters, reports that after seven days hard fighting McClellan, pressed by superior numbers, was forced to retreat to a point on the James river near Turkey Island, where what remains of his army is under cover of the gunboats, and where we are told, it is now being reinforced. The battles, it is said, have been "the most destructive of human life that the world has ever seen . . . ."

-The Hanover Spectator
Friday Morning, July 11, 1862

To the citizens of Hanover, Pennsylvania, it became obvious that the war was not to be short-lived, as they had originally anticipated. President Abraham Lincoln was becoming concerned. What the Union had suffered in military defeats in the Peninsula Campaign, its soldiers had suffered in declining morale. Major General George S. McClellan continued his appeals for additional men to fill the ranks of his depleted Army of the Potomac. With the glamour and excitement of war replaced with the cruel and inhumane realities of war, scores of the tried veterans had had enough and would not re-enlist when their original term of enlistment would soon expire. In mid-1862, young men were not rushing to the recruiting offices as seen in 1861. With the monthly pay of

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1 The Hanover Spectator, July 11, 1862, "Seven Days Hard Fighting."
$13.00, it was difficult enough for a soldier to support himself and his family and experience the misery, depravations, and the possibility of death.²

On June 6, 1862, the Lincoln administration responded to this dilemma by issuing General Orders No. 60 that restored the volunteer recruiting service.³ The federal government quickly requested 150,000 volunteers that would increase the figure to 300,000 by Special Order No. 99 on August 9, 1862.⁴ In effect, General Order No. 99, “Regulations for the Enrollment and Draft of 300,000 Militia,” mandated that if the states could not raise their assigned quota by August 15, 1862, a special militia draft “of all able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five” would fill the deficiency for the particular state. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was required to provide eighteen new regiments.⁵ Congress gave the President the authority to set the length of service not to exceed nine months.⁶

August 15 arrived with Pennsylvania not meeting its quota and thereby putting the wheels in motion for a special militia draft. Governor Andrew G. Curtin called for an accounting of all eligible men in Pennsylvania. Due to early enrollment difficulties, the draft was delayed until September 15, with a subsequent postponement resulting from Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s invasion of the North requiring 50,000 emergency

⁶ Snell, 83.
volunteers to defend the state’s borders. The state’s draft lottery eventually took place, but not until October 16, 1862.\textsuperscript{7}

On August 23, 1862, the \textit{Shippensburg News} reported the postponement of the draft on August 23, 1862, citing that it was postponed until the 4th of September “for the purpose of allowing further opportunity for enlistment . . . and each county, borough and township will be credited with the number of men already furnished, so that the weight of the draft will fall equally heavy upon all sections of the country.”\textsuperscript{8}

Although not questioning Governor Curtain’s actions, the article cited that a draft could cause some townships and boroughs within York County to be treated unequally since “Some localities had already been almost drained of their able-bodied men by volunteer enlistment, whilst others have not sent a corporal’s guard to the Army.”\textsuperscript{9} This nine-month alternative was contrary to the government’s intention to obtain recruits to serve a three-year term. To the volunteer, however, it was perceived as being more honorable than being forced to serve under the draft, and it was only for nine months.

The impending draft prompted communities to take action. By obtaining sufficient volunteers, they would receive enough enlistment credits that would remove the requirement for the draft in their districts.\textsuperscript{10} The City of York was no exception. \textit{The York Gazette} reported a war meeting held on July 23:

\begin{center}
\textbf{WAR MEETING IN YORK LARGE AND ENTHUSIATIC GATHERING OF PEOPLE}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{7} Snell, 84.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{The Shippensburg News}, August 23, 1862, “The Draft Postponed.”
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{The Shippensburg News}, August 23, 1862, “The Draft Postponed.”
\textsuperscript{10} Snell, 84.
Washington Hall was crowded to the utmost capacity on Wednesday evening last, in response to a call of many citizens, "to take into consideration the condition of the county in relation to the war, and devise means for encouraging enlistments of volunteers."\textsuperscript{11}

A president, vice president, and two secretaries were appointed with a committee of ten men being selected to draft resolutions expressive of the meeting that was unanimously adopted. In part, the York war meeting resolved that:

Whereas, The President of the United States has made a requisition upon the loyal people of the Union for an additional number of volunteers, to aid in suppressing the unholy rebellion, now existing in our land; and whereas, the Governor of Pennsylvania has fixed the quota to be supplied by York County, at three companies of volunteers, and urged the loyal citizens throughout our borders to take active measures for the encouraging of volunteering, and whereas, York County should not be behind any sister counties, in the patriotic work of sustaining the government in this hour of peril, therefore, Resolved, That we pledge our warmest efforts in furnishing the number of men required, and as many more as possible.\textsuperscript{12}

These efforts included a $15,000 fund appropriated from the county coffers to pay bounties "of not less than fifty dollars" for each volunteer who enlisted under this current quota. The borough of Hanover paid each recruit an added $25 bounty giving each recruit a total bounty of $75.\textsuperscript{13}

York County quickly raised its quota, as The York Gazette reported on August 15, 1862: "The quota of three companies assigned to York had been more than filled." The paper further proclaimed that:

Such a response speaks well for the patriotism and loyalty of our people. We have, excepting in the last quota, sent the greater part of one regiment into the field, and we would pledge ourselves, if allowed the privilege of volunteering, to

\textsuperscript{11} The York Gazette, July 29, 1862, "The President's Call for Troops in 1862."
\textsuperscript{12} The York Gazette, July 29, 1862, "The President's Call for Troops in 1862."
\textsuperscript{13} Snell, 83.
raise another regiment. The people of York will not allow any other County to
go before them in their efforts to carry on the war to a successful issue.14

On July 29, 1862, Cumberland County appropriated $20,000 "from the county
funds to be obtained by a loan, if necessary a sum not exceeding twenty-thousand dollars
to be appropriated at the rate of $50 per man, to every soldier who shall join companies to
be raised in Cumberland County. . . ." At the same time, Cumberland County passed a
resolution "to pay the families of those who are now in the service of their county and are
now sick, wounded or prisoners, and whose families are in a destitute condition, a sum
sufficient to the support of said families."15

Bounties were offered at both the national and local levels in an effort to provide
relief to the soldiers' wives and families. Federal legislation had been passed on May 11,
1861, that allowed counties, cities, and towns to appropriate funds for their relief by levy-
ing taxes or issuing bonds. First enlistment volunteers of the 130th Pennsylvania
Regiment were entitled to receive a $100 National Bounty that would be paid at the time
of their discharge, or to their legal representative if the volunteer was killed or died in
service. For first re-enlisted volunteers they would receive $2 in addition to his formal
pay, and $1 for every subsequent enlistment.16 In an effort to fill the vacancies created
in existing regiments, the Federal government amended the National Bounty provision by
eliminating the bounty and advance pay for anyone volunteering for any new regiments
after August 15, 1862.17

14 The York Gazette, August 15, 1862, "York County's Quota."
15 The Carlisle Herald, August 1, 1862, "War Meeting-$20,000 Appropriated."
16 The Carlisle Herald, September 20, 1861, "Bounties, Soldiers’ Pay, Etc."
17 The York Gazette, August 19, 1862, "General Order of the Secretary of War Relative to Volun-
teers and Bounty."
Assuredly, the motivations to enlist were as varied as the volunteers. Many merely sought adventure, the allure of the romance of war that they had so wrongly perceived. Others signed on merely to receive the bounties. Despite their individual motivation, the majority of volunteers found in the recruiting lines were there with the sentiments of “right” and “duty.” Patriotism, yes, but even more, it was a symbol of honor and manhood. The spirit to serve one’s country in the great cause was the impetus for most to take their solemn oath of allegiance “to protect and defend against all enemies, foreign or domestic.”

John D. Hemminger, who was recruited in Newville, reported that in response to the President’s call, recruiting offices in Carlisle, Mechanicsburg, Newville, and Shippensburg met their quotas in a few days.\textsuperscript{18} In the opening remarks in his diary, Hemminger recounted not yet meeting the age requirement of eighteen:

Prompted by a spirit of loyalty I offered my humble service to help suppress the rebellion but was refused [sic] on account of not having attained the age of eighteen years. In the description, my age was put down as 18 years although I was lacking more than six months of the required years for enlistment. I was born on Saturday February 22, 1845.\textsuperscript{19}

Sixteen-year-old Edward W. Spangler of York County noted how he volunteered with his mother’s permission:

On August 4, 1862, President Lincoln called for 300,000 volunteers to serve for nine months. In consequence, another war meeting was held by the citizens of York, for the purpose of taking measures to fill the county’s quota – four companies which were quickly recruited. In the fall of 1861, I was rejected on account of my youth and small stature as a drummer boy in the 87th Regiment Pennsylvania

\textsuperscript{18} John D. Hemminger Diary, Michael Winery Collection, (United States Army Military History Institute, hereinafter cited as USAMHI, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania). 1. Hereinafter cited as Hemminger Diary.
\textsuperscript{19} Hemminger Diary, 1.
 Volunteers then forming on the York Commons, – eight Companies from York County and two from Adams. About August 5, 1862 having obtained my mother’s written consent, tearfully given, to my enlistment in the army, in company with brother Frank, two years my senior, we resigned our store clerkships. I was then a little over sixteen years of age and weighed ninety-two pounds.20

Edward Spangler would not be the youngest member of the unit. John C. Brown of Newville “ended” the war at the age of sixteen after enlisting as a private in Company E, 130th Pennsylvania Regiment at the age of thirteen.21

Within days after his 1859 graduation at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, John Hays wrote to his college friend, Frank S. Findlay in Arlington, Virginia:

Though the dividing lines between North and South and East and West may separate us and though our minds become imbued with the principles of that section of country in which our lot may be cast and our feelings as much imbittered as those of the hottest in the strife yet when the watchword ‘concordia’ shall be heard loud and clear above the din and noise of the contestants all bitter feelings, all differences in opinion, and all that may tend to separate us will be forgotten and our hands joined in the old-time grip of brotherly love.22

Soon after graduating, Hays joined into a law practice in Carlisle only to answer his call to duty in August 1862. He would in time be promoted to Major, becoming the 130th Pennsylvania Regiment’s Adjutant, and would suffer the remainder of his life from wounds received at Chancellorsville.

In a September 1862 letter to his wife, Mary, Captain Henry I. Zinn expressed his feelings about serving, that were not unlike those who served under him: “I do not feel so

21 Star and Enterprise, Newville, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1913. Although a John C. Brown is not included in Company E’s official roster published in Samuel P. Bates’ History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5, recruits would sometimes use aliases as in cases of those underage.
much like soldiering as formerly, but a sense of duty, and the hope that things will soon
get better, prevent me from being despondent . . . so I make the best of my situation and
take things as they come.”

Mechanicsville native John B. Landis perhaps most accurately expressed the
mindset of those new Pennsylvania recruits who decided to join the cause by rushing off
to save the Union:

On Saturday morning August the 9th, 1862 I joined a delegation of young men
who had volunteered to enter the army of the Union. The whole country had been
shaken to its foundation by the first year’s experience of the war; and no young
man who had any patriotism in his heart felt that he was doing his duty unless he
shouldered a musket in defense of his country. . . . The lump that rose in my throat
as they gave me a tearful yet cheering farewell came near choking me. I scarcely
dared to give a look back, for in that one moment of farewell came visions of bat-
tle, wounds, prison and death itself. But as quickly as it came it dissolved in the
fire of patriotism as with song and cheer we sped down the hill toward town.

An August 1862 article published in the Shippensburg News summed up not only
the attitudes of the newspaper, but of every reader:

Everyday that the present terrible war proceeds we receive fresh illustrations of
the touching and beautiful self-sacrifice of the loyal people. Deeds not words, are
generally the eloquent teachers of this, one of the paramount duties and instincts of
the hour. . . .

This new flood of Pennsylvania volunteers inundated Harrisburg during the first
two weeks of August 1862 to begin their journey that would forever change their lives.

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23 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 13, 1862. As cited in Pennsylvania Antietam Battlefield
Commission, One Hundred and Thirtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry: Ceremonies and Ad-
dresses at Dedication of the Monument at Bloody Lane, Antietam Battlefield, September 1904 (n.p.,
1904), 54. Although all of the cited letters of Henry I. Zinn were to his wife Mary, some were addressed,
“Dearest Mary,” while others were addressed, “Dearest Wife.”
24 John B. Landis Memoirs, (Antietam National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Sharps-
burg, Maryland), (n.p.), 3. Hereinafter cited as Landis Memoirs, Special Collections, Antietam National
Park Service, Department of the Interior, Sharpsburg, Maryland.
Harrisburg had been selected as the site where the state would organize and train its men. In addition to serving as the Commonwealth's capital city, Harrisburg provided rapid transportation for both men and materials as four railroads converged into the city as well as the recently opened Pennsylvania Canal.\textsuperscript{26} The initial site selected to serve as the point of rendezvous and limited training (and often with none) was the 80-square-acre Dauphin County Agricultural Fairgrounds that was located one mile north of the state capital building. Originally named Camp of Rendezvous, and later renamed Camp Curtin in honor of Pennsylvania's governor, the facility would become the largest camp in the North serving over 300,000 men from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, New York, and New Jersey.\textsuperscript{27} The sudden August 1862 influx of new volunteers necessitated a second camp located one and a half miles east of the city dubbed Camp Cameron in honor of the Secretary of War. This camp was immediately followed by a third camp located in fields north of Camp Curtin where the new 130th Pennsylvania Regiment would be organized. The new camp was named Camp Simmons in honor of a Harrisburg soldier recently killed in the Peninsula Campaign. During that time, Camp Curtin was often referred to as the "Old Camp."\textsuperscript{28}

The new recruits came from all stations in life arriving individually or in organized companies. Most often, the localities organized their own companies of volunteers or provided their already-established local militia. William Laughlin and Joshua Sharpe, who had been given authorization by the governor to raise a company for nine months

\textsuperscript{26} Miller, 5.
\textsuperscript{27} Miller, 237.
\textsuperscript{28} Miller, 107.
service, organized the future Company E of the 130th Pennsylvania Volunteers in Newville in July 1862. A group of volunteers, called “The Shippensburg Guards,” arrived at Harrisburg in similar fashion to become Company D.

They came by train, wagon, boat, or on foot. They were the teachers, farmers, tailors, carpenters, clerks, blacksmiths, and common laborers who formed together in August 1862. Many of those who arrived between August 10 and 15 were brought together into ten companies and designated the 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. Companies A, G, D, F and E, were recruited from Cumberland County; Companies B, I, and K from York; Company C from York and Montgomery; and Company H from the counties of Cumberland, Dauphin, and Chester.

Upon arriving at Camp Simmons, the men, organized into volunteer companies, were assigned to new regiments, and were quickly issued brooms, rakes, tinplates, forks, and knives. The men of the 130th were not unlike most other inexperienced recruits relying on their own initiative to keep warm that first night. Corporal John Landis recounted his unforgettable experience on August 9:

Evening came on, we were not yet organized and had not tents. I remember with what care a comrade and myself selected a board pile for a bed, putting up a board for a roof to protect us from the night dews.

Soon after the men arrived, they had to overcome their first obstacle of being examined by a surgeon who would attest that they were indeed fit for service. “Despite each examining officer’s passing an examination by the surgeon general and a board of

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31 Landis Memoirs, 3.
officers, many became less than thorough as the war progressed.” Miller noted the examining doctor’s questionable standards: “Often a quick look in a man’s eye and mouth and a hearty thump or two on his chest was sufficient to determine a man’s fitness for military service.”

John D. Hemminger vividly recounted his first medical experience at Harrisburg:

We were ordered to appear before a band of examining surgeons one at a time being admitted . . . divested of every particle of clothing the examination was conducted very much like a dealer wont to before purchasing a horse. And concluded with a description of the subject by age, weight, height, complexion color of hair and eyes.

When Edward Spangler’s turn came to be inspected, the examiner commented, “Young man, you are only five foot two-two inches too short.” Spangler remembered that he immediately stood on his toes and declared, “Try it again.” The examiner winked replied, “That’s all right.”

In his words, future Corporal Landis of Company F recalled the scene in an even more descriptive manner:

We marched to a house near the river bank to await examination. Here I had time to study the crowd about me, as I was lying in the shade of a locust tree, I saw the squads go in and out, to and from examination . . . Finally my own time came, I was nearly twenty-one years old, slight, only five feet seven inches tall, and poor in physical appearance. I passed with a blow to the collar bone and scarcely a look.

Beginning that Saturday evening through August 15, typically by company, the men of the 130th were officially “mustered into the military service of the United States

32 Miller, 60.
33 Hemminger Diary, 1.
34 Spangler, 18.
35 Landis Memoirs, 3.
for a period of nine months unless sooner discharged by a termination of the war.\textsuperscript{36} “The oath taken was to support the Constitution and defend the flag and country against all foes,” Hemminger noted.\textsuperscript{37}

August 1862 was colder and rainier than normal continuously exposing men, used to the comforts of home, to the exposure of these unusual conditions affecting the general health in camp. The combination of a severe change in a diet of questionable quality, coupled with substandard and often unsanitary living conditions, resulted in higher than normal cases of dysentery and diarrhea followed by typhoid, assorted fevers and respiratory illnesses.\textsuperscript{38}

On Sunday, August 10, the volunteers received their tents that they pitched in the southeastern portion of Camp Simmons. Their day was busy in preparing their camp and receiving visitors coming to see their loved-ones perhaps for their last time. The mustering in continued through Monday with some new recruits, including Private Samuel Brehm of Company E, standing guard for the first time. Private Brehm documented his viewpoint of being a soldier thus far: “Think ‘sogering’ tolerable good business – rather wild.”\textsuperscript{39}

Tuesday morning was a beautiful morning with indications of a warm breeze. Both the morning and afternoon were uneventful. On Tuesday evening there was a dress parade for the men of Companies A and F with the ladies of Harrisburg presenting them “colors.” Afterwards, Corporal Landis recorded the event:

\textsuperscript{36} Spangler, 18.
\textsuperscript{37} Hemminger Diary, 2.
\textsuperscript{38} Miller, 61.
\textsuperscript{39} Samuel H. Brehm Diary, August 11, 1862, Newville Historical Society, Newville, Pennsylvania. Hereinafter cited as Brehm Diary with corresponding date.
One brave fellow over six feet tall, with light hair and high cheek bones, by the name of Crist, went so far as to go into town and buy a great butcher knife, which he stuck under his belt, as he went around the Camp bellowing to be let loose on the Rebels. But the poor boy hadn’t smelled powder yet, and his big knife was afterward put to the peaceful uses of dividing the salt pork for his comrades in the cook’s tent, under his hands, instead of being used upon our erring brothers on the other side.\textsuperscript{40}

An infantry regiment in the Civil War contained ten companies lettered A through K omitting J. The letter J was unused since it was easily confused with the letter K in hand written orders and reports. A colonel commanded a regiment with additional staff officers of a lieutenant-colonel, a major, an adjutant and quartermaster officer, both with the rank of lieutenant, a surgeon, and an assistant surgeon. Additionally authorized were the positions of regimental sergeant major, a regimental quartermaster sergeant, a regimental commissary sergeant, a hospital steward, two principal musicians, and twenty-four musicians for a band. A captain commanded each company that was divided into two platoons with one platoon commanded by a first lieutenant and the other by a second lieutenant. Each platoon was divided into two squads, each supervised by a sergeant. A company was additionally authorized one first sergeant, four sergeants, eight corporals, two musicians, one wagoner, and from sixty-four to eighty-two privates.\textsuperscript{41}

The sudden departure from the toils and responsibilities of every day life caught many soldiers with a sincere concern for their families’ welfare. How was a family to survive without its breadwinner? Who would take care of them in the soldier’s absence? Twenty-seven-year-old schoolteacher Captain Zinn, of Company F, from Churchland, Cumberland County, wrote to his wife on August 13, 1862, from Camp Simmons ex-

\textsuperscript{40} Landis Memoirs, 4.
\textsuperscript{41} Revised Regulations for the United States Army, 1863, 505.
pressing these concerns. Little did he know that within four days of his first letter home that his responsibility would multiply tenfold from being the captain of a company in charge of one hundred men, to becoming the commander of the regiment with the overwhelming responsibility of about 1,000 men.

Dearest Wife: ... orders have been received to prepare four regiments immediately, and as my company is one of those to go, I cannot get off. I have no idea at all where we will be sent. It leaves me in a predicament, as I have not yet made any provision for you nor myself. My uniform and other things I need are still at home. If I can possibly get off, I shall go home soon in order to arrange my affairs. You will have to exercise your business tact and try to collect certain outstanding accounts due me. Above all, take good care of yourself and the children, and take things calmly. I shall write you soon again and if I find I cannot get home I shall then give you directions how to send me things. Until then believe me.\footnote{Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 13, 1862.}

Thursday, August 14, brought with it the election of company officers, a common practice both North and South. The members of each company would elect their captain. The elected captain, in turn, would appoint the company's noncommissioned officers. The command position for the 130th Pennsylvania Regiment came not from political influence, wealth, background, or military experience, but from the drillmaster at Camp Curtain. In a letter sent to Governor Curtin on September 2, 1862, requesting that commissions be issued, Captain Zinn remarked, "I was selected by Capt. Tarbutton to take command of the Regiment and have had command up to the present time."\footnote{Captain Henry I. Zinn to Governor Curtin, September 2, 1862, 130th Pennsylvania Regimental Records. RG-19, Box 81, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.} Tarbutton, a middle-aged Harrisburg resident, was given the rank of captain at the outbreak of the war and initially assigned to Camp Curtin. He was tasked to teach the officers and noncommissioned officers how to march and the basics of squad and company drill so they
could then teach their men. Captain William Tarbutton served concurrently as drillmaster and post adjutant, and later as the nine-month units arrived, he was the Vice Commander, commanding Camp Simmons, the satellite of the Old Camp (Camp Curtin). It can be assumed he selected men he believed who could best perform the duties of the regimental commander from the officers within the newly-formed regiment based upon his first-hand observations and military experience. This temporary selection was contingent upon Governor Curtin’s confirmation.

Two subsequent documented requests were made in attempts to become the 130th’s Regimental Commander. On July 28, 1862, an application was filed with Pennsylvania’s Adjutant General A. L. Russell by A. G. Barney who requested command of one of the newly-formed volunteer regiments. On August 27, 1862 Barney followed up his application with a personal letter to Governor Curtin on requesting that he be considered to take command of the 130th considering his previous regimental command experience.

Brigadier General William H. French, commander of the 3rd Division, Second Corps, to which the 130th would soon be assigned, recommended a second nominee. Brigadier General French’s September 9, 1862 letter to Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Taylor, Chief of Staff of the Second Corps cited that the 130th Pennsylvania had reported without any field officers. He requested that Lieutenant J. H. Wilson (United States Army Topographical Engineers) be “assigned to the regiment as acting colonel and that the

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44 Miller, 72.
45 Miller, 107.
governor of Pennsylvania be asked to confirm the appointment." Further, General French went on, "A very few days only under its present organization or rather the want of it will demoralize nine hundred fine men. The captain commanding [Captain Henry I. Zinn] reported to me that his men were beyond his control and acquiring habits of thieving, straggling and marauding." General French's request was subsequently endorsed by the Second Corps Commander, General E. V. Sumner, who added, "I would respectively urge the appointment." On September 20, 1862, Lieutenant J. H. Wilson petitioned Governor Curtin for the position in a letter citing that "if granted that I can make the 130th Regiment a credit to Pennsylvania and extremely useful in the Great Cause."

The actual commissions issued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania would arrive much later. The mustering-in process continued through Sunday, August 17, for those who had not yet taken the oath of allegiance. For others in the regiment, the day was uneventful with some members returning to their homes for their last "good-byes."

During the next two days, the men were issued their uniforms, equipment, and new 1861 model Springfield rifles. Company E's Private John Hemminger carefully recounted that they received:

Then was issued to each member of our company an outfit of clothing consisting of 1 pair of pantaloons, a dress frock coat, 1 pair of shoes, a cap. 2 shirts, 2 pair of drawers.

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49 Jas. H. Wilson to Governor Curtin. September 20, 1862, 130th Pennsylvania Regimental Records. Three days prior to Lieutenant Wilson writing his letter to Governor Curtin, an internal election of the regiment’s field and staff officers occurred.
50 Hays, 16.
51 Hays, 16.
52 Hemminger Diary, August 17, 1862.
and 2 pair of socks. In addition we each received a wool blanket, Knapsack, Haversack, and canteen. For the above outfit we were charged the sum of $30.00 to be accounted for at the expiration of the term of service as against the allowance each one was entitled to receive.\textsuperscript{53}

With this issue each company had received it required clothing and equipment with the exception of a rubber blanket and a shoulder strap for the cartridgebox.\textsuperscript{54}

Corporal John Landis of Company F recalled the procedure of issuing uniforms in a somewhat more humorous manner:

We now began to look more like soldiers, although many if us took on quite ludicrous appearances. One man’s clothing was too large and another’s too small. A big cap on a small head or a little cap on a big head, gave an odd look to many a one. But after exchanges were made, most of us looked presentable. But getting on our accoutrements and learning how to roll up an overcoat and blanket were the next problems.\textsuperscript{55}

Company G’s Private John S. Weiser was able to find a free moment on August 16th to write home to his parents telling them of his first experiences of military life:

We get plenty to eat such as Government peas and good Beef and splendid shoulder with coffee for supper and Breakfast and Bean and Rice [soup] with Potato for dinner, I fare very well all the time as I am on the right side of the Cooks[]. [W]e have two cooks that cook for the whole Company[]. [W]e were formed into a Regiment the beginning of the week but it was broken up and we are in an other new, but don’t know what one it is yet[]. [W]e are under marching orders and can’t tell how soon we will leave as there are two Regiments leaving every day.\textsuperscript{56}

Camp Curtin served as both a camp of rendezvous and instruction. On a typical day the nearby fields were alive with commands being shouted teaching squad, company, and battalion movements necessary to both save lives and be successful on the battle-

\textsuperscript{53} Hemminger Diary, August 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{54} Hemminger Diary, August 17, 1862.
\textsuperscript{55} Landis Memoirs, 4.
\textsuperscript{56} John S. Weiser to his parents, August 16, 1862, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, U. S. Army Military History Institute (USAMHI), Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.
fields yet to come. Regiments received training that could prove the difference between life and death to the soldier and success or failure to the unit. The 130th would be forced, at least temporarily, to forgo this opportunity. On Monday morning, August 18, the 986 men of the newly-formed 130th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment were given three days rations and ordered to pack up and be ready to leave Camp Simmons.\textsuperscript{57} Their time had so quickly arrived.

According to Private Hemminger, the morning of August 18 was “bright and clear and by 9 o’clock in the morning with organization of the regiment complete.” The men of the new 130th Pennsylvania marched out of camp headed towards Harrisburg.\textsuperscript{58} They marched up Market Street to the Susquehanna River and crossed over the large wood “Camel back” bridge to Bridgeport where train transports were awaiting them. Private Hemminger continued in his diary: “In marching over the old bridge the regular step of nearly one thousand men carried the structure to oscillate so much that for a few moments great alarm was felt for fear that the thing might collapse.”\textsuperscript{59}

The Northern Central Railroad cars at Bridgeport came in a wide assortment. Company E was crowded in open boxcars with sides about eighteen inches high with planks laid over for seats. At 12:00 P.M., the train reached the city of York giving many York soldiers the opportunity for one last good-bye from their loved ones.\textsuperscript{60} At 3:00 P.M., the regiment arrived at the Calvert Street Station in Baltimore, disembarked, and marched up Calvert Street past Monument Square to the Camden Station of the Baltimore

\textsuperscript{57} John R. Turner to his daughter, Kittie, September 28, 1862.
\textsuperscript{58} Hemminger Diary, August 18, 1862.
\textsuperscript{59} Hemminger Diary, August 18, 1862.
\textsuperscript{60} The Shippensburg News, August 23, 1862.
and Ohio Railroad. The regiment was taken to the rooms of the Union Relief Committee at the Camden Station and given a good supper. ⁶¹

Corporal Landis of Company F described his first journey in blue:

This began to seem a little like soldiering; loaded down with blanket, haversack, canteen, tin-cup, musket, &c. and moving out . . . with our engine headed southward, we began to feel that we were indeed to take up an army life. I remember with what interest we watched the state line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and how when we crossed it the boys cheered loud and long, for they were entering the enemy’s country. ⁶²

Arriving in the streets of Baltimore, Corporal Landis began to realize that the patriotic sentiment he shared with his comrades was viewed differently in neighboring Maryland:

“The streets of Baltimore were very quiet as we marched through. How different from Harrisburg . . . how quiet. Only dark side glances where cast upon us. Window blinds were drawn, or opened sufficiently to reveal the scowling glances cast upon us from behind them.” ⁶³

Shortly before 10:00 P.M., the 130th re-boarded the train continuing their tiresome journey to Washington. En route, Private Hemminger became stricken with severe stomach cramps. The regiment, finally arriving in Washington around 12:00 P.M., was quartered for the night at the Soldiers’ Retreat, a spacious wooden structure, at the railroad depot and later provided supper by the Soldiers’ Relief. Private Hemminger was

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⁶¹ The Shippensburg News, August 23, 1862.
⁶² Landis Memoirs, 4-5.
⁶³ Landis Memoirs, 4-5.
taken to a room at the Soldiers' Retreat and examined by a physician who found his "suffering greatly alleviated but in an exhausted condition."\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{64} Landis Memoirs, 4-5; Hemminger Diary August 18-19, 1862; Merkel Landis, Esq., "History of the 130th Regiment Penn. Volunteer Infantry," \textit{The Evening Sentinel}, December 28, 1929, 3; Brehm Diary. August 18, 1862.
CHAPTER 2
GUARDING THE CAPITAL

At daybreak, August 11, the regiment awoke to its first view of the nation’s capitol. Private Spangler recounted, “We had never before seen an edifice so large, majestic, and imposing in appearance. Its present lofty dome, with its tiers of columns . . . its summit surmounted by the colossal statue of liberty, was then erected only a score of feet above the adjacent wings, with a huge crane projecting from the opening.”¹ After breakfast at the Soldiers’ Relief, the regiment formed “with colors flying and moved under a hot sun up Pennsylvania Avenue, unpaved and full of ruts.”² While on their march down the avenue the “Hallelujah Chorus” was started by some of the men and quickly joined by the whole regiment and “it became a volume of sound that made the windows rattle and stirred the hearts of Union men in the Capitol City.”³ The regiment crossed the Long Bridge that spanned the Potomac River into Virginia and proceeded to Camp Wells, a distance of three or four miles.⁴ This was the regiment’s first experience of marching with the added burden of a knapsack. Private Lewis Masonheimer of Company A, described it as, “A very ugly article for a soldier.”⁵ Attesting to what he thought a long march, Private Samuel H. Brehm of Company E, commented, “Walked the whole dis-

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¹ Spangler, 19.
² Lewis Masonheimer Diary, August 18, 1862, in possession of Dorothy Bonafield Snyder; Spangler 19.
³ The Shippensburg New, August 23, 1862.
⁴ Spangler, 19.
⁵ Masonheimer Diary, August 19, 1862.
tance and was rather fatigued. The regiment arrived at their destination, Camp Wells, which was part of a 37 mile ring of 23 fortifications built to protect the Capitol, which was situated across the Potomac River in Virginia two miles in the rear and southwest of Arlington Heights on the farm of General Robert E. Lee. The men settled into their new camp, put up their tents, and prepared themselves for their first night on Virginia soil. Private Hemminger, still feeling quit ill and unable to march with the regiment, was sent by Captain Joshua W. Sharp by ambulance to the Trinity Church Hospital in Washington for further treatment.

August 20 was uneventful for most in the 130th. Many lay in camp resting from the long trip from Harrisburg. Others, including Private Brehm, were detailed with a twenty-four hour guard duty. This day gave Captain Zinn his first opportunity to write home to his wife since leaving Harrisburg: "I have never been so busy in my life as now. It may sound very nice to be the commander of a regiment, but I have come to the conclusion that a colonel earns all he gets. . . . I am very much interrupted by persons coming in so that I can hardly write a dozen lines without two dozen interruptions . . . ." His letter further complained that "No permanent appointments have yet been made for the regiment; therefore things do not go off very smoothly." Given the command and staff responsibilities, Captain Zinn, and his staff lacked the proper authority of their positions

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6 Brehm Diary, August 19, 1862.
7 The Shippensburg News, August 23, 1862; Landis Diary, 5.
8 Hemminger Diary, August 19, 1862.
9 Brehm Diary, August 20, 1862.
10 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 20, 1862.
that could jeopardize their effectiveness.\textsuperscript{11} He further described the living conditions as "a little rough, but that is owing to a want of proper management . . . the location is very good but the water is somewhat scarce."\textsuperscript{12}

Others within the regiment also had time to write short letters home describing their wartime experiences thus far. Private John S. Weiser of Company G wrote to his parents describing the surroundings as being somewhat desolate and his living conditions rather limited:

We . . . arrived here yesterday evening all very well this camp is seven miles from Washington City it is the most desolate country I have ever seen. . . . I just came from a brook two miles from camp where I was washing two Shirts and a pair of drawers the first I washed since I have been in the Service last evening after we pitched our tents, our bunk went out and brought in a lot of tomatoes and we cooked them for supper this morning we had onions for breakfast When I say bunk I mean the men that stay in the tent that I do there are fourteen of us in the tent.\textsuperscript{13}

Captain William Laughlin, who commanded Company E, thought well of his first days at camp writing to his nephews on August 20, 1861: "Boys we are on the sacred soil of Virginia encamped in a blackberry field and all well and comfortable . . . with good water and plenty of it."\textsuperscript{14}

The quality of the men of the 130th Regiment thus far, was held in high regard. Captain Zinn claimed that the regiment was composed of "fine material, and most of the officers are gentlemen."\textsuperscript{15} Captain Laughlin held a similar opinion: "We have a very

\textsuperscript{11} Although Henry Zinn was appointed the regiment's commander, the rank of a colonel, he continued to use his rank of captain until October 1, 1862, when the formal officer commissions would arrive from the Pennsylvania Governor's Office.
\textsuperscript{12} Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 20, 1862.
\textsuperscript{13} John S. Weiser to his parents, August 20, 1862.
\textsuperscript{14} William Laughlin to his nephews, August 20, 1862, Newville Historical Society.
\textsuperscript{15} Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 20, 1862.
pleasant Regt there has not been a fight or a drunk man that I know of since we have been in camp."16

The 130th Regiment celebrated two events the next day, Thursday, August 21, with the first regimental drill and the birthday of Company F’s Corporal John Landis. Corporal Landis wrote on his birthday: “This day Aug. 21 was my birthday, and my twenty-first anniversary, too. So from that day forward I felt a little more a man.”17

For the next several days, the regiment’s routine consisted of both company and regimental drill along with picket duty and swimming the “rapid current of the falls of the Potomac.”18 Cooking was at company level with appointed cooks who provided a “monotonous supply of bean-soup” cooked in large iron kettles “often burnt in the cooking, for our noonday meal.”19

Meanwhile that day, Private Hemminger, still in a Washington hospital, received a visit by his friend, Private Simon M. Whistler, also from Company E. With permission from a hospital surgeon, he and Private Whistler visited the Capitol and other places of interest only to return to the hospital to witness the cruelty of war. A number of wounded had just arrived, including an Irishman who had both of his arms amputated near the shoulder. Amazingly, the Irishman marched back and forth through the ward singing songs and telling funny jokes and observed that he could not understand why the rebs would take both his arms and leave his head.20

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16 William Laughlin to his nephews, August 20, 1862.
17 Landis Diary, 5.
18 Spangler, 21.
19 Spangler, 21.
20 Hemminger Diary, August 22, 1862.
Company K was detailed to protect the famous Virginia Mansion "Arlington" owned by Confederate General Robert E. Lee.\(^{21}\) Private Spangler described the mansion:

> A stately brick structure with slave quarters and stables . . . with a picturesque view of the Capitol City. The old portraits of the Custis and Lee families were still hanging over the parlor walls. The interior architecture . . . was a perfect reproduction of an aristocratic Virginia interior of a century ago. All about the place had the aspect of antiquity and former wealth.\(^{22}\)

It was rumored that Company K was to be detached permanently to provide guard duty at the Arlington mansion for their entire term of service. The rumor was quickly quelled after a week's service when the company was ordered to march about six miles up to the Potomac River to the regiment's new encampment at Fort Marcy near the Chain Bridge.\(^{23}\)

After several attempts, on August 23, Private Hemminger was able to convince the surgeon, Dr. Davis, to discharge him. Under protest, the doctor relented and issued the discharge and pass, although he claimed that Private Hemminger was "unfit for duty" and that he should remain for a week or two longer.\(^{24}\) Private Hemminger immediately set out to locate his regiment that was somewhere across the Potomac River in Virginia. He went on to add, "Further on I was taken on by one of Uncle Sam's forage wagon going in the direction of Arlington. With permission of the driver I mounted the seat by his side . . . arriving at the Regiment's camp at 5'o'clock P.M. almost tired out, but glad to be again with the boys."\(^{25}\)

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\(^{21}\) Spangler, 20.  
\(^{22}\) Spangler, 20.  
\(^{23}\) Spangler, 20.  
\(^{24}\) Hemminger Diary, August 23, 1862.  
\(^{25}\) Hemminger Diary, August 23, 1862.
Private Brehm observed that Sunday, August 24, was a less demanding day with a 9:00 A.M. inspection followed in the afternoon with a “short discourse in Camp by a member of the Reg. The theme, sin. Its origins, character, effects. Very suitably applied to the profanity in Camp.” A dress parade concluded the duty day that evening.26

After only four days of drilling, the regiment was temporarily separated. “Three companies of this regiment have been sent to man forts in the neighborhood. Captain Porter’s company [A], and Company F, have been ordered to Fort Albany, while the other companies have been sent to Fort Craig,” Captain Henry I. Zinn informed his wife.27 This assignment was short-lived as Private Masonheimer recorded in his diary August 25: “Marched to Fort Albany one mile from Long Bridge and back to camp at night.”28

There was a strong indication that the regiment would soon be moving. On August 24, fifteen teams were sent to move the regiment; however, no official orders had been received authorizing the move. The teams were sent a few hundred yards to move the nearby 125th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment.29 Company E had been sent three miles to Manassas Gap for their first experience at picket duty and would return at 4:00 A.M. on August 26 to see their fellow soldiers having breakfast and being instructed to pack up and be ready to march with no time or opportunity for sleep.30 Since the teams arrived late on August 26, the regiment would begin its seven-mile trek to their new camp

26 Brehm Diary, August 24, 1862.
27 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, August 24, 1862.
28 Masonheimer Diary, August 25, 1862.
29 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, August 24, 1862.
30 Hemminger Diary, August 25 - 26, 1862.
at Fort Marcy.\textsuperscript{31} Ft. Marcy was located on a ridge near the Leesburg Pike, about one mile from the Chain Bridge on the Virginia side of the Potomac River.\textsuperscript{32}

Captain Zinn was beginning to understand military service when to his wife he wrote, “There is no probability of our remaining long in any position.” Further, Captain Zinn remarked, “The Regiment is to be drilled as heavy artillery.”\textsuperscript{33} He had somehow received tentative advanced notice of the intentions of the War Department. This garrison-type duty would require the regiment to man the heavy artillery on Washington’s outer defenses. While this duty would have come as positive news to their families, it would not be to most of the men in the 130th who were ready to get into the fight. Fortunately or not, the regiment was destined to fulfill its obligation to the nation as it had begun, as an infantry regiment.

Not long after settling into camp, Private Hemminger was among those detailed for camp guard and was given the countersign of “Baltimore” by the officer of the day in order to identify friend or foe. The officer further instructed the guards “not to allow any person to approach or cross the given line that could not give the countersign.”\textsuperscript{34} As a testament to the “greenness” of the men, later in the day an unidentified guard heard approaching footsteps and quickly shouted to the approaching stranger: “Halt who comes there.” The reply came back promptly: “A Friend.” The unidentified guard then replied: “approach friend within three paces of guard and say Baltimore or I’ll shoot.”\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{31} Masonheimer Diary, August 27, 1862.
\textsuperscript{32} Hemminger Diary, August 27, 1862.
\textsuperscript{33} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, August 24, 1862.
\textsuperscript{34} Hemminger Diary, August 27, 1862.
\textsuperscript{35} Hemminger Diary, August 27, 1862.
Later that day the reality of war unveiled itself to the men of the 130th when they heard heavy cannonading for the first time coming from the distant direction of Manassas. Excitement stirred the air as rumors spread throughout the camp that a large number of Rebels were nearby and could soon be expected. Private Brehm’s concerns of enemy action increased as he wrote, “Reports still worse in the afternoon. In the evening, the regiment is drawn up on the pike [Leesburg Turnpike] and undergo a drill on firing. Receive orders to be ready as a moments warning.”

As many had expected, at 2:00 A.M. the next morning, August 29, the regiment was awakened and ordered out to repel the possibility of invading Rebels on the heels of Union Major General John Pope’s Army in the area of Manassas. Corporal Landis wrote in his diary how “by a roundabout route [the regiment] took a position near the banks of the Potomac, among the tall wet grass and weeds, where we remained until daylight, when with nothing but our arms we marched to Fort Ethan Allen.” Not long after arriving at Fort Ethan Allen, the regiment back-tracked and bivouacked on the hill between Fort Marcy and Fort Ethan Allen. Later that afternoon the regiment witnessed General George B. McClellan’s Army of the Potomac passing up the Potomac. Private Brehm recorded this significant evening in his diary: “This night our bed is the soils of the ‘Old Dominion’ and the firament our pavilion. The stars seem to stand over us as sentinels to guard us from all besetting danger.”

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36 Brehm Diary, August 27, 1862.
37 Brehm Diary, August 28, 1862.
38 Landis Memoirs, 5.
39 Brehm Diary, August 29, 1862.
40 Landis Memoirs, 5.
41 Brehm Diary, August 29, 1862.
Just as the evening of the August 29 had ended, the next morning began with heavy cannonading heard all day reaching its crescendo at 3:00 P.M.\textsuperscript{42} This meant to the men of the regiment that Major General Pope and his Army of Virginia were being forced from their position and any hope of Union victory seemed doubtful. Private Hemminger heard the sounds of heavy cannons from the direction in Centreville: "The tide of battle was against us. . . . Our forces were repulsed in yesterday's engagement, and are falling back to this place."\textsuperscript{43} The battle would remain distant to the men of the 130th who would not encounter the rumored approaching throng of the Confederates that day. On August 30 the regiment was ordered back to its former position at Fort Marcy, with the men striking their tents on familiar ground.\textsuperscript{44}

Sunday morning, the last day of August, brought with it rain that lasted the entire day along with a stream of escaped slaves, dubbed "contrabands" heading into Washington seeking refuge. Private Masonheimer recorded that "Every contraband a different story. Numbers of families flitting down the road towards Washington."\textsuperscript{45} That morning, the absence of cannonading was noticed by the men of Company E as they were receiving their scripture lesson, the 10th Chapter of Matthew, by Lieutenant Joshua W. Sharpe, who was filling in for the yet to be assigned regimental chaplain.\textsuperscript{46} Later in the afternoon, the firing began coming from the same direction as the day before. Rumors were spreading throughout the camp like wildfire about the fighting taking place only a few

\textsuperscript{42} Landis Memoirs, 5.
\textsuperscript{43} Hemminger Diary, August 29, 1862.
\textsuperscript{44} Brehm Diary, August 30, 1862.
\textsuperscript{45} Masonheimer Diary, August 31, 1862.
\textsuperscript{46} Brehm Diary, August 31, 1862.
miles west of the regiment’s camp. Private Masonheimer recalled that “Many reports concerning yesterday’s fighting afloat but nothing definite as yet.”

With only picket duty to perform, most of the men had the day to themselves. Company F’s Corporal Landis and one of his comrades took the opportunity to venture outside the regiment’s campsite to investigate a nearby cabin to learn a little about the Southern culture:

With one of my comrades, I went to a cabin where we found a jolly old colored Auntie, with whom we soon contracted for a hoe-cake. . . . The real slave, old Chloe, was not at all afraid of Yankees. I became interested in her, and tried to get some idea of her life and childhood. I found her, however, to be one of those happy, contended old “mammys”, whose thoughts did not seem to run above the satisfaction of her physical wants for the day. True, no doubt she was to her master, who was in the service in the Southern Army, but the great question, which racked the country, in her happy ignorance she was never destined to see. So, whether she fed “yank” or “reb”, she was alike contented."

The day also brought news that a Washington newspaper had reported how the 130th had been engaged in battle and were “badly cut up.” Knowing how this would affect their families, many took the time to write home explaining that the article was untrue. False reports like these lessened the confidence in the reporting of many of the well-respected newspapers of the day. About the same time, the men had heard a report that Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas J. Jackson and his staff had been captured along with a good portion of his army. Confusion and rumors were daily ingredients in this camp not unlike any camp in any war. As their time in the army progressed, un-

47 The fighting taking place near Centreville, Virginia, would become known as the Battle of Second Bull Run.
48 Masonheimer Diary, August 31, 1862.
49 Landis Memoirs, 6.
50 William Laughlin to Mag, August 31, 1861.
51 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, August 31, 1862.
doubtedly, the men of 130th learned to question the reliability of what they heard in camp and read each day in the newspapers.

On August 31, the regiment received news that it, along with the 127th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, had been assigned to the Reserve Corps of the Potomac. The assignment would be a short-lived one, lasting only a week. The regiment’s fate was soon to be decided due to a turn of events unfolding only twenty miles west of them near the small Virginia town of Manassas.

The next day brought not only the first day of September, but also news that their Union Army had been defeated at the battle of Second Bull Run. Corporal John Landis witnessed the solemn return of Pope’s defeated soldiers:

The road [Leesburg Pike] was full of retreating soldiers and we first became aware of the defeat and disaster of Second Bull Run. The straggling towards Washington continued the next day, Wednesday [September 3, 1862], some of the soldiers having had nothing to eat for two days. We ourselves were on half rations. Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery were moving for Harper’s Ferry we were informed, and Alexandria.  

Company E’s commander, Captain William Laughlin wrote in a letter that “You ought to see the returning soldiers they are the hardest looking set of men you ever did see but at the same time they are determined to put down this rebellion.”

Confidence in the Union campaign was being questioned by both the troops and their officers after seeing first-hand their defeated comrades passing by and retreating to the safety of Washington. Captain Zinn shared his personal sentiment to his wife Mary:

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52 The Shippensburg News, August 30, 1862.
53 Landis Memoirs, 6.
54 William Laughlin to Mag, August 31, 1862.
“My opinion of the war is that we are worse off now than a year ago, and that the rebellion is not much near put down than then. . . . The old army is about played out, and the salvation of the country depends on the new levies.”

During the next two days, the men practiced company and regimental drill, performed picket duty, and listened to rumors of a possible Rebel confrontation. Private Hemminger noted on September 2 that they still had a lot to learn about soldiering, “This morning the company was taken out for drill. We practically know nothing about the Manuel [sic] of Arms and less about executing movements.”

Rumors spread through the camp late that evening that the Rebels were approaching Washington. In response, the regiment was ordered to form along the Leesburg Pike and nervously anticipated a confrontation that never came. After a full day of work of work on September 4, the regiment was ordered back to Fort Marcy, still anxious to know the whereabouts of the Confederate forces. With little time to rest, Companies E and I were ordered out on picket duty for the next two days. “We marched out the Leesburg turnpike road to a place called Pleasant Hall and stationed along an old abandoned road. Darkness had set in before arriving at this place. We captured two Rebel prisoners and an old horse, Our only food on this outing was green corn,” recounted Company E’s Private Hemminger.

That same day, a steady stream of about 25,000 troops marched past the regiment’s camp at Fort Marcy. Major General Franz Sigel passed by the regiment and was

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55 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 5, 1862.  
56 Hemminger Diary, September 2, 1862.  
57 Hemminger Diary, September 4, 1862.  
58 Hemminger Diary, September 2-3, 1862.
given three cheers. Later on that evening of September 3, the regiment was honored with both Major General McClellan and Major General Fitz-John Porter who visited the regiment and had supper with Captain Zinn.\textsuperscript{59}

As large bodies of Union troops began encamping near Washington on the Upper Potomac on September 4 and 5, anxiety increased in camp according to Private Hemminger, since the men did not know “the whereabouts of the confederate forces and their intentions of their Commander.”\textsuperscript{60} “I was greatly struck with the beautiful sight of numerous camp fires on the hills round about on the night of Friday,” recalled Corporal Landis.\textsuperscript{61} The influx of Federals concentrated around the outer defenses of the Capitol was an indication that something was being planned and the 130th would soon be a part. On Saturday, September 6, the order was given to cook two days rations, but with no orders to move, the regiment remained in place until the following day.\textsuperscript{62}

The Federal movement into Maryland began on September 6.\textsuperscript{63} Private Hemminger was impressed with the “Large bodies of the Army are march[ing] down the pike and crossing into Maryland over the Chain Bridge. Indicating that Gen Lee is about to cross the Potomac. If not already invading Maryland.”\textsuperscript{64} The men of the 130th Regiment were soon to join the march into Maryland not knowing either their destination or destiny.

\textsuperscript{59} Masonheimer Diary, September 3, 1862.
\textsuperscript{60} Hemminger Diary, September 4, 1862.
\textsuperscript{61} Landis Memoirs, 6.
\textsuperscript{62} Landis Memoirs, 6.
\textsuperscript{63} Hemminger Diary, September 6, 1862
\textsuperscript{64} Hemminger Diary, September 6, 1862.
CHAPTER 3

"SEEING THE ELEPHANT": THE ANTIETAM CAMPAIGN

When the order to move out finally came early on Sunday afternoon, September 7, 1862, the regiment numbered 930 enlisted men and officers who were prepared for their first march with the Army of the Potomac.\textsuperscript{1} Private Hemminger recorded his experience that morning:

We each received a cartridgebox strap for over the shoulder, also a [poncho] used in time of rain. Today we also received brass letters and numbers to fasten on the front of our caps designating the company and Regiment we are members. Painters were busy stenciling the company and Regiment on our knapsacks.\textsuperscript{2}

Anticipating a long march, the men were instructed only to pack their knapsacks with things that they needed on the march. As his comrades, Private Hemminger was then ordered to leave his knapsack behind that contained "a change of clothing a new rubber coat. Stamps and stationary."\textsuperscript{3} The men were equipped only with their gun, rations, blanket, and the clothing they were wearing.\textsuperscript{4} At 2:00 P.M., orders were finally received directing the regiment should be ready to march within an hour.\textsuperscript{5}

At exactly 3:00 P.M., the regiment left the safety of Fort Marcy and began its march. The regiment joined in with Brigadier General William H. French's Third Divi-

\textsuperscript{1} John R. Turner to his daughter, Kittie, September 28, 1862.
\textsuperscript{2} Hemminger Diary, September 7, 1862.
\textsuperscript{3} Hemminger Diary, September 7, 1862.
\textsuperscript{4} Brehm Diary, September 7, 1862.
\textsuperscript{5} Hemminger Diary, September 7, 1862.
sion, which was assigned to Major General Edwin V. Sumner who commanded the Second Corps.6

Traveling down the Leesburg turnpike to the Chain Bridge, the regiment crossed over the Potomac River where Private Hemminger caught a quick and unimpressive glimpse of Major General Franz Sigel who commanded the First Corps returning from the loss at Second Bull Run: "His hair reaching his shoulder straps is not becoming to the active Soldier life."7 Once across the bridge the regiment moved northward up the north bank of the Potomac River for several miles finally reaching the intercepting turnpike that lead to Frederick, Maryland.8 Private Spangler vividly recalled, "It was our first day's march with the army. The heat was sultry and oppressive, and after we had gone but a short distance on the turnpike, all superfluous clothing was doffed."9 The regiment's grueling eighteen-mile march passed through the Maryland town of Tennallytown continuing late into Sunday evening. The men marched by the light of the bright moonlight arriving about 10:00 P.M. The "very tired and fatigued" unit bivouacked at the Montgomery County fairgrounds near Rockville.10

Once the regiment left Fort Marcy, the practice of company cooking was abandoned and each soldier was left to prepare his own meals. Cooking utensils consisted of a quart tin-cup and a small tin pan. The cup was used to boil coffee, and to

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6 Masonheimer Diary, September 7, 1862.
7 Masonheimer Diary, September 7, 1862.
8 Hemminger, Diary. September 7, 1862.
9 Spangler, 21.
10 Masonheimer Diary, September 7, 1862.
soak hardtack in water, which was then fried in a pan with pickled pork—an unpretentious meal, but eaten with gusto after a hard day’s march.\textsuperscript{11}

Monday, September 8, came early with the regiment rising at dawn. As most men were getting themselves ready for what the day would hold, Private Hemminger’s young curiosity overcame him:

Just beyond the grounds I saw a church edifice and people entering therein. My curiosity led me that way. \textit{[F]}or I never \textit{[b]}efore had seen worshipers assemble at sun rise. Upon inquiry I learned they were of the Catholic faith, and were meeting for the morning mass. I entered and remained for a short time. a silent spectator to a Service conducted in a tongue I could not understand.\textsuperscript{12}

He finally made his way back to his comrades in time to resume their march at 10:00 A.M. Private Spangler recalled that the oppressive heat and dust had made their first march even more strenuous. “The heat was still intense, and the suffocating dust more than ankle deep,” he wrote.\textsuperscript{13}

After a march of about three miles, the regiment encamped in a large grove of trees in an area referred to as Camp Defiance, which was the headquarters for sixty-five-year-old, Major General Edwin V. Sumner, the oldest of all the corps commanders.\textsuperscript{14} It was at this location and time that the 130th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment, along with the 108th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment and the 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry Regiment, were brought together as the Second Brigade under the command of Colonel Dwight Morris, who commanded the 14th Connecticut Regiment.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11} Spangler, 22.
\textsuperscript{12} Hemminger Diary, September 8, 1862.
\textsuperscript{13} Spangler, 22.
\textsuperscript{14} Masonheimer Diary, September 8, 1862; Walker, 128.
\textsuperscript{15} Hemminger Diary, September 8, 1862.
This new brigade of green soldiers was assigned to the Second Army Corps' Third Division commanded by Brigadier General William H. French.

General French, a regular army officer and a veteran of the Mexican War, just before the outbreak of the Civil War was assigned a garrison in Texas.\(^{16}\) When Texas seceded, he managed to lead his 300 men down the Rio Grande River to the Gulf of Mexico and eventually to the safety of the North. Red-faced and hot-tempered, his men called him "Old Blinky" because of his disturbing habit of frantically blinking his eyes as he spoke.\(^{17}\)

Brigadier General Nathan Kimball commanded the Second Corps' First Brigade and Brigadier General Max Weber led its Third Brigade.\(^{18}\) The other division commanders of the Second Corps were Major General Israel B. Richardson, who commanded the First Division, and Major General John Sedgwick, who commanded the Second Division.\(^{19}\)

General Robert E. Lee had soundly defeated the Union Army at what was to be known as the Battle of Second Bull Run and was continuing the momentum of his success by moving his forces onto Northern soil for the first time. He felt a push into Maryland would endanger major the Northern cities of Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and surely would demoralize the Northern population. The threat of Southern invaders bringing the devastations of war to their own doorsteps played heavy on the hearts and minds of Union soldiers, helpless to protect their own families. The 130th's


\(^{17}\) Sears, 237.

\(^{18}\) Walker, 87-98.

\(^{19}\) Walker, 87-98.
Regimental Commander, Captain Zinn, was no exception. In writing to his wife Mary on September 9, 1862 he warned, "I suppose the good people of Pennsylvania are in great ferment, fearing the approach of Jackson. If perchance he should, let me suggest that you go to Harrisburg, where I am confident the enemy can never get."\(^{20}\) In this letter, Captain Zinn described his recent experiences and personal concerns about what was to come:

We have had a pretty rough time since we are out, and situated as I am, being the only field officer in the regiment, I do not feel so much like soldiering as formerly, but as a sense of duty, and the hope that things will soon go better, prevent me from becoming despondent. I often long for the comforts of home and the pleasure of your society; but that is useless, so I make the best of my situation and take things as they come.\(^{21}\)

At 10:00 A.M., on September 9, the 130th formed into the Second Brigade and drilled the Manual of Arms for an hour. Then began the day’s march heading towards Frederick, Maryland traveling through fields that paralleled the National Pike. Suffering with the intense heat and suffocating dust, the men of the 130th continued their strenuous seven-mile march traveling through fields that paralleled the National Pike.\(^{22}\)

Wednesday, September 10, brought more marching to the regiment plus a possible confrontation with the Rebels and an unexpected surprise to the men of Company E from Newville. The order was given to go forward at 10:00 A.M. "with all speed."\(^{23}\) Private Hemminger wrote of his experience: "Having gone a considerable distance the Brigade was formed into line of battle. No enemy appearing in view, we Stacked arms and from a cornfield near by secured a fine lot of roast ears for suppers."\(^{24}\) The regiment

\(^{20}\) Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 9, 1862.
\(^{21}\) Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 9, 1862.
\(^{22}\) Masonheimer Dairy, September 9, 1862.
\(^{23}\) Hemminger Diary, September 10, 1862.
\(^{24}\) Hemminger Diary, September 10, 1862.
continued its eight-mile march until about 10:00 P.M. camping in a woods belonging to a farm owned by the Reverend J. H. Henderson, who was a recently-retired Presbyterian minister ironically from Newville’s Big Spring Congregation. Several of the minister’s family, who were old neighbors and acquaintances, visited with the Newville men of Company E during that night.  

The following morning came early for the regiment. Awakened at 4:00 A.M., Private Hemminger noted the “word was passed to be ready to march as soon as possible.” After breakfast, the march resumed traveling through the village of Clarksville. Along the way, the regiment passed the tempting fruits of an apple orchard, but was forbidden from helping themselves. The regiment encamped about one mile past the north side of the town after marching about six miles for the day. Shelling could be heard to the left of the regiment and the brigade was quickly formed into a line of battle expecting some action that, as usual, never came. After having supper, the regiment was given a call for regimental drill with many of the boys being tardy. As punishment, Corporal Landis reported that he “was obliged to stand at ‘Attention’, for one hour for being late at dress parade.”

Early on Friday, September 12, the regiment continued its journey towards Frederick. After several miles of marching, the men halted temporarily at the town of Hyattstown, which Private Brehm referred to as, “a small place of no note situated in a

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25 Hemminger Diary, September 10, 1862.
26 Hemminger Diary, September 10, 1862.
27 Bosbyshell, 160.
28 Masonheimer Diary, September 11, 1862; Hemminger Diary, September 11, 1862.
29 Landis Memoirs, 6-7.
hollow."  

From there, they continued their eight-mile march encamping at Urbana. Private Weiser found the opportunity to write his parents, telling them that he was on the march but to where he did not know: "We have marched more or less every day since we started, sometimes we was within one mile of the Enemy but could not overtake they being fast afoot and accustomed to running."  

The men only knew that they were headed for Frederick and nothing else.

They slept only a short time that night and were awakened by a roll call at 3:00 A.M. the next morning. Ordered to eat a quick breakfast and be ready to march as soon as possible, the regiment was soon back on the road for another eight mile march. On the way, after crossing over the Monocacy River and passing several deserted Rebel camps, they came to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad where they found the bridge burned and wires cut by the fleeing Confederates. As the regiment entered Frederick, Private Hemminger recalled, "Continuing our march, our ears were greeted with sounds of artillery fireing in our front. . . . Great cheering was heard in our rear, ocassioned by the approach and passing of Major General Geroge B. McClellan and Staff . . . passing along Main Street the Corps was reviewd by the general & his staff. amid much enthusiasm on the part of the troops."  

This was the first glimpse most of the men had of their beloved General McClellan. Corporal Landis took special note of the commander: "The boys were very fond of him, calling him by the pet name of 'Little Mac', and his presence

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30 Brehm Diary, September 12, 1862.
31 John S. Weiser to his parents, September 12, 1862.
32 Landis Memoirs, 7.
33 Hemminger Diary, September 13, 1862.
34 Hemminger Diary, September 13, 1862.
stimulated everyone. Private Spangler remembered seeing General McClellan before entering Frederick: “Gen. McClellan with a brillant staff rode up the turnpike through our corps, and was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers.”

Unlike the unwelcomed reception the regiment received in Baltimore, this Maryland city welcomed the regiment in a much warmer fashion. Private Spangler recorded how the men of the 130th were welcomed into the “church-spired” Frederick:

The streets resounding with applause [that] amounted to an ovation. . . . Ladies, dressed in their best, waved their handkerchiefs and flags. The populace cheered to the echo, tokens of a most cordial welcome, and supplied water and refreshments to the thirsty and hungry men. Their smiles and tears of gratitude and joy, attested their loyalty to the Union in no uncertain degree.

After experiencing such a welcomed display of patriotism, the regiment traveled to the northwest section of the city and bivouacked in a large field near the reservoir on the Liberty Turnpike. Not long after the regiment arrived in camp, the men got a glimpse at another Union Corps Commander, Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Ninth Corps, as he and his staff passed by traveling in the direction of South Mountain. Private Hemminger recalled, “Burnside was riding a dark bey bob tail horse. his erect form, and large black side wiskers indicated the Ideal soldier. . . .”

Up at 7:00 A.M. the next morning, September 14, the regiment left Frederick on the Shoottown Road heading towards Middletown, crossing the Catoctin Mountain range.

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35 Landis Diary, 7.
36 Spangler, 23.
37 Spangler, 23.
38 Hemminger Diary, September 13, 1862.
39 Hemminger Diary, September 13, 1862; At that time Major General Burnside commanded the Union Ninth Corps.
40 Hemminger Diary, September 13, 1862.
at approximately 3:00 P.M. As the regiment arrived on the other side of the mountain range Private Brehm recorded in his diary that it was met with the sounds of cannons: “When we arrived at the other side of the mountains and behold the beautiful valley in which Middletown is situated away over along the opposite mountains cannonading is going on briskly and a fine view we have of the conflict.” Ordered toward the field of battle, the regiment made a rapid advance in the direction of the cannonading. As they got closer, the ominous cannon sounds ceased. The weary men halted for a short time in a ploughed field on a hillside to cook coffee and make their suppers. “Too bad,” recorded Private Brehm, “We are ordered off at a trot toward the scene of battle for the fight has resumed again.” They marched in six parallel columns in the direction of South Mountain where they knew that a battle was in progress. “Up hill and down hill, across little streams, we marched, very tired,” recalled Corporal Landis. Private Masonheimer could not forget his first encounter with the shock of war: “Crossed the mountains . . . and seen the first horrors of wars. Dead men laying in the fields yet.” The regiment halted their march at midnight, for what they thought would be their night’s camp. Suddenly, they were called to arms and ordered at the double-quick down the turnpike and finally countermarching into a field of sod taking possession of a portion of the [South

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41 Hemminger Diary, September 14, 1862.
42 Brehm Diary, September 14, 1862.
43 Brehm Diary, September 14, 1862.
44 Landis Memoirs, 14.
45 Landis Memoirs, 14.
46 Masonheimer Diary, September 14, 1862.
Mountain] battlefield "and lay down amongst the dead bodies for the night after an eighteen-mile grueling march."\(^{47}\)

"At early dawn I awoke and found where I had lain a human foot and finger, that had been sacrificed for or against the Union cause. I could not tell which. Strolling over the field of Carnage, our eyes saw sights that told of the awful strife," noted Private Hemminger vividly describing the unpleasant scene early morning of Monday, September 15.\(^{48}\) The morning was a gloomy one, with thick smoke hugging the mountaintops that marked the last evening's battle.\(^{49}\) At sunrise, the regiment, along with the entire Union Second Corps, passed through the crest of South Mountain marching through the aftermath of the South Mountain battle known as Turner's Gap. "Near the top I observed an old dwelling to which I hastened hoping to replenish my canteen with water," wrote Private Hemminger.\(^{50}\) "A well was on the premises but to our horror was filled with confederate dead," recorded Private Hemminger.\(^{51}\) As they reached the crest of the mountain near the "Mountain House," they found hundreds of dead men littering the ground.\(^{52}\) Both Union and Confederate dead and wounded were found along with guns and clothing scattered all about. Private Spangler's first encounter with the battlefield took him to a dead Confederate cavalryman:

He was shot through the head, and his blood-covered face and glassy eyes made a ghastly sight. He was the first dead soldier I saw, and it was by no means

\(^{47}\) Landis Memoirs, 7. The men of the regiment were unaware of the strewn bodies throughout their bivouac site until early the next morning.

\(^{48}\) Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.

\(^{49}\) Brehm Diary, September 15, 1862.

\(^{50}\) Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.

\(^{51}\) Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.

\(^{52}\) Spangler, 27.
a pleasing spectacle. As I reached the crest of the mountain near the "Mountain House," hundred of dead Union and Confederate soldiers covered the ground. Rebel prisoners continually passed by the regiment throughout the day as Union artillery batteries and cavalry moving hurriedly in the direction of the enemy.

Although spared from the battle of South Mountain, the men of 130th saw first-hand the human carnage that war had brought, as they surely contemplated what would possibly soon lie ahead for themselves. From their position, the regiment saw the southern and northern ranges of the South Mountain. Westward could be seen the valley of the Antietam.

About noon, the 130th began its march over the mountaintop down the National Pike on the western side of South Mountain marching five miles down into the valley entering the small Maryland village of Boonsboro. The road and town were full of prisoners captured at the battle of South Mountain. As Zinn's men marched though the village, they were greeted by a group of local girls standing on the front stoop of a large brick house singing "Maryland My Maryland." The regiment continued on the turnpike to the gate above the village where they halted and rested until nightfall.

After dark, the regiment struck out again heading southward on the Boonsboro Pike passing through the town of Keedysville, located on the road leading to Sharpsburg.

53 Spangler, 27.
54 Landis Memoirs, 8.
55 Hemminger, Diary, September 15, 1862.
56 Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.
57 Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.
58 Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.
59 Brehm Diary, September 15, 1862.
A short distance beyond the town, the regiment set up camp bivouacking under the brow of a hill for the night, traveling a distance of about eight miles for the day.60

The entire next day, September 16, the regiment remained in camp a short distance south of Keedysville off of the Boonsboro Pike near the Pry House on the east side of the Antietam Creek that was the location of General McClellan’s headquarters.61 The sounds of artillery fire could be heard in the distance from beyond the Antietam Creek. Soon, the regiment experienced first-hand the effects of the Rebel artillery when a battery began firing near their position inflicting three causalities to a Union artillery battery positioned on their left.62 Two soldiers in the artillery battery were killed and one was wounded. A nearby lieutenant viewing the shelling had his foot badly mashed.63 “I remember how closely we hugged the bosom of mother earth, when we heard the screeching shells come,” Corporal Landis recorded, “And what a relief it was finally, when the shelling ceased and we heard our band, off on a hilltop, play the Star Spangled Banner.”64 The Third Division was later ordered to move out of the range of the bursting artillery and formed en masse. Sometime after midnight, forty rounds of additional ammunition were distributed, giving each man eighty rounds to carry.65 Forty rounds were carried in each soldier’s cartridge box and the additional forty rounds were carried in his coat-pockets.66

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60 Landis Memoirs, 8; Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.
61 Hemminger Diary, September 15, 1862.
62 Hemminger Diary, September 16, 1862.
63 Masonheimer Diary, September 16, 1862.
64 Landis Memoirs, 8.
65 Hemminger Diary, September 16, 1862.
66 Spangler, 32.
The early morning weather on Wednesday, September 17, was overcast and described as "gloomy." As the men rose early, cooked their coffee, and ate hardtack, they had no idea that this day would become one of the most prominent in the annals of American history. The true color of the regiment and each man would be shown on this monumental day.

With an order given to divest themselves of their blankets and any other items not needed, they rolled up their blankets, examined their cartridge boxes, and filled their canteens. As the order to advance had been delayed at 7:00 A.M., Captain Zinn took the opportunity to write his wife, perhaps out of fear that this would be his final letter to her:

We are on the eve of a great battle and as I write cannonading in our front is tremendous. . . . I anticipate getting into the fight soon. Do not be unnecessarily alarmed. The 130th is not in condition to go into a fight, but we will do the best we can, hoping that all will do their duty. . . . A gentleman from Shippensburg is here who will put this note in the mail for me. I have not received any news from home since Camp Marcy, as we have had no mail since; but I hope that after the battle I shall hear from you. Give my love to all friends, and for yourself and the little ones accept my everlasting love.

The delay to advance assuredly affected each soldier in a different manner. Some turned to God, as Private Spangler did as he took out his pocket Bible and read a chapter. He then handed his Bible to a fellow comrade, Private Christian Good, a small man like himself in the rear rank, instructing him, "read it, for it may be your last opportunity." It was. Within an hour, Private Good would die on the battlefield.

67 Brehm Diary, September 17, 1862.
68 Spangler, 32.
69 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 17, 1862.
70 Spangler, 32.
71 Spangler, 32.
Promptly at 8:00 A.M., the regiment received orders to march, but not knowing where they were going. Brigadier General Israel B. Richardson’s First Division of the Second Corps joined the march, along with the other two brigades of their division. Marching westward, Private Spangler recounted how “passing through a hollow in the rear of a Union artillery battalion” in two separate columns, the two divisions reached the Antietam Creek at the Pry Ford a short distance south of the Upper Bridge. Richardson’s division halted on the east side of Antietam Creek, and did not cross until 9:30 A.M. It would later join in the attack on the Confederate center just east of the 130th’s position.

At approximately 8:00 A.M., Antietam Creek was crossed by the Third Division in three columns of brigades: General Max Weber’s Third Brigade (1st Delaware, 5th Maryland, and 4th New York) on the left, Colonel Dwight Morris’ Second Brigade (14th Connecticut, 108th New York, and 130th Pennsylvania) of new regiments in the center, and General Nathan Kimball’s First Brigade (14th Indiana, 8th Ohio, 132nd Pennsylvania, and 7th West Virginia) on the right. Corporal Landis vividly recalled the regiment’s crossing:

Heavy cannonading was in progress when our division forded the Antietam Creek. I was detailed as one of the Corporals in the rear guard. A great many ludicrous scenes occurred as the column crossed the stream. Not knowing that a battle was so imminent, some men stopped to take off their shoes and stockings.

Years later, Private Weiser vividly remembered the event:

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72 Spangler, 33.
74 OR, XIX, Series I, Part 1, 323-324.
75 Landis Memoirs, 8.
Wading in the well-riled stream [two to three feet deep] your shoes become more or less occupied with sand and pebbles, and that some were fain to tarry long enough to remove these obstacles to comfort, but that the rear guard had imperative orders from Captain Henry I. Zinn to hurry up all laggards, and not to hesitate to use force if necessary.\textsuperscript{76}

"Everyone finally got over in good order, and the column of our regiment put into shape again. Col. [Captain] Henry I. Zinn led his regiment calmly on, whilst Major John Lee, who was most of the time with the rear guard, was galloping about swearing his hardest at the men," recalled Corporal Landis.\textsuperscript{77} After crossing the ford and marching approximately a mile in three columns of brigades, the command was given, "By the left flank,"\textsuperscript{78} forming three lines.\textsuperscript{79} The entire Third Division abruptly changed direction and now headed southwest, not following General Sedgwick's First Division. Thirty minutes ahead of the regiment's departure and accompanied by General Sumner, General Sedgwick's First Division headed in a westward direction towards the Dunkard Church and West Woods.\textsuperscript{80}

Upon being given the order, "By the left flank," the brigades in columns moved forward entering the battlefield from the north along a ridge of the East Woods that separated the Roulette and Mumma farms.\textsuperscript{81} Corporal Landis recounted, "Forward we went, bullets commenced to cut the leaves above our heads as we charged through the woods, over rocks, through bushes, weeds and thorns, until we soon emerged from the wood."\textsuperscript{82} The sudden onslaught of artillery shelling and it effects unnerved the inexperienced

\textsuperscript{76} Bosbyshell, 161.
\textsuperscript{77} Landis Memoirs, 8.
\textsuperscript{78} Landis Memoirs, 8.
\textsuperscript{79} OR, XIX, Series I, Part 1, 323-324.
\textsuperscript{80} O R, XIX, Series I, Part 1, 276.
\textsuperscript{81} Priest, 138.
\textsuperscript{82} Landis Memoirs, 8.
Pennsylvanians and created confusion causing them to stagger about. Within minutes, Brigadier General French arrived on the scene screaming, "For God's sake men, close up and go forward." \footnote{83 Priest, 138.} Corporal Landis recalled, "We moved on in the line of battle across the field, heading the southwest with the 'Mumma House' on our right, and came up to the 'Roulette' farm buildings." \footnote{84 Landis Memoirs, 8.} 

After progressing about a quarter of a mile while enduring a hot artillery fire, the rapidly advancing Third Division reached a meadow on the north side of the Roulette Farm at approximately 9:00 A.M. Here the brigades were re-aligned. General Weber's Third Brigade was positioned in front. Colonel Morris' Second Brigade was placed in the center. General Kimball's First Brigade was located in the rear. Both the Third and First Brigades were seasoned troops and were veterans of the Peninsula Campaign and Second Bull Run. \footnote{85 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.} Conceivably, Colonel Morris' brigade was placed in the center since it was comprised of all new troops, unseasoned in battle.

This temporary pause to re-align the division finally gave Company K's Private Spangler time to catch up with his company despite given orders to stay back. A carbuncle that had developed on his right knee had left his leg inflamed and in severe pain that morning. After showing it to his captain, he was instructed to stay behind. Private Spangler vividly remembered that he did not wish to be considered a shirker by his com-
rades: "At this, a few of my comrades made invidious remarks that I was showing the white feather. This put me on my mettle, and I determined to go in, crippled as I was." 86

After the brigades had realigned, Brigadier General Max Weber's Third Brigade was the first to advance and promptly encountered Confederate skirmishers occupying the Roulette farm. 87 These were remnants from Brigadier General Samuel Garland's, and Colonel A. H. Colquitt's brigades belonging to General D. H. Hill's Division. 88 The Rebels were well impressed with the magnitude of Brigadier General French's division as they saw them marching forward in a precise line with their new regimental colors in view. Federal soldiers three battle lines deep and at close interval extended the entire width of the Roulette farm. In the Sunken Lane, the Rebels were ordered to lie down and take cover behind the split rails they had piled as cover as the national colors of the Union units clearly came into view. 89 It was now 9:15 A.M.

In his official report, Brigadier General French recorded his division's initial encounter with General D. H. Hill's troops: "The enemy, who was in a position in advance, opened his batteries, under which fire my lines steadily moved until the first line [Weber's Brigade] encountering the enemy's skirmishers, charged them briskly, and entering a group of houses on the Roulette farm, drove back the force, which had taken a strong position for defense." 90

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86 Spangler, 32.
88 Priest, 136.
89 Priest, 139.
Brigadier General Weber’s Brigade that had led the attack unsuccessfully routed all of the Confederate skirmishers from the Roulette’s buildings and surrounding fields.\textsuperscript{91} By that time, the Roulette outbuildings still hid over twenty Rebels.\textsuperscript{92} The 130th Regiment, along with the 14th Connecticut and 108th New York, were to the immediate rear of Weber’s Brigade.\textsuperscript{93} After losing some momentum negotiating the post and rail fence along the pasture northwest of the Roulette farm, the 130th Regiment continued its advance behind Weber’s brigade with the 14th Connecticut on its right and the 108th New York on its left.\textsuperscript{94} The 14th Connecticut approached though the Mumma’s Orchard and halted on the left to clear the Roulette’s springhouse of Confederate sharpshooters while the 108th New York bypassed the farmhouse and out buildings moving off to the left and east of the Roulette lane. The 130th Pennsylvania was directly in the sights of the awaiting Rebel skirmishers.\textsuperscript{95}

“The battle was now fairly upon us, although we were not yet in it,” remarked Corporal Landis as his Company F approached the Roulette buildings, which were immediately in front of the 130th.\textsuperscript{96} The area immediately surrounding the Roulette Farm house included a large bank barn, sheds, and a springhouse. Very near the house stood a garden picket fence built upon a stone wall.\textsuperscript{97} Within minutes, the shock of the battle would begin. Everything cumbersome the soldiers carried was discarded.\textsuperscript{98} The time had

\textsuperscript{91} Sears, 238.  
\textsuperscript{92} Bosbyshell, 161.  
\textsuperscript{93} Sears, 238.  
\textsuperscript{94} Priest, 140.  
\textsuperscript{95} Sears, 139.  
\textsuperscript{96} Landis Memoirs. 9.  
\textsuperscript{97} Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.  
\textsuperscript{98} Landis Memoirs, 9.
now arrived for the men of the regiment to “see the elephant,” as the soldiers called their
first taste of battle. The Rebel skirmishers began targeting the untested men of the 130th.
Corporal Landis carefully recorded the events:

As our line moved on, we covered the distance from the spring house to the barn
.... Between the house and the spring-house fell our first man killed. In the
charge I passed between the barn and wagon shed.... Soon beyond the buildings,
the line gradually arranged itself, and the charge went on in line. Everything cum-
berson was now cast aside .... 99

During this advance into the Roulette’s outbuildings, the 130th along with some
soldiers from 14th Connecticut’s Company B, took its first prisoners capturing approxi-
mately twenty in the Roulette springhouse. The Rebels were sent to the rear in the charge
of Sergeant Samuel Ilgenfritz from Company I. 100

Company E, located in the center of the regiment, found the stone wall and picket
fence that ran from the carriage house to the farm lane too high to scale and hastily
cleared a path for the entire regiment. 101 Private Hemminger recorded, “The boys layed
hold of the fence, and with a mighty pull the entire fence came down and fell on Theo-
dore Boyl’s [Private Theodore Boyle] o[f] our company. We all passed over, including
the Colonel and his horse.” Private Boyle was seriously injured with several crushed
ribs. 102 The Pennsylvanians moved around the house across the garden between the
house and barn, around the barn and through the wagon shed in search of any Rebels
foolishly remaining. 103

99 Landis Memoirs, 9.
100 Bosbyshell, 161.
101 Priest, 141.
102 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
103 Bosbyshell, 161.
Captain David Z. Seipe’s Company K passed between the Roulette’s barn and
garden fence where it encountered the enemy and drove them out of the garden and or-
chard. Here, several members of both Company K and the rest of the regiment made
the decision that many make in battle, to run off. The term more often used was “ske-
daddle.” Company E continued its push passing over a deep gully in a ploughed field
and was ordered to lie down on the eastern slope of a hill near a large elm tree. The Con-
federates on the crest of the hill fired volley after volley into their ranks. Private
Spangler recounted years later:

The bullets flew thicker than bees, and the shells exploded with a deafening
roar. I was seized with fear far greater that that of the day before. I hugged the
ploughed ground so closely that I must have buried my nose in it. I thought of
home and friends, and felt that I would surely be killed, and how I didn’t want to
be!105

From their position on the hillside the men of Company K advanced headlong
into the confronting Confederate infantry and artillery fire pouring into a cornfield, up
through an orchard and over recently ploughed fields coming to rest in a field of clover.
Corporal Landis remembered, “Bursting shells filled the air, showers of hissing bullets
flew in our faces. Our thin blue line wavered . . . then it straightened and became
taught.”106

The men of Company F, as most others in the regiment, made it to the east side of
the hill just south of the Roulette house taking on the blistering fire from the Confed-
erates. “On and on into the cornfield plunged our right, up through the orchard under the

104 Spangler, 31.
105 Spangler, 31.
106 Landis Memoirs, 9.
laden apple trees swept our left, over the plowed field on to a stretch of clover. Bursting shells filled the air, showers of hissing bullets flew in our faces,” recounted Corporal Landis.  

General D. H. Hill’s Confederates had the strategic advantage with their position on the hill’s crest. Corporal Landis recorded in his diary that day:

From the crest of the hill our bullets were directed toward a thousand smoke-puffs that rose from the field of wavering corn. . . . Above the corn and smoke waved the stars and bars of the confederaey. . . . As the battle raged fiercer and fiercer I thought of my brother David, whom I had not seen since the early morning. . . . I [was] determined to make my way . . . to the right where he was.  

The next morning Corporal Landis did find his brother, Private Daniel D. Landis, also of Company F, wounded in the right forearm with the bones splintered. After being treated at the field hospital, he was sent to back Harrisburg to recover.  

The regiment continued its rapid advance through open ground, coming on to a picket fence bordering the opposite side of the garden smashing it with their rifle butts.  

At about that time, Private Hemminger recalled encountering a most formidable rival not belonging to either army:

Just beyond the garden we encountered a foe that greatly outnumbered both sides of the contending armies. In the line of our advance a number of bee hives were turned over and the little fellows resented the intrusion and it did unceremoniously charge upon us, accelerating our speed through the orchard toward the entrenched position of the enemy. 

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107 Landis Memoirs, 9.  
109 Landis Memoirs, 10.  
110 Hemminger Diary, September 17; 1862; Priest, 140.  
111 Hemminger Diary. September 17, 1862.
Not far past the Roulette’s outbuildings and the orchard south of the farmhouse, the regiment realigned with its left flank adjoining the Roulette farm lane. While entering the orchard, the regiment captured more of the Rebel skirmishers while driving back the remaining ones into their own lines.

With orders to take the hill to their front, occupied by Confederate skirmishers, the 130th continued its advance. The men moved up the slope with some passing through the cornfield on the right, while others negotiated a ploughed field near the Clipp House located on the Roulette Lane, finally reaching a clover field at the crest of the hill. Here they were ordered to lie down. Within minutes the Confederate bullets were “thicker than bees” and the artillery shells exploded all around them.

The 5th Maryland from the Third Brigade was directly ahead of the 130th with the 1st Delaware ahead and to the right. “We finally drove the enemy from the cornfield, and going forward over a clover field we found him entrenched in a cut with piles of rails thrown up in front,” recounted Corporal Landis. The north side of the sunken lane was lined with several feet of fence rails. The lane, which would become known as Antietam’s infamous “Bloody Lane,” would hold the crucial key to the Confederates.

The lane, located approximately 600 yards south of the Dunker church, was a little farm road then turned off the Hagerstown turnpike to the east and ran southward connecting to the Boonsboro turnpike. Local farmers had used this lane to drive their

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112 Priest, 141.
113 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
114 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
115 Bosbyshell, 174
116 Bosbyshell, 174.
117 Landis Memoirs, 10.
118 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
loaded wagons to a gristmill on Antietam Creek for years. The continuous use, added to
natural erosion, had worn down the road surface sinking it several feet below the lane’s
original level making it a natural military defensive position for the Rebels.\textsuperscript{119} Another
lane approximately 500 yards long ran south from the Roulette’s farm and intercepted the
sunken road.

The well-entrenched Rebels directly facing the 130th belonged to Brigadier
General D. H. Hill’s division. Opposing General French’s Third Brigade front was Con-
federate Brigadier General Robert E. Rodes’ Brigade made up of the 3rd, 5th, 6th, 12th,
and 26th Alabama Regiments and Brigadier General George B. Anderson’s Brigade
comprised of the 2nd, 4th, 14th, and 30th North Carolina Regiments. The 5th, 6th Ala-
bara and the 2nd North Carolina regiments were positioned down and across the lane
from the 130th Pennsylvania. The 6th Alabama, under the command of Colonel John B.
Gordon, was positioned directly across from the 130th’s position.

Earlier in the morning of September 17, General Gordon pledged to General Lee
that his men would hold their position “til the sun went down or victory is won.”\textsuperscript{120} Con-
federate artillery situated on the high ground directly behind the Rebel position posed an
added danger to the 130th.

General Weber’s Third Brigade was ordered forward passing through the ranks of
the 130th lying on the crest of the hill and a distance of about sixty feet from the awaiting
Rodes’ Alabamians. The Confederates in the sunken lane waited until General Weber’s
men crested the top of the hill, about sixty feet in the distance, before firing their first

\textsuperscript{119} Sears, 236.
\textsuperscript{120} Priest, 137.
murderous volley into their ranks taking a deadly toll of life and within minutes, about one-third of the 1st Delaware and most their color guard were killed or wounded. The massed Rebel firepower hurled the Third Brigade rearward passing back through the 130th’s ranks.\textsuperscript{121}

About this time, the 14th Connecticut, located to the right of the 130th, reached the edge of the Mumma cornfield and began firing in the direction of the Rebel fire coming from the Sunken Road. In the process, they hit some men of the 1st Delaware as they fled back into their lines. A portion of General Weber’s two regiments panicked bolting from their position near the sunken road.\textsuperscript{122}

In response, a combination of General French’s Second and Third brigades began another frontal assault over the ridge running headlong into the deadly Rebel fire from the sunken road. The intensive Rebel fire once again inflicted sudden death and chaos causing this second assault to be repulsed with most of the two brigades being forced back about 200 yards into the Mumma cornfield.\textsuperscript{123}

The 130th was then ordered to advance toward the Rebel line directly behind General Weber’s 5th Maryland. The regiment continued to press steadily forward behind the Maryland regiment over the open ridge void of any protection from the Rebel fire coming from the sunken lane, until being stopped by an old worm fence bordering the southern end of the ploughed field.\textsuperscript{124} “Step by step we pressed toward the foe and were now up to an old [worm] fence. [T]his we lowered by pulling the under rails out until we

\textsuperscript{121} Priest, 142.
\textsuperscript{122} Priest, 144.
\textsuperscript{123} Priest, 145.
\textsuperscript{124} Priest, 145.
could step over,” recounted Private Hemminger.  

When Company E’s Corporal John H. Strickler stepped over the three of the four remaining rails, he was instantly struck in the shoulder by fragments from a bursting artillery shell. Falling backward, one his legs became entangled in the fence. Before he could be helped up, a minie ball pierced his leg. Private Hemminger noted that “To help him off the fence Hamilton [Private William Hamilton, Co. E] and Woodrow [Corporal John B. Woodrow, Co. E] took hold of his shoulder, and I took his legs in my arms. Just as we raised him up his other leg was struc[k] by a ball. [L]aying him down we again took up out muskets to h[e]lp stay the furious onslaught.”

Later, the three carried the wounded Strickler to the Roulette’s springhouse for water. Just at that time his heel was struck and torn away by another round, his fourth hit. Corporal Strickler shouted, ”My God must I be killed by inches?”

They carried him to a nearby field hospital only to find hundreds of other wounded soldiers awaiting the surgeon. Corporal Strickler would not survive, dying on October 4 as a result of his wounds. After helping Corporal Strickler to the rear, the three men quickly returned to their original position to find that nothing had changed. The unshakable Rebels remained in the Pennsylvanians’ front.

At about the same time that Corporal Strickler had became entangled in the fence, twenty men from the 2nd North Carolina tried to flank the 130th’s left by approaching them from the Roulette lane. Private Spangler clearly recalled the surprising Confederate flanking maneuver:

125 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
126 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
127 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
128 Bates, 214.
129 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
The hill from which we delivered our fire descended abruptly to the fortified road filled with Confederates, and not more than three hundred feet distant. A score or more of venturesome ones came out of this road and advanced toward us along the rail fence of a lane on our immediate left running from the sunken road to the Roulette buildings. All these brave men were killed.\textsuperscript{130}

One poor Rebel was shot as he was crossing the fence and hung there becoming riddled with bullets.\textsuperscript{131} When the regiment buried his body, they counted seventeen holes in his body.\textsuperscript{132}

As the bloody struggle continued throughout the morning, the contest became one of attrition.\textsuperscript{133} Casualties were quickly mounting on both sides. To help turn the tide, Major General Israel B. Richardson’s First Division, that included the famous Irish Brigade, had crossed the Antietam Creek at 9:30 A.M. and was ordered to join the attack on the Confederate center to the left of the 130th’s position. They charged into a swale on the Roulette farm passing through portions of French’s Division to the extreme left of the Roulette lane decimating Colonel Carnot Posey’s advancing 16th Mississippian and driving the remaining Rebels back to safety behind the sunken road. The added strength of Brigadier General Richardson’s Division gave the Union the advantage as the Rebels continued to fall in their positions in the sunken road. The Federals were gaining both in strength and momentum as the Confederate causalities continued to mount.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{130} Spangler, 35.
\textsuperscript{131} Landis Memoirs, 10.
\textsuperscript{132} Spangler, 36.
\textsuperscript{133} Priest, 157.
\textsuperscript{134} Priest, 160, 162.
General French’s Third Division (less the 108th New York) continued its relentless fire into the Confederates across the lane mounting up casualties by the minute. The 130th Pennsylvania was moved up and on line directly facing General Rodes’ Alabamians only sixty yards away firing from their protected position of piled split rails on the southern side of the sunken road. Ammunition was beginning to run out. By this time Company K’s Private Spangler had used up his eighty rounds, “causing the barrel of my rifle to become so hot that it burnt me when I touched it.” With his ammunition finally used up Private Spangler recalled, “I turned over a soldier of the First Delaware, the top of whose skull was shot off, and took from his cartridge-box, ten Enfield rifle cartridges, which fortunately fitted the barrel of my Springfield rifle.”

Not long after Private Spangler had replenished his ammunition, Confederate Brigadier General Richard H. Anderson’s Division arrived and with flags waving plunged into the sunken lane. A newly-arrived Confederate officer waving his sword to rally his men became an irresistible target for Private Spangler: “I was so anxious to get a shot at him that in the hurry I neglected to extract my ramrod and fired it with the

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135 According to Michael Priest the 108th New York Regiment remained protected on the northern slope of the first ridge east of the Roulette lane where the 108th’s regimental commander, Colonel Oliver H. Palmer, “was cowering on his belly behind the prone regiment.” Lieutenant Frederick L. Hichcock from the 132nd Pennsylvania Regiment yelled at Colonel Palmer “to get his soldiers to the front.” General Nathan Kimball, witnessing the exchange between the two, ordered Lieutenant Hitchcock to “Get those cowards out of there or shoot them.” Lieutenant Hitchcock un-strapped his holster flaps grabbing his pistol. Yet, the 108th would still not budge. At that time, Major George B. Force of the 108th stood up trying to rally the reluctant New Yorkers when a cannon ball decapitated him. At that, all of the 108th’s officers demanded the men in the 108th to get up and go forward. The men responded moving to the right of the line as directed, leaving the cowardly Colonel Palmer behind. See Priest, 171-172, citing Ronald H. Bailey, Time-Life Books, The Bloodiest Day, The Battle of Antietam, The Civil War (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1984). 97.

136 Spangler, 35-36.
137 Spangler, 35-36.
charge."\(^{138}\) Although disappointed that he missed his target, Private Spangler gleamed as he saw the Confederate officer felled by another member of the 130th.\(^{139}\)

Despite the continuous rain of fire poured upon them, the men of the 130th pressed on towards the sunken lane to witness small white flags being hoisted along the Rebel lines. In wonderment, and assuming that the Rebels were surrendering, the 130th ceased firing and began to advance. Allowing the Union soldiers to approach to within mere yards, the Rebels dropped their white flags. "Suddenly they poured a deadly volley into our ranks... with many falling about us," recalled Private Hemminger.\(^{140}\) Scores of unsuspecting Union soldiers fell at once as Rebel fire poured from lane.

Once again, the Rebels hoisted their deceptive white flags, this time with only partial success. A third attempt proved fatal for many of them, giving Captain Zinn's men time to reload. Private Hemminger recounted how "with deliberate aim we gave them the first volley which must have caused them greater loss than we had so far sustained."\(^{141}\)

At that time one of the few Rebels trying to desert was spotted negotiating the fence on the south side of the road. Before he could make it over the fence, a soldier from the 130th had literally shot him in the rear.\(^{142}\)

The time was now 11:30 A.M. and the stalemate continued with both sides taking on heavy losses. The sunken road was filling with the wounded, dead and the dying and

\(^{138}\) Spangler. 36.

\(^{139}\) Priest, 170.

\(^{140}\) Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.

\(^{141}\) Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.

the Union line seemed to be deteriorating.\textsuperscript{143} "We were now within a short range of each other—the thinned ranks of our column was centering more and more on the colors but not dismayed," recalled Private Hemminger.\textsuperscript{144} Private Spangler could not forget the conditions of the battlefield that day: "The battle field was mostly covered with an immense sheet of smoke . . . through which could be seen the flashes of infantry and artillery fire."\textsuperscript{145}

The area near the intersection of the sunken road and the Roulette Lane began wavering reaching a break point for the Union. At that time, due to a miscommunication between Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Lightfoot, commanding the 6th Alabama and Brigadier General Rodes, the 6th Alabama moved from their position on the sunken lane to the rear rather than moving to another designated defensive position. Within minutes, after thinking a retreat had been ordered Rodes' four other regiments began moving to the rear. According to author Edward A. Moore, "One by one, first in squads, then by platoons, Rodes' five regiments shattered and streamed rearward."\textsuperscript{146} Before Rodes realized the mistake, it was too late for him to correct the mistake. He had been wounded by a canister shot.\textsuperscript{147}

At 1:00 P. M., a portion of Brigadier General Max Weber's veteran Third Brigade formed close to the rear of the 130th. Suddenly, the voice of their intrepid commander rang out, "Fix bayonets—ready forward double-quick—charge," Private Hemminger re-

\textsuperscript{143} Priest. 180.
\textsuperscript{144} Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
\textsuperscript{145} Spangler. 38.
\textsuperscript{147} Priest. 190, Quoting Edward A. Moore.
corded. The 130th was ordered to cease firing and stand fast. Weber’s column charged through the 130th’s depleted ranks to within a few feet of the sunken road where they were met with a furious and most deadly fire. “Many of those brave fellows were killed and wounded,” wrote Private Hemminger. Weber’s men reeled and fell back to a position near the 130th. Within minutes, they reformed and were ready for another daring attempt. As they stepped forward, the center of the Union line joined, “in the advance with a tremendous shout.” Private Hemminger recounted, “The great excitement of the moment caused many of the 130th Regiment to join in the charge.” The 130th’s men pursued the Rebels into the lane. The firing continued until guns became fouled, making it difficult to load them. Some of the men deliberately cleaned their guns and went on firing. Others threw their rifles away and supplied themselves with guns left by the killed and wounded. The veteran Rebels, unable to withstand this onslaught, became pierced, and broken ultimately were driven from their once advantageous position on the sunken road.

By now the lane was packed with Confederate dead. Thirteen bodies were counted in one pile, and nearby some were piles some two, three, and five deep. In his address at the September 17, 1904, monument dedication, Edward Spangler intensely described the setting: “No battle of the war, of so such short duration, presented such a scene of carnage.”

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148 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
149 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
150 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
151 Bosbyshell, 197.
152 Author Unknown, Personal Recollection, Newville Historical Society.
153 Bosbyshell, 175.
At 1:30 P.M., after four hours of deadly and intense fighting, exhausted and out of ammunition, the remaining men of the 130th Pennsylvania were relieved. They formed and waited on the Roulette Lane approximately 200 yards north of the Sunken Road along with the 8th Ohio and 14th Indiana. Their departure left a wide gap to the right of the regiment's former position giving the Confederates an open opportunity. Confederate Brigadier General Howell Cobb's brigade, along with the 3rd Arkansas and 27th North Carolina Regiments pushed into the area to the immediate right of the 130th Pennsylvania's former position in the swale located on the Mumma farm.

Intense firing began as the Confederates advanced to the hillcrest that had been occupied by the 130th only an hour earlier. Finding three massed Union regiments in the Roulette lane as easy targets, the Confederates opened their deadly fire. The unsuspecting 130th Pennsylvanians, along with the 14th Indiana and 8th Ohio in single file proceeded up the lane towards the Roulette house. Lieutenant William H. Tomes of Company B, "a man of large statue, was struck in the groin by a bullet, and hurled fully two feet in the air," Private Spangler recounted. Many of those in the 130th quickly responded by taking position in the Roulette orchard holding the Confederates at bay until a battery of Union artillery with canister rounds slowed their advance. Luckily, Colonel William Irwin's Brigade of the Union Army Sixth Corps had just arrived on the field from the north and quickly drove the advancing Confederates back across the

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154 Bosbyshell, 175.
155 Priest, 195.
156 Priest, 194.
157 Priest, 192.
158 Spangler, 37.
159 Bosbyshell, 175.
Hagerstown Pike. The 130th proceeded to a position north of the Roulette buildings "beyond the range of musketry but not from bursting shells" recorded Private Hemminger.

The scenes behind the battlefield in some respects were more gruesome than on the battlefield itself as Private Spangler witnessed entering the house and barn where casualties from the Third Brigade were being collected:

The house, barn and adjacent lawns were covered with wounded. The sight of hundreds of prostrate men with serious wounds of every description was appalling. Many to relieve their suffering were impatient for their turn upon the amputation tables, around which there were pyramids of severed arms and legs. Others screamed with excruciating pains. A few . . . ripped out a succession of oaths that must have required years of sedulous preparation. Many prayed aloud while others shrieked in the agony and throes of death.

Here he found Private Adam Brown of his company shot in the abdomen. He implored Private Spangler to "put an end to his agony." Private Brown would not survive.

Private Hemminger spent the night at the division hospital located northeast of the Roulette buildings with Private Thomas G. Gillespie from his company. Shot in the left breast and the surgeon unable to locate the ball, he was "unconscious and not expected to survive many hours," recalled Private Hemminger. All through the night, Private Hemminger applied water to the wound as Private Gillespie beckoned, "water—water." Private Gillespie would eventually recover from his wounds and be mustered

160 Priest, 202.
161 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
163 Spangler, 39.
164 Spangler, 39.
165 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
166 Hemminger Diary, September 17, 1862.
out with his company in May 1863. In his diary Corporal Landis recorded, "Surgeons were busy with knife and bandage, and comrades were rendering such assistance and comfort as they could."168

At sunset, the 130th Pennsylvania's companies gathered in their respective commands to identify those killed, wounded, or missing. Detailed to search the battlefield for his missing comrades, Corporal Landis recorded his experience:

The scenes about the battlefield and especially about the Roulette buildings and spring were dreadful to behold, the dead and dying were seen on every hand. Many poor fellows were brought back to the spring, given a last drink of water to cool their parched lips, when they closed their eyes forever.169

Writing of the ordeal years later, Edward Spangler wrote, "With the close of the day ended the bloodiest single day of the war. Night afforded to the unharmed much needed slumber."170

The next morning, September 18, found the Confederates still entrenched in their second line where they had been driven the afternoon before.171 The 130th Pennsylvania moved to about one mile to the rear of the battlefield.172 During the day, Corporal Landis recalled how "We took to care for the wounded, fixing up our matters generally, and trying to get ourselves rested and in good soldierly shape again."173 Later that day, rations

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168 Landis Memoirs, 10.
169 Landis Memoirs, 10; Author Unknown, Personal Recollection, Newville Historical Society.
170 Spangler, 39.
171 Spangler, 39.
172 Author Unknown, Personal Recollection, Newville Historical Society
173 Landis Memoirs, 11.
were issued to the regiment for the first time in four days. "We had subsisted chiefly on green corn. which was now getting to hard," Private Hemminger recorded.\textsuperscript{174}

From his vantage point at the division hospital, Private Hemminger saw two Confederate officers with a white flag ride to General McClellan's headquarters. Later, he learned that they had delivered a request from General Lee requesting a twelve-hour cessation of hostilities to bury his dead that was granted, but not to the approval of many rank-and-file of the Army of the Potomac.\textsuperscript{175} Union Major General Fitz John Porter's Fifth Corps arrived that morning with 20,000 fresh Union troops. The granting of a temporary armistice by General McClellan would prevent another strike against the Confederates and would provide General Lee an opportunity to re-cross the Potomac into the safety of Virginia.\textsuperscript{176}

Despite some occasional shots fired by skirmishers, many from both sides took the time to begin to gather the dead and care for the wounded. This was not the case for the 130th, as enemy sharpshooters all day prevented them access to the battlefield to bury their dead and locate their mortally wounded.\textsuperscript{177}

Private Hemminger remained at the division hospital the entire day caring for the wounded, including Private Strickler. During the day, he recalled that "many [wounded] were placed on straw along the fences. And for shelter we placed rails, one end on the fence and covered them with sheaves of wheat from a stack near by affording protection

\textsuperscript{174} Hemminger Diary, September 18, 1862.
\textsuperscript{175} Hemminger Diary, September 18, 1862.
\textsuperscript{176} Hemminger Diary, September 18, 1862.
\textsuperscript{177} Masonheimer Diary, September 18, 1862.
from a heavy shower in the afternoon.”¹⁷⁸ The wounded in this hospital totaled about 700 Union and 60 Confederates. The four tables used for amputations were in continual use for two full days.¹⁷⁹

Corporal Landis was able to locate his wounded brother, Private Daniel D. Landis.¹⁸⁰ Private Brehm remained with wounded Private Jacob M. Leidigh and others in Company E who had been wounded attending to their needs.¹⁸¹

Company G’s Private Weiser wrote to his parents on September 18 describing his ordeal and letting them know that he survived his first battle:

I take this opportunity . . . to let you know that I passed through the hardest fought battle that had been fought since the opening of this rebellion unharmed and without a scar although I took eighty three Rounds on the field with me it not being enough last until the Rebs kiddled I took twenty eight Rounds out [off] of a dead mans cartridge box. . . . I had the pleasure of taking a Rebel second Lieutenant and two privates. . . . We were under fire for five hours.¹⁸²

On the morning of September 19, orders were given for a general attack only to find that the Confederates had already crossed the Potomac River back into Virginia. Major General McClellan had hesitated losing an opportunity that perhaps could have ended the war. This failure would soon bring a new commander to the Army of the Potomac and two and a half more years of death, destruction, and deprivation on both sides of the Mason-Dixon.

¹⁷⁸ Hemminger Diary, September 18, 1862.
¹⁷⁹ Hemminger Diary, September 18, 1862.
¹⁸⁰ Landis Memoirs, 11.
¹⁸¹ Brehm Diary, September 18, 1862.
¹⁸² John S. Weiser to his parents, September 18, 1862.
Although still physically and emotionally exhausted from the horrors of combat, two days after the battle Captain Zinn was able to find a spare moment to write his wife Mary a few lines describing his experiences in the battle and the regiment’s losses:

We have gone through our first fight and I am safe although many of our brave 130th have been sent to their long home. John Zinn and Emerson Zinn passed through untouched; but Rush Zinn was killed on the spot. A cannon shot took off his head while in the act of reloading his gun. We have lost about forty killed and one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty wounded. I hope it may never be our misfortune to get into a battle so terrible. My horse received two balls in the neck; one ball passed through the back part of the saddle and another through the blanket trapped behind the saddle. Lieutenant Givler, of Company F, was shot through the head in the beginning of the engagement and died soon after. He was insensible after being shot. Our regiment is reduced to four hundred and fifty men. A number of the men disappeared before the fight. They are probably among the skedaddlers. Remember me to all inquiring friends. I have not yet received any word from home. For yourself and the little ones accept my sincere love. Write often whether I get your letters or not.\(^{183}\)

Early on the morning of September 19, young Private Hemminger returned to the pivotal ground on the crest of the hill opposite Bloody Lane with S. W. Sharp of Newville for a closer look at the carnage he would not forget:

The site witnessed in and along the old sunken road was awful to behold. This place was literally covered with Confederate dead. Two, Three, and four deep most of whom received their death wound in the head. Showing the terrible execution of the shots fired from the rifles from rifles of the 130 Regiment who had concentrated then five on the for, in this particular part of the lane for four [full] hours.\(^{184}\)

In General Lee’s hurried push to re-cross the Potomac River for the safety of Virginia, he left behind the horrid aftermath of conflict, the casualties of war. Thousands of Confederate wounded filled the hospitals draining the already overworked Union sur-

\(^{183}\) Henry I. Zinn to his wife, September 19, 1862.

\(^{184}\) Hemminger Diary, September 19, 1862.
geons, while thousands more remained unburied on the battlefield where they had paid their ultimate sacrifice to their cause.

Private Brehm began his September 19, 1862, diary entry with “this morning portents a fine day.”\(^{185}\) His prediction would fall short as he and his 130th Pennsylvania comrades were to learn early that morning. The burden of burying the dead for that particular part of the battlefield fell upon the 130th Pennsylvania “by reason of having incurred the displeasure of its Brigade Commander, was honored in the appointment as undertaker-chief.”\(^{186}\) By now, after three days, the decaying bodies were in a swollen and ghastly condition. “They were so greatly swollen that their clothing could hardly contain them, and they were of a livid blue-black color,” wrote Corporal Landis, who partook in this unforgettable ordeal.\(^{187}\) Large numbers of buzzards circled the air awaiting the opportunity to feast upon the now defenseless casualties of the battle. The weather became hotter as the day lagged on only to intensify the stench from the maggoty bodies exposed to three days of torrid heat.\(^{188}\) The men of the 130th used split rails to carry the bodies placing them side by side in long rows in a trench deep enough to cover them well. Corporal Landis detailed his gruesome experience: “Where I was assisting we buried during this day and the next 75 of our Union men, and about 250 Confederates – or “Rebels” as we called them.”\(^{189}\) The bodies of the Union soldiers were buried singly, wrapped in a blanket with the grave marked by a wooden head board and inscribed with

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\(^{185}\) Brehm Diary, September 19, 1862.
\(^{186}\) Bosbyshell, 164. No documentation explained the cause of the brigade commander’s displeasure with the regiment. Of all of the brigade’s regiments he should have been most displeased with the 108th New York.
\(^{187}\) Landis Memoirs, 11.
\(^{188}\) Spangler, 163.
\(^{189}\) Landis Memoirs, 11.
the soldier’s name and command for later identification. Nearby in the Mumma field, 185 Confederates were buried in one trench one on top of the other. Private Spangler later recounted that the battlefield was littered with scores of dead horses and “arms of every description . . . in all directions.”

Before the bodies were buried, they were examined for identification and anything of value that could be sent home. Often, notes were found with specific instructions in case of their death. Corporal Landis discovered a note on the body of George N. McLure, from a Maryland Regiment, stating that he belonged to the Bible Society in Baltimore instructing that “If I should die on the battlefield or in the Hospital, for the sake of humanity, acquaint John McLure of Chesapeake City, Md. of the fact and where my remains may be found.” The men of the 130th fulfilled many such requests. The others would be placed in a nameless grave that would someday fill the endless rows found our national cemeteries with the marker inscribed “unknown.” By the time the 130th had completed the burials on Sunday, September 21, they had buried over 400 Confederates and 48 Union causalities from a most memorable day in America history.

The 130th had burials of its own suffering with 32 killed and 146 wounded. Fourteen of those listed as wounded later died of their wounds. Second Lieutenant William A. Givler of Company F was the only officer killed. Considering approximately 650 men of the 130th were engaged, the resulting causality rate was 27 percent.

190 Spangler, 164.
191 Zinn Letters, September 21, 1862.
192 Landis Memoirs, 11.
193 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 21, 1862.
194 OR, Series I, Volume XIX/1 [S#27], No. 5.
195 Bosbyshell, 184.
196 Bates, 216.
placing the chances of being killed or wounded slightly over one-in-four. The regiment’s casualty rate slightly exceeded the 24 percent rate experienced by the Army of the Potomac, although was significantly less than the 38 percent rate suffered by the Army of Northern Virginia as documented by John M. Priest.

Of the three regiments in the Second Brigade, the 130th Pennsylvania ranked first with the total number of killed and wounded at 178. Thirty-two were reported wounded and 146 killed. The 108th New York ranked second with 148 casualties numbering 26 killed and 122 wounded. The 14th Connecticut experienced the least number of casualties at 108, with 20 killed and 88 wounded. The 130th had no men reported as “missing” in comparison with the 14th Connecticut of 48, and the 108th New York of 47.

Captain Zinn found a spare moment on the 21st to console his wife concerning his own well being: “I am sound as a dollar; but as dollars sometimes have holes punched in them, so I may one of these days; but never despair.” He had clearly demonstrated his leadership ability to both his men and his doubting superiors. Although he had no prior formal military training, and his men were equally untrained and untested, they successfully overcame General Rodes’ Alabamians who were combat veterans positioned in a superior protected defensive position. In his official report, Brigadier General French remarked, “The conduct of the new regiments must take a prominent place in the history

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197 Spangler, 44.
198 Priest, 343.
200 OR, Series I, Vol. XIX/1, No. 5.
201 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 21, 1862.
of this great battle. Un-drilled, but admirable armed and equipped, every regiment, either in advance or reserve, distinguished itself. . . . “202 Major General Edwin Sumner, the Second Corps Commander, in his official report commented, “Richardson’s and French’s divisions maintained a furious and successful fight from the time the entered the battle till the end of it, highly to the honor of the officers and soldiers.”203

On Monday, September 22, the men of the 130th rose early at 3:00 A.M., to receive three days of rations and were ordered to prepare for a march. At daybreak the regiment formed and began its march southward through Sharpsburg crossing the Potomac River in the direction of Harper’s Ferry. Private Brehm recorded, “The scenery along the Potomac is wild and indeed delightful to the admirer of romance. Finally we come to Harper’s Ferry which truly presents the hand work of the Creator as manifest in nature though sadly ruined by the ravages of war.”204 Since the Confederates had burned the railroad and pontoon bridges, the men waded across the Potomac River. Although not deep, the bottom was rocky making wading difficult.205 Private Landis vividly recounted the comical event that occurred during the regiment’s crossing: “We passed under the great overhanging rocks on the Maryland side, the band playing ‘Yankee Doodle,’ and on into the river, whose rocky bottom made fording rather difficult. This seemed to be the case with our band, for when just about in the middle of the river they suddenly stopped “Yankee Doodle” and struck up ‘Jordan am a hard road to trabble’; a

204 Brehm Diary, September 22, 1862.
205 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 24, 1862.
song much in vogue at the time, which so amused and inspired us, that we passed over in
a more cheerful mood."²⁰⁶

The now "veteran" regiment began its twelve-mile march passing though
Harper's Ferry encamping on a area known as Bolivar Heights, located one mile west of
Harper's Ferry, where, as described by Captain Zinn, the "The scenery is beautiful, and if
not marred by the ravages of war, would be the finest I ever saw."²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Landis Memoirs, 12.
²⁰⁷ Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 24, 1862.
CHAPTER 4
A RESPITE AT HARPER’S FERRY

The hardships endured by the battle-fatigued regiment upon their arrival at Bolivar Heights on September 22, 1862, showed no immediate signs of relief. The regiment now numbered only 583 enlisted men and officers reduced significantly from its original strength of 986 when the regiment left Camp Simmons in August.¹ There were only sixteen officers available in the regiment fit for duty.² The men were wearing the same clothing since their departure from Camp Marcy for Rockville on September 7. In a letter to his wife, Mary, Captain Zinn complained, “I have been wearing the same shirts for two weeks, and may have to wear them for two more.”³ Their regiment’s camp equipment, officers’ baggage, and men’s personal belongings were still in storage in Washington.⁴ The regiment had not received its Pennsylvania regimental flag and had been carrying only flank markers and the officers’ commissions had not yet arrived from Pennsylvania’s Governor Curtin.⁵ The men’s advance pay and promised government bounties had not yet been paid.⁶ Added to these mounting demoralizing deficiencies, a regimental chaplain had not yet arrived. Time was desperately needed for the regiment to

¹ John R. Turner to daughter Kittie, September 28, 1862.
² Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 24, 1862.
³ Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 21, 1862.
⁴ Henry I. Zinn to Mary, September 24, 1862.
⁵ Author Unknown, Personal Recollection, Newville Historical Society; Henry I. Letters to Mary, September 24, 1862.
⁶ Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 5, 1862.
reorganize, mend, and obtain all the clothing and equipment a Union infantry regiment required.

Ironically, the first two weeks at their new camp near Harper's Ferry brought more troubles than cures. Since Dr. Frederick L. Haupt, the 130th's chief surgeon, remained at Antietam caring for the wounded, the regiment had no medical staff until the arrival of the second assistant surgeon, J. H. Longenecker, around September 26. On October 5, Captain Zinn related his increasing concerns to his wife:

All is well with me. This cannot be said of the many poor fellows of the regiment who have been suffering for want of proper medical attendance since the battle. All our medical supplies were left behind with the exception of a small lot brought along by one of our surgeons, most of which was expended during and after the battle. The regiment was able to borrow some medications, although they lacked a supply of specialized drugs. The poor and scarce water led to diarrhea and dysentery, although there were a number of cases of ague (malaria) reported. By October 5, the regiment had 150 men reported as sick, about 100 had deserted and several officers were absent without leave.  

The remainder of September 1862 found the men occupied with the typical duties of camp life of drilling, inspections, dress parades and more drilling. On September 25, Brigadier General French ordered his units including the 130th, to begin drilling twice a day. The weather was often rainy, cold, and damp which caused mold to be a problem.

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7 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, October 5, 1862.
8 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, October 5, 1862.
9 Brehm Diary, September 25, 1862.
The most common complaint was diarrhea, a frequent ailment found throughout both armies.\textsuperscript{10}

September 31 would be an eventful day in the Union encampment at Bolivar Heights. Unfortunately, the regiment would be away from camp. The entire regiment ordered out on picket duty at 4 P.M. on September 30 was unable to get a glimpse of President Abraham Lincoln and his staff who visited the camp and reviewed the troops. Although unfortunate, being struck like so many others with diarrhea and unable to go on picket duty with the regiment, Corporal Landis was one of the few who observed the grand event:

The presence of that tall, pale, earnest man, always brought enthusiasm to the heart of the soldier. He felt that there was a great serious soberness about the work he was engaged in. This was often dismissed from his mind; and it is well that it was so, or the strain would have been too great. But with the appearance of that great man, his patriotism struck deeper root into every fiber of his being.\textsuperscript{11}

The regiment returned the evening of October 1 with some of the men spending a “sociable evening” in their large Sibley tents.\textsuperscript{12}

Although the next day, Tuesday, October 2, began with a thick mist, the day was to mark the beginning of a series of positive events for the regiment. After drilling, the regiment returned to “high living and delicacies in abundance” with such delights as light cakes, butter, pean butter, cheese, dry beef, jelly cake and pepper crackers issued.\textsuperscript{13} That same day overcoats, additional uniforms, and knapsacks were issued to the men.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} Brehm Diary, September 25, 1862.
\textsuperscript{11} Landis Memoirs, 12.
\textsuperscript{12} Brehm Diary, October 1, 1862
\textsuperscript{13} Brehm Diary, October 2, 1862.
\textsuperscript{14} Masonheimer Diary, October 2, 1862.
During the following two weeks the regiment’s routine continued to be company and regimental drills, inspections, dress parades, and picket duty. On October 6, Private Masonheimer was promoted to 4th Corporal “to date from the first of the month.” While on picket duty on October 7, the regiment encountered a flag of truce called by the Confederates to return four paroled prisoners. “I accompanied the party that went to meet with them, and found the Rebels quite a fine looking gentlemanly set of fellows,” Captain Zinn wrote to his wife. During the same week a new Union intelligence gathering technique was first seen by the regiment—balloon reconnaissance.

The regiment was finally being adequately supplied by early October. Writing to his wife, Captain Zinn conveyed his cautious optimism: “We have ample supplies of good living now. The good old days of Camp Curtin . . . have returned, but how long they will last I cannot tell.”

During the same week on October 9, a major shift in military leadership occurred in the Second Corps. Major General Edwin V. Sumner, the first commander who had organized the corps, was given a thirty-day leave of absence vacating the Second Corps command. In his place, Major General Darius N. Couch, who had distinguished himself during the Peninsula Campaign, was named the Commander of the Second Corps. The oldest corps commander had been replaced by one of the youngest. Quite opposite in

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15 Masonheimer Diary, October 2–9, 1862.
16 Masonheimer Diary, October 6, 1862.
17 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 12, 1862.
18 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 12, 1862.
19 Brehm Diary, October 8, 1862.
20 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 12, 1862.
manner, style and demeanor off the battlefield, yet on the battlefield, they were much alike as "father and son."\textsuperscript{21}

Sunday, October 11, brought an additional welcome enrichment to the regiment with the arrival of the regiment's long-awaited chaplain, Reverend George W. Chalfant. Colonel Zinn, elated, described him to his wife as "arriving last evening looking as fine as a new pin."\textsuperscript{22} The regiment's chaplain from Cumberland, Pennsylvania, came from the O.S. Presbyterian Church of Cumberland.\textsuperscript{23} Certified by six Pennsylvania clergymen, Reverend Chalfant received the unanimous vote of the regiment's company commanders and was subsequently appointed by Captain Henry I. Zinn on September 27.\textsuperscript{24}

In early October, the regiment's long-awaited officer appointments finally arrived. The Pennsylvania state document dated October 1, 1862, commissioned the regiment's staff and company officers retroactive to the date of their muster in August.\textsuperscript{25} Relieved the appointments had finally arrived, the now "Colonel" Zinn told his wife, "The organization of the regiment is completed, the commissions have been received, and there is no danger that we will lose our pay. So tell the good people at home not to be uneasy about us, we expect to get money enough to pay our debts and to keep our families besides."\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{21} Walker, 128-130.
\textsuperscript{22} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 12, 1862.
\textsuperscript{23} George G. Chalfant, Service Records, National Archives, Washington, DC.
\textsuperscript{24} George G. Chalfant, Service Record File, "Returns of the Chaplain," National Archives, Washington, DC.
\textsuperscript{25} Officer Commissions, 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Records, Pennsylvania State Archives.
\textsuperscript{26} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 18, 1862.
The soldiers’ everyday living conditions also began to improve since leaving Fort Marcy. Being on the march, the men had slept on the ground without a blanket (since they were left behind with their knapsacks), or found any means of protection that they could, rain or shine.\(^{27}\) They now had the luxury of being quartered in Sibley tents sleeping on pine boughs.\(^{28}\) While on the march it had been every man for himself for their meals. Sometimes while on the march they were able to “procure” some apples, corn, or potatoes to add to their ration of coffee and meat. Their daily rations while at Bolivar Heights “per man are ten crackers three & a half inches square half inch thick and as hard as a hickory chip three fourths of a pound of pork very good two tablespoons of coffee the same sugar once in a while a spoonful or two of molasses,” wrote Private Weiser to his sisters and brothers.\(^{29}\) He added that on occasion beans and rice are available but were considered “too much trouble to cook.”\(^{30}\) The men’s appearance improved with new uniforms being issued and with the nearby Shenandoah River quickly becoming a prized bathing spot for the regiment.\(^{31}\)

Private Weiser, contented and rested, apprised his parents in his October 13 letter home explaining that things had improved for him and describing his feelings after his first test in a battle:

At present I am content and have plenty to eat and very good clothing we drew some new clothing on Saturday evening [October 11th] and we will get the balance this week. I would have not have missed being in the Service of our Uncle Sam the past two months for all I that I ever did make or ever will if I live to get home[.] I will have something to talk about all my life and a Soldiers story never gets old. If

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\(^{27}\) John S. Weiser to his sisters and brothers, October 11, 1862.

\(^{28}\) Brehm Diary, October 18-19, 1862.

\(^{29}\) John S. Weiser to his sisters and brothers, October 11, 1862.

\(^{30}\) John S. Weiser to his sisters and brothers, October 11, 1862.

\(^{31}\) John S. Weiser to his mother, October 13, 1862; Brehm Diary, October 4, 1862.
I am killed or die through disease it is all the same to me as I am enlisted in a good cause and intend to do all for the old Flag that I can although when I went into the engagement at the Battle of Antietam I thought I was a coward but that fear left me in five minutes after we received the first fire from the Gray Backs and then I thought of nothing but loading and firing while my comrades were falling on my right and left. Killed and wounded I never thought that I might be the next.  

Slowly, the regiment was beginning to regain the strength it had possessed before the desolation it had endured on the killing fields of Antietam.

Monday, October 13, 1862, was to be a most unforgettable day for the regiment with the formal presentation of the regiment’s Pennsylvania Colors by Colonel Samuel B. Thomas representing Governor Curtin. Corporal Landis recorded how this was “a day to be remembered as our colors were presented to our regiment... Col Zinn said that ‘This flag shall never be disgraced.’”

The remainder of the week passed with the normal routines of camp activities of target practice, company and regimental drills, dress parades and their turn at picket duty. The only incident that interrupted the regiment’s tranquil interlude while at Bolivar Heights began during the night of October 15, with cannonading heard in the distance resulting in the regiment being kept in readiness until noon on the next day. The newly-assigned Second Corps Commander, Major General D. N. Couch, ordered Brigadier General Winfield S. Hancock’s First Division to conduct a reconnaissance into Charleston to determine the Confederate strength. On October 16 the expedition found only a small contingent of Confederate cavalry and supporting artillery battery.

32 John S. Weiser to his mother, October 13, 1862.
33 Author Unknown, Personal Recollection, Newville Historical Society.
34 Landis Memoirs, 12.
35 Brehm Diary, October 16, 1862.
36 Walker, 131-132.
On Thursday, October 17, the regiment participated in a division drill under the command of General French. The regiment's first death as a result from sickness occurred the next day when Private Charles A. Hitchcock of Company I died of a low form of typhoid fever brought on by a breast wound by a piece of shell he received at Antietem.37

Sunday, October 19, marked the regiment's first church service given by Chaplain Chalfant, whose sermon concerned "Matthew, 25 chapter and 1st clause of 28th verse - brief and practical," noted Private Brehm in his diary.38

The typical rigors of camp life continued throughout the remaining days in October with the weather becoming rainy and turning colder as month came to an end. Colonel Zinn expressed concern about the effects of the oncoming winter in a letter to his wife: "The cold winds of winter are fast coming, and I must have clothing for myself and blankets for my horses and boys." To everyone's relief, overcoats were drawn on October 23, which were a welcome addition to the uniform particularly while detailed on picket duty.40

Picket duty was a dangerous duty that brought with it long, cold and often wet nights. It also brought with it the possibility of capture as Private Weiser described in an unforgettable event that he witnessed on October 24th:

There is hardly a day but what there is some of our men along the Picket line taken prisoner sometimes they are surrounded by the Rebs and cut their way out. yesterday there was twenty five men belonging to the fourteenth Connecticut taken

37 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 18, 1862.
38 Brehm Diary, October 19, 1862.
39 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 24, 1862.
40 Brehm Diary, October 23, 1862.
(they belong to our Brigade) but our reserve was to close for the Gray Backs to hold them there was a nice little skirmish[]. [I]t lasted about ten minutes we had two men slightly wounded. I was looking through a Glass from of the Heights.\textsuperscript{41} 

Camp rumor was beginning to circulate that the regiment may soon be on the move – somewhere.\textsuperscript{42} Colonel Zinn, not intimidated by rumor, but faced with the realities of the war, conveyed his concerns to his wife: “From present indications, I presume it is intended that we shall remain here this winter; but as movements of the army are uncertain, a week hence may find us far from here.”\textsuperscript{43} 

Colonel Zinn’s intuition proved to be both accurate and timely. Late on Wednesday, October 29, the regiment was ordered to go on picket duty at 8:00 A.M. the next morning. Shortly thereafter, a second order was given, countermanding the first, directing the men to be ready to march the next morning.\textsuperscript{44} 

On October 26, Major General McClellan began putting his troops in motion, ordering his Army of the Potomac southward into the valley of the Shenandoah in pursuit of the Confederate forces that had encamped in the vicinity of Bunker Hill and Winchester after the battle of Antietam.\textsuperscript{45} In his work, the \textit{History of the Second Army Corps.} Francis A. Walker recited Major General McClellan’s intention:

Upon reaching Ashby’s, or any other pass, I found that the enemy was in force between it and the Potomac, in the valley of the Shenandoah, to move into the valley and endeavor to gain their rear... by striking in between Culpeper Court House and Little Washington I could either separate their army and beat them in detail.\textsuperscript{46}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{41} John S. Weiser to his parents, October 25, 1862.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} Brehm Diary, October 25, 1862.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, October 18, 1862.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Brehm Diary, October 29, 1862.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Francis W. Palfrey, \textit{The Antietam and Fredericksburg} (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1882, Reprint, Harrisburg: The Archive Society, 1992), 131.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Walker, 131-132.
\end{itemize}
Major General McClellan was finally taking an offensive initiative that the Lincoln administration had been persuading him to do. The time to act was now. The Army of the Potomac now consisted of the First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Corps. The Twelfth Corps remained behind to guard that region of the upper Potomac. On October 30, the Second Corps would take the lead of the Army of the Potomac to begin the advance across the Shenandoah River passing Loudon Heights into the valley of the Shenandoah in the direction of Ashby's Gap.

The entire regiment was up before daylight on the morning of October 30, ate breakfast, and was given sixty rounds of ammunition. Time continued to pass slowly with no orders to move. Finally, the regiment was ordered out on picket duty where they remained until 4:30 P.M. when they were called back to camp. When the returned back at camp, Private Brehm recorded they found it "torn up and the troops almost gone." After taking a "hasty" supper, the regiment left camp (they were the last regiment to depart from the heights) at dusk and marched down the pike and crossed over the Shenandoah River. They crossed the pontoon bridge and continued their four-mile march down the river around the bluffs into Pleasant Valley until 9:00 P.M. when they caught up with their division. At the end of the march, Private Brehm remarked in his diary, "A little warm coffee, bread and butter, and then to 'bed'."

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47 Walker, 131.
48 Walker, 131.
49 Brehm Diary, October 30, 1862.
50 Brehm Diary, October 30, 1862.
51 Brehm Diary, October 30, 1862.
At 7:30 A.M. on October 31, the regiment continued its march southward halting around noon. Soon after stopping after their five-mile march, the men heard cannonading in the direction that they would soon be headed early the next morning.

At 9:00 A.M. on the following morning, November 1, the regiment continued its trek southward knowing neither their ultimate destination nor purpose. As it marched along the thunder of cannons continually rang out reminding the men of their ordeal at Antietam and what fate could lie ahead for them. At 1:00 P.M., they halted in a field for an hour of rest and quickly started off again around 2:00 P.M passing by a "fine" farmhouse where Private Brehm recorded that "the old lady and three fine looking ladies may be seen in the yard. They seem generous in giving apples and bread to the soldier but have 'secesh proclivities.'" The regiment continued its march halting in the "back of a wood on a hill facing sun rise." The men received a most-welcomed treasure that day as their old knapsacks that had been in storage in Washington finally caught up with them.

The following morning the regiment was up early having breakfast of applesauce, bacon, and the tack. As the sun rose that morning Private Brehm recorded that it caused a "beautiful landscape to the north east" with a mist that covered the valley, and the woods appearing like so many islands." At 9:00 A.M., the regiment was ordered to receive three days' rations [which never came for some unknown reason] and move out."

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52 Brehm Diary, October 31, 1862.
53 Masonheimer Diary, October 31, 1862.
54 Brehm Diary, November 1, 1862.
55 Brehm Diary, November 1, 1862.
56 Masonheimer Diary, November 1, 1862.
57 Brehm Diary, November 2, 1862.
58 Brehm Diary, November 2, 1862.
After maintaining a quick rate of march, the regiment arrived at the small village of Snickersville, Virginia that Private Brehm referred to as "a little village of no admiration situated in the gap of two hills."\(^{59}\) The men were ordered to stack arms where they had supper as they listened to the serenade of cannons not far off behind the hill.\(^{60}\) Their camp that evening was located in an orchard where Private Spangler vividly recalled that they "found a half a dozen or more of swine which were quickly dispatched and filled our haversacks with juicy pork."\(^{61}\) Brigadier General French's headquarters was located directly behind the regiment's camp. That evening Private Brehm recognized his division commander as he saw French having his supper sitting on the trunk of an old apple tree. The next few hours the men waited in anticipation expecting to resume their march until they saw General French's tents go up. The regiment became relieved when Colonel Zinn passed the order to "lie down and sleep."\(^{62}\)

Monday morning, November the 3, brought news to the regiment that as the Confederates were retreating, they were to be ready to march at 9:00 A.M. Marching southward the remainder of the day, the regiment stopped a short time before sunset where the cannons were heard not too far in the distance. After a short rest, the regiment continued its advance until it finally halted at sunset in the village of Upperville, Virginia, on a hill directly opposite where Confederate General J. E. B. Stuart's Calvary had encamped the night before.\(^{63}\) The 84th Pennsylvania was encamped across the road.\(^{64}\)

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\(^{59}\) Brehm Diary, November 2, 1862.
\(^{60}\) Brehm Diary, November 2, 1862.
\(^{61}\) Spangler, 56.
\(^{62}\) Brehm Diary, November 2, 1862.
\(^{63}\) Brehm Diary, November 4-5 1862.
\(^{64}\) Masonheimer Diary, November 4, 1862.
Fatigued and hungry from the day's hard march, the men ate their supper and began settling in.\textsuperscript{65} Anticipating a needed night's rest, Private Brehm recorded that this was not to be the case:

Whisler, Crider & myself just nicely nestled under out blankets when the Colonel's voice sounds 'fall in every man' and soon we are off and stationed along a stone fence as out pickets. At 4 in the morning our post is relieved by reserves and we lie down. The next I see is the shining sun beautifully glimmering in the east – he betokens a fine day.\textsuperscript{66}

By November 4, the entire Second Corps had reached Upperville, with Union calvary in front that brought on an artillery duel with General Stuart's artillery. The contest slowed the Union advance that allowed the Confederate calvary to slip through Ashby's Gap.\textsuperscript{67}

The regiment remained encamped near Upperville during November 4, with no orders and little to keep them occupied.\textsuperscript{68} During the day the encampment was a hub of senior leader activity with Generals McClellan, Burnside, French, and Whipple passing up and down the main camp road.\textsuperscript{69} Later, General Burnside, Commander of the Union Ninth Corps, passed the regiment with his entire corps. The evening ended with the insistent roar of constant cannonading heard well into the night.\textsuperscript{70}

The men breakfasted on crackers and pork the next morning that arrived with a heavy frost.\textsuperscript{71} The Army of the Potomac had begun to move that morning "with a considerable force" that passed through their camp near the Virginia town of Upperville.

\textsuperscript{65} Brehm Diary, November 3, 1862.
\textsuperscript{66} Brehm Diary, November 3, 1862.
\textsuperscript{67} Walker, 133.
\textsuperscript{68} Brehm Diary, November 4, 1862.
\textsuperscript{69} Masonheimer Dairy, November 4, 1862.
\textsuperscript{70} Brehm Diary, November 4, 1862.
\textsuperscript{71} Brehm Diary, November 5, 1862.
Later in the afternoon Brigadier General Winfield S. Hancock’s First Division of the Second Corps marched passed the regiment joining those already on the move as the men of the 130th awaited their orders.\textsuperscript{72}

With some precious idle time, Colonel Zinn was able to write a few lines home informing his family of is whereabouts the best he could:

The whole Army is in motion, and moving in the same direction. The enemy has been falling back before our advancing columns, keeping only a few hours ahead of us. Night before last we could plainly see the Confederate campfires. With the force we now have in the field, we should be able to whip them easily.\textsuperscript{73}

By November 10, 1862, the total number present for duty in the Army of the Potomac totaled 127,574 officers and men.\textsuperscript{74} Although the total force in the field may have been sufficient, the 130th Pennsylvania was now reduced to 350 men “with but a sprinkling of officers,” roughly one-third of the regiment’s original strength.\textsuperscript{75}

The order to move finally came at 8:00 A.M. on the morning of November 6 and the regiment moved out with “our haversacks replenished with beef for the boys were out confiscating beef yesterday,” noted Private Brehm.\textsuperscript{76} Marching through Upperville enduring the cold and threatening snow, the regiment encamped near the small Virginia town of Rectortown for the night.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{72} Brehm Diary, November 5, 1862.
\textsuperscript{73} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 5, 1862.
\textsuperscript{74} Palfrey, 138.
\textsuperscript{75} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 5, 1862.
\textsuperscript{76} Brehm Diary, November 6, 1862.
\textsuperscript{77} Brehm Diary, November 6, 1862.
The regiment remained in camp the next day enduring the decreasing cold temperatures.\textsuperscript{78} Snow began falling early in the morning and continued throughout the day with blankets providing the men’s only shelter.\textsuperscript{79}

At 8:30 A.M. on the following morning of November 8, the regiment received orders to march. Promptly at 9:00 A.M., it joined the rest of the Army of the Potomac traveling southward deeper into Virginia, marching through Rectortown and Salem in view of the Rattlesnake Mountains.\textsuperscript{80} After crossing the Manassas Railroad the long blue column changed direction to a southeastwardly direction stopping at 3:00 p.m. for the night.\textsuperscript{81}

Rested and ready to resume the march, at 7:30 A.M. the following morning, Sunday, November 9, the regiment trekked eight miles further into Virginia finally reaching Warrenton.\textsuperscript{82} Corporal Masonheimer thought Warrenton “The nicest looking town I seen in Virginia,” although he found the regiment’s welcoming reception to be less than hospitable when a girl made at face at him.\textsuperscript{83} After marching through the town, the regiment was ordered to countermarch encamping approximately one mile southeast of town. That evening many of the Pennsylvanians attended a short religious service.\textsuperscript{84}

The overall health of the regiment was beginning to improve with the number of men available for duty was increasing daily. Yet, serious cases of jaundice were taking

\textsuperscript{78} Brehm Diary November 7, 1862
\textsuperscript{79} Brehm Diary November 7, 1862.
\textsuperscript{80} Masonheimer Diary, November 8, 1862. The Virginia town of Salem that Corporal Masnheimer referred to was renamed “Marshall” during the late nineteenth century due to confusion with another Virginia town named “Salem” located near Roanoke.
\textsuperscript{81} Brehm Diary, November 8, 1862.
\textsuperscript{82} Masonheimer Diary, November 9, 1862.
\textsuperscript{83} Masonheimer Diary, November 9, 1862.
\textsuperscript{84} Brehm Diary, November 9, 1862.
its toll among the regiments. Colonel Zinn had himself come down with the ailment.\textsuperscript{85} “My skin and the whites of my eyes are yellow as saffron. I have the jaundice. You can perhaps imagine how I feel camping in this cold, snowy weather. . . . There are quite a number of cases of jaundice in the regiment,” he informed his wife on November 9. Both of the regiment’s surgeons were ill. Dr. Haupt, who was left in charge of the regiment’s sick who remained at Bolivar Heights, had returned to Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{86} Dr. Longenecker, although sick himself, remained with the regiment. Both the commander and chaplain of the 14th Connecticut were also ill with the jaundice.\textsuperscript{87}

The following day, November 10, would be one of the more memorable days for the men of 130th. Awakened early with orders to fall in at 6:00 A.M., the men marched about three-fourths of a mile to find almost the entire Army of the Potomac positioned on both sides of the road.\textsuperscript{88} Three days prior, on November 7, orders were sent from Washington to General McClellan relieving him of the his command of the Army of the Potomac.\textsuperscript{89} Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, formally the commander of the Union Army’s Ninth Corps, was appointed its new commander.

It was not until that morning in Warrenton that the troops become aware of the fate of their esteemed Major General McClellan. The Second and Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac were drawn up on both sides of the Centerville Pike in columns, by regiment, to bid a final farewell to beloved commander.\textsuperscript{90} Corporal Masonheimer, like

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{85} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 9, 1862.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 9, 1862.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 9, 1862.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Brehm Diary, November 10, 1862.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Walker, 136.
\item \textsuperscript{90} Walker, 136.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
most soldiers in the Army of the Potomac, was moved by his sudden departure: “As General [McClellan] passed the line he bid us farewell with tears in his eyes. The most beautiful sight I ever saw.”\(^91\) History would later record that no other Union commander would be held in the same high regard to the common soldier in the Army of the Potomac. Private Brehm recounted that at the conclusion of the momentous event the regiment returned to its camp later to “sit around the camp fire” until roll call when they retired to the “frail little shelters made of oil-cloth and gum blankets for the crowded accommodation of four.”\(^92\)

One of Major General Burnside’s first acts was to reorganize the Army of the Potomac into the formation of three Grand Divisions made up of the Right, Centre, and Left Grand Divisions. Major General E. V. Sumner commanded the Right Grand Division that included the Second and Ninth Corps. The Centre Grand Division was commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker that included that Third and Fifth Corps. The Left Grand Division made up of the Sixth and First Corps was commanded by Major General William B. Franklin.\(^93\)

For the next four days, the regiment remained encamped near Warrenton with the time being taken up with the normal routines of daily camp life. Some in the regiment had the opportunity to locate friends in the 126th, 131st, and 133rd Pennsylvania Regi-

\(^{91}\) Masonheimer Diary, November 10, 1862.
\(^{92}\) Brehm Diary, November 10, 1862.
\(^{93}\) Walker, 138-139.
ments that were camped nearby. On Wednesday, November 12, a thirteen gun [cannon] salute was heard in honor of Major General Burnside.94

On November 13, the entire Third Division was called out for an inspection after rumors were heard that it would soon be on the move.95 A rumor that the entire Second Corps would be sent to Texas was also circulating the camp.96 The rumor concerning moving was given credibility when the men were given eight days' rations later that evening.97 Although expecting to be on the march early on the 14th, the day's activities were back to company drill and "brightening up the guns."98 Late that evening the regiment received orders to be ready to march the next morning.99

Not long after General Burnside assumed command, he submitted his plan of operations to Washington. Major General Henry W. Halleck, the General-in-Chief, who disapproved his plan. After two days of face-to-face consultations in Warrenton on November 12 and 13, both generals were at an impasse leaving the final decision to President Lincoln who ultimately sided with Major General Burnside. In brief, General Burnside's plan was to deceive the Confederates into believing that he would be attacking either Culpeper or Gordonsville, while accumulating four to five days of supplies in order to make a rapid drive into Fredericksburg. Once Fredericksburg was taken, Richmond would then be in within his grasp.100

94 Brehm Diary, November 11-12, 1862.
95 Brehm Diary, November 13, 1862.
96 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, November 11, 1862.
97 Masonheimer Diary, November 13, 1862.
98 Brehm Diary, November 14, 1862.
99 Masonheimer Diary, November 14, 1862.
100 Palfrey, 136-137.
At 11:00 A.M., November 14, 1862, the same day that he received President Lincoln's telegraph approving his plan, General Burnside issued orders for his three Grand Division commanders to begin their move towards Fredericksburg with the Second Division taking the lead at daybreak the next day.\textsuperscript{101}

Early on morning of the November 15, the regiment packed up with three days rations taking its place in line with the Second Corps to begin its march deeper into Virginia according to General Burnside's plan.\textsuperscript{102} Although many knew they were headed in the direction of Richmond, the destination of Fredericksburg would not be conveyed to them until the following day.\textsuperscript{103} They marched through the streets of Warrenton down the railway towards the station turning left passing over the Orange & Alexandria Railroad.\textsuperscript{104} They continued their eleven-mile march into Stafford County and encamped for the night.\textsuperscript{105} "Up early and off" the next morning, November 16, wrote Private Brehm.\textsuperscript{106} Their march took them through mostly areas of barren pine passing occasional log houses with wooded chimneys.\textsuperscript{107} Not impressed with what he saw, Private Brehm called the landscape, "A poorly cultivated and thinly settled country."\textsuperscript{108} At sunset, after marching a grueling seventeen miles, the regiment halted for the night.\textsuperscript{109} Rain that night would make getting a decent night's rest a challenging one.\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{101} Palfrey, 138
\textsuperscript{102} Brehm Diary, November 15, 1862.
\textsuperscript{103} Brehm Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{104} Brehm Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{105} Masonheimer Diary, November 15, 1862.
\textsuperscript{106} Brehm Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{107} Masonheimer Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{108} Brehm Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{109} Masonheimer Diary, November 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{110} Brehm Diary, November 17, 1862.
Orders were received the next morning, Monday, November 17, to move at 7:00 A.M. Burdened with the detail to guard an ammunition train, the regiment still managed to march another ten miles. Private Brehm made the march "tolerable well sore feet excepted." Corporal Masonheimer "almost gave out" only to become sick later and fall out of ranks. As the day ended, the regiment found itself near the banks of the Rappahannock River, about four miles from Fredericksburg where cannonading could be heard to their front. Two Union artillery batteries quickly responded to quiet the Confederate artillery poised on the outskirts of Fredericksburg, awaiting the coming Union onslaught.

That day Colonel Zinn was able to find a few precious minutes to write home to comfort his family, "As you will perceive we have been once more on the march toward Richmond, the goal of every northern soldier." He finally was able to ward off jaundice; however, "owing to the quality of our living," he was "troubled with diarrhea. I am however, nearly well."

With Fredericksburg a short distance away, the men assuredly wondered what direction would they soon be headed the morning. At noon, orders were given for hourly roll calls and for everyone to be prepared to fall in under arms on a moment's notice. Within a short time, the men took down their tents, packed their equipment, drew three days rations, and marched through the small town Falmouth to await the remainder of the

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111 Brehm Diary, November 17, 1862.
112 Masonheimer Diary, November 17, 1862.
113 Masonheimer Diary, November 17, 1862.
114 Brehm Diary, November 17, 1862.
115 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, November 17, 1862.
brige.116 Once the Second Brigade arrived, it marched three miles further eastward and encamped for the night unaware of its destination.117

The next morning, November would offer more confusion rather than answers. The day would be a miserable one; however, by evening the regiment's role for the next few weeks would begin to emerge. "Off at 8 o'clock and lose the way. It begins to rain. March and countermarch with making but little progress," wrote Private Brehm.118 "We got on [the] wrong road, marched through woods and mud . . . a gloomy day," echoed Corporal Masonheimer in his daily diary entry.119 Initially, most likely due to being on the wrong road, it seemed to the men that they were headed to Aquia Station [Aquia Landing] located about nine miles north of Falmouth. Later, it became evident that they were headed to Belle Plain Landing. Belle Plain Landing, an inlet of the Potomac River located approximately ten miles east of Falmouth, was one of two Union supply bases on the Potomac River. Supplies arrived there by ship and were transported by wagon to the troops in Falmouth. By 4:00 P.M., November 19, the regiment finally arrived at Belle Plain Landing after marching nine miles through pouring rains camping in a meadow along Potomac Creek.120

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116 Brehm Diary, November 18, 1862.
117 Masonheimer Diary, November 18, 1862.
118 Brehm Diary, November 19, 1862.
119 Masonheimer Diary, November 19, 1862.
120 Masonheimer Diary, November 19, 1862.
CHAPTER 5

DEATH COMES TO A COMMANDER:
THE FREDERICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

With the Union Army's Second Corps approaching Falmouth, General Robert E.
Lee correctly concluded that Fredericksburg was the objective of the new commander of
the Army of the Potomac.¹ Quickly he would need to formulate a strategy, once again, to
guard the gates to Richmond.

After Antietam Lee had divided his army in half, placing Major General
Longstreet's First Corps at Culpepper. Lieutenant General "Stonewall" Jackson's Sec-
ond Corps was ordered to occupy the Shenandoah Valley in an area between Berryville
and Charlestown. The Confederate cavalry led by Major General J. E. B. Stuart was dis-
perssed on the Rappahannock and in the Shenandoah Valley supporting General Jackson.²

On November 18, Major General Longstreet's First Corps began its march to-
wards Fredericksburg arriving in the city on November 23. Fredericksburg is situated
south and directly across from Falmouth, separated by the Rappahannock River. On
November 26, a week after the Army of the Potomac arrived at Falmouth Lee directed
Jackson to march his Second Corps east to Fredericksburg arriving on December 1.³

² Stackpole, 74.
Lee positioned Longstreet’s corps of 38,000 along a seven-mile line from a position above Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock River to an area known as Hamilton’s Crossing below the city. Confederate General Jackson’s Second Corps were dispersed over a wide area from Hamilton’s Crossing to Port Royal, Virginia. The Confederate cavalry protected the army’s flanks.  

While on the march to Fredericksburg, Burnside, anticipating the need to cross the Rappahannock River quickly, requested from Washington that pontoons be delivered to Falmouth to meet his Army when it arrived. Because of “garbled orders, botched assignments, and misplaced documents,” the pontoons were delayed arriving ten days late. Undoubtedly, this mistake changed the outcome of Fredericksburg Campaign by providing Lee the necessary time to mass his forces in anticipation of Burnside’s expected offensive that he anticipated to come from somewhere between an area north of Falmouth to Port Royal.

In an effort to move the Army of the Potomac, the first task given the 130th after arriving at Belle Plain was to repair a corduroy bridge and assist with the construction of corduroy roads. These details, in addition to picket duty and the other demands of camp life, became more burdensome with the continual soaking rains that left the men and their clothing and blankets constantly wet.

The regiment was additionally tasked with loading and unloading commissary and quartermaster supplies from a fleet of Federal transports and canal boats arriving at Belle

6 Brehm Diary, November 21, 1862. Corduroy roads were roads built by laying logs horizontally.
7 Masonheimer Diary, November 6, 1862.
Plain. This was a temporary measure until repairs could be made to the railroad running from Aquia Creek to Falmouth. Company E’s Private Brehm ordered to report at noon for a detail on Sunday, November 23 noted, “Get along finely as I am acting clerk on the canal boat. This is the depot from which the Army receives [its] supplies and is consequently a throng place. The ‘Song Branch’ and another boat bring in our supplies.”

As the Confederates were massing their forces on the ridges above Fredericksburg, the men of the 130th were enduring soaking rains and chilly mornings with little protection, using their gum blankets for shelter from the elements. The questionable absence of adequate shelter during these first weeks in Falmouth continued well after the war ended in the form of disability pension requests. Private Spangler later recounted, “The weather was cold and it rained a great deal, often mingled with snow. As we had no tents or shelter of any kind, and the plain being low, flat and impervious, causing water to stand inches deep, we suffered intensely.” In a November 20 letter to his wife, Colonel Zinn reported a somewhat different account:

It has been raining nearly all the time since we came here, which makes it very unpleasant for the men, as they are without shelter except for their gum blankets. The government furnishes the men no shelter save that of shelter tents, consisting of three pieces carried by them and affording shelter for two men. Poles for the tents are procured by the men upon arriving in the new camp. Up until within a few day[s], the men have demanded ‘A’ tents, refusing their shelter tents; and now that they have consented to accept them, they should not murmur at delay as there may not be opportunity to get them immediately.

Private Spangler decided to take on the issue in his own way:

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8 Spangler, 58.
9 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 24, 1862.
10 Brehm Diary, November 23, 1862.
11 Brehm Diary, November 21, 1862.
12 Spangler, 56.
13 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 20, 1862.
With an air of authority, I went upon one of a score or more of canal boats filled with tents, and asked the soldier on guard duty whether this was one of Quartermaster Captain Pitkin’s boats, and upon receiving an affirmative reply, I stated that I was commanded to secure one of his tents. Believing me, he allowed me to take a large one which I had the greatest difficulty in carrying to the company.\(^{14}\)

The final weeks of November 1862 found the regiment still encamped near Belle Plain with their days filled with duty on the wharfs, company and regimental drills, dress parades and the dreaded guard detail.\(^{15}\) The regiment received its principal surgeon, John S. Ramsey, on November 20.\(^{16}\) The new surgeon had been promoted from Assistant Surgeon with the 55th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment.\(^{17}\) Colonel Zinn’s assessed his new surgeon as “quite a young man, but as an army surgeon, he has had considerable experience, and that is a great consideration with us, as our assistant surgeons have no experience in military surgery.\(^{18}\)

The winter weather improved as the week progressed with Sunday, November 30. beginning as “A beautiful morning like spring,” observed Corporal Masonheimer.\(^{19}\) No religious services were held due to the absence of the regimental chaplain; however, later that afternoon, the regiment was called out for a dress parade and heard the Articles of War read by the regimental Adjutant, H. Clay Marshall, as cannonading was heard in the direction of Fredericksburg.\(^{20}\)

The regiment remained encamped at Belle Plain performing fatigue duty and unloading supplies from transports and canal boats the first week of December. The first

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\(^{14}\) Spangler, 58.
\(^{15}\) Masonheimer Diary, November 24-30, 1862.
\(^{16}\) Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 24, 1862.
\(^{17}\) Bates, 207.
\(^{18}\) Henry I. Zinn to Mary, November 24, 1862.
\(^{19}\) Masonheimer Diary, November 30, 1862.
\(^{20}\) Brehm Diary, November 30, 1862.
days of December were noted as being “rough and cold.”

On December 2, 1862, Private Andrew Mitzell, of Company C, died of an unknown cause while at Belle Plain. In the evening of Wednesday, December 3, “the President’s message was read at our camp fire,” recounted Private Brehm. The repairs on the railroad from Aquia Creek to Falmouth had been completed to allow the supplies to be transported by rail, rather than by ships arriving at Belle Plain. Colonel Zinn penned a hint of the forthcoming battle in a December 2 letter: “The mail carrier informed us this evening that we will not receive any mail for two weeks to come. If this be true, then there must be something important going on. We will see.”

Something was indeed “going on” on both sides of the Rappahannock River. On November 27, the long-awaited pontoons arrived at the Lacy House directly across from Fredericksburg. Although Union engineers could have built two pontoon bridges that night, General Burnside did not permit it. On the opposite side of the Rappahannock River Jackson’s corps arrived on December 1, adding the second wing to Lee’s forces.

A campaign that was originally based upon speed had lost its momentum shifting to one based upon mere numbers. The Federal forces numbered 127,574 on November 10, compared to the 78,288 Confederates present for duty on December 10. Initially,

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21 Brehm Diary, December 3, 1862.
22 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, December 2, 1862; Bates, 212.
23 Brehm Diary, December 3, 1862. Although the diarist did not document the content of President Lincoln’s speech, it most likely concerned Lincoln’s request for a constitutional amendment that would provide for the emancipation of slavery.
24 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, December 2, 1862.
25 Henry I. Zinn to his wife, December 2, 1862.
26 Stackpole, 98.
27 Brooks, 39.
28 Palfrey, 138-141.
General Burnside considered moving his army across the Rappahannock River a far distance below Fredericksburg in the area between Skinker’s Neck and Port Royal; however, reports from Federal scouts and Professor Thaddeus S. Lowe’s balloon reconnaissance indicated significant Confederate forces in those areas. Contrary to military doctrine and sound reasoning, on December 8 Burnside made the decision to cross the Rappahannock directly into the city in the face of the Confederates lining the ridges behind the town.29

On Friday, December 5, the regiment received orders to leave Belle Plain and return to its first camp with the Third Division near Falmouth.30 The sudden onslaught of three inches of snow that day delayed the movement until the following morning.31 Several companies, including Company E, remained at Belle Plain, not making the nine-mile march until December 11.32

Late on the evening of December 10, 1862, Brigadier General Henry Hunt, the Union’s artillery chief, positioned over 147 artillery pieces on the left bank of the Rappahannock River opposite the city. These pieces would offer protective fire to the Union engineers and soldiers erecting the pontoons who quickly became easy targets for Brigadier General William E. Barksdale’s sharpshooters from the 13th Mississippi positioned safely in houses and outbuildings in the city.33

At around 2:00 A.M., December 11, the Union engineers began dragging the pontoons down to the frigid shoreline of the Rappahannock River and began to lay two

29 Brooks, 39.
30 Henry I. Zinn to Mary, December 8, 1862.
31 Masonheimer Diary, December 6, 1862.
32 Brehm, December 11, 1862.
33 Walker, 146.
pontoon bridges opposite Hawk Street across the river.\textsuperscript{34} After allowing the 50th New York Engineers to lay approximately two-thirds of the span, the Confederate artillery found its mark, clearing the engineers. The deadly and accurate barrage continued as the Union engineers made nine desperate attempts to complete their work fully.\textsuperscript{35}

At 7:00 A.M., Thursday morning, December 11, the regiment began its march towards Fredericksburg from Falmouth. After a two-hour halt, while listening to the constant thundering of Union cannonading, it was ordered to continue marching to the Lacy House (also known as Chatham), Union General Sumner's Headquarters, located across the river from Fredericksburg. The regiment camped that evening on the banks of the Rappahannock just below the Lacy House. Private Spangler vividly recalled that day:

No troops were ever more delighted when . . . we received orders to break camp on this snow-covered and inhospitable spot. On our way through the forest, wild turkeys flew over our heads, and all the time being wished for shot guns. As we reached the large plain opposite Fredericksburg, we beheld a hundred or more guns on the north bank of the river bombing the city. That night we bivouacked at a stately mansion, the Lacy House, opposite the city. It was very cold, and the ground being snow-covered, I was singularly fortunate in being able to sleep on a wet plank.\textsuperscript{36}

Later that evening details were assigned to the critical task of assisting the engineers laying the pontoons. As the Pennsylvanians went about their risky work, they witnessed the city of Fredericksburg being devastated by Union artillery.\textsuperscript{37} Private Brehm described the unforgettable events in his diary:

About midnight orders to march next morning arrive. Consequently an early breakfast and off. Cannoning begins early in the directions of the city. We march

\textsuperscript{34} Brooks, 42.
\textsuperscript{35} Page, 78.
\textsuperscript{36} Spangler, 61.
\textsuperscript{37} Masonheimer Diary, December 11, 1862.
slowly until within ¼ mile from the river and halt. The engineers with great difficulty lay one bridge at the city on account of the enemy’s sharp shooters stationed in the houses on the opposite bank. The most terrific cannoning is kept up by our artillery to which the enemy’s guns are silent. At evening 3 Regts. cross and a severe fight in the city takes place and continues until some time after night. Howard’s division gets over. During the night our Regt. assists in laying another pontoon bridge.\textsuperscript{38}

The morning of December 12 began “clear, calm and beautiful,” as the regiment marched across the upper pontoon bridge that led into Hawkes Street on the opposite bank of the Rappahannock.\textsuperscript{39} General French’s Third Division took the lead.\textsuperscript{40} With a feeling of relief upon reaching the banks of the city, the band stuck up the tune, “Dixie,” that was promptly terminated by a staff officer. From Hawkes Street the regiment turned left onto Sophia Street that ran parallel to the Rappahannock River.\textsuperscript{41}

As they marched into the city at daybreak, the Union troops first noticed the seriously damaged houses hit by their artillery. The town appeared unoccupied. The townspeople had either left the city to flee the Union bombardment or were hiding in their cellars.

When Company K marched into the city, their first encounter was with a group of Union soldiers breaking into whiskey barrels. Not to pass up such an opportunity, Private Spangler recounted that he and his comrades “secured a tub which they partly filled with the tonic, and brought it to our company. He admitted that “On account of the intense

\textsuperscript{38} Brehm Diary, December 11, 1862.
\textsuperscript{39} Page, 79.
\textsuperscript{40} Brehm Diary, December 12, 1862.
\textsuperscript{41} Page, 79.
cold, I was prevailed upon to take a drink - the first in my life – and it produced a warmth that was congenial, to say the least.\footnote{Spangler, 42.}

Union soldiers, no doubt, felt the sensation of conquest as they marched into the once prestigious Southern city. Refusing to a formal demand to surrender, the town became subject to the soldiers’ emotions that quickly escalated into looting, pillaging, and destruction of property. Stragglers had broken into some of the houses and stores and emerged wearing women’s hats or wearing a “plume of peacock feathers.” Some pillagers were seen carrying gilded mirrors, while another straggler was seen carrying a pulpit Bible.\footnote{Page, 79-80.} Clothing, furniture, books, antiques and virtually anything they could lay their hands on became either a personal prize or was destroyed by being tossed in bonfires, perhaps as a symbol of triumph.\footnote{Brooks, 56.} The town, now a smoky ruin, was littered with Confederate dead. “One dead Confederate especially attracted my attention,” recalled Private Spangler.\footnote{Spangler, 62.} “He was in a standing position leaning against the corner of a block-house with his gun in his hands, and all of the head above the mouth was taken off by a shell.”\footnote{Spangler, 62.}

Sophia Street was literally lined with both Union and Confederate dead.\footnote{Spangler, 63.} One Confederate dead soldier was found lying in the middle of the street with both arms gone pierced by a shell.\footnote{Spangler, 63.} “The glassy eyes and agonies of death pictured on the countenances of the dead made a ghastly sight,” recalled Private Spangler years later.\footnote{Spangler, 63.}
The regiment stayed in the city the remainder of the day near the upper pontoon bridge awaiting the rest of the Right Grand Division to cross over the pontoons. Since most of the houses had been evacuated, some of the soldiers began taking the provisions that were stored in them.50

Some of the 130th’s soldiers helped themselves to chewing tobacco while Private Spangler emptied a jar of pickles replacing the contents with eggs. After purchasing a cleaned chicken from a fellow soldier for fifteen cents, he was now contented since his haversack, “was filled to repletion.”51 By nightfall, members of the regiment took refuge in whatever shelter that was available. The soldiers from of Company A took quarters in a three-story brick house while those in Company K took refuge in the Methodist Church.52

As the regiment made its way across the pontoons into the city, everyone believed that they were taking part in a well-planned and calculated military offensive operation. In fact, at the time Burnside had no plan at all, other than throwing division after division across the Rappahannock River to take a town that had been evacuated.53

Sometime on December 12, Major General Couch passed on to Burnside that he had intelligence from Confederate deserters, contrabands, and local citizens that a deep trench ran through the town and would be an obstacle for troops should they assault the hills now occupied by the Confederates. Burnside brushed the issue aside and told Couch

51 Spangler, 63.
52 Masonheimer Diary, December 12, 1862; Spangler Dairy, 63.
53 Walker, 154.
that he was mistaken. He had occupied the city earlier with the Ninth Corps and no such trench existed.\textsuperscript{54}

Finally, on December 13, at 6:00 A.M., Burnside forwarded orders to Major General Sumner, to extend his corps to the left and connect his forces with that of Major General Franklin’s Left Grand Division who would extend his forces to the right. Major General Burnside also directed Major General Sumner to send a division or more along the Plank and Telegraph roads in the direction of the heights in the rear of the city.\textsuperscript{55} Later in the morning at 8:15 A.M., Sumner ordered Couch, to send one division into the heights with the column advancing in three lines.\textsuperscript{56} One division would be held in reserve.\textsuperscript{57} The remainder of the Second Corps would safeguard the upper section of the city.\textsuperscript{58} In effect, Burnside had directed that 5,000 to 10,000 Union soldiers advance against Longstreet’s Corps of 40,000 veterans solidly entrenched on high ground overlooking a large flat plain spanning about 3,000 yards to the edge of city.\textsuperscript{59}

Major General Couch, in turn, assigned French to ready his Third Division in columns by brigades with intervals of two hundred yards apart. They would be the first in. Hancock’s First Division would be the reserve division. At 11:30 A.M. General Couch received orders to begin his advance. Exactly at 12:00 P.M., French’s skirmishers came upon the first Confederate pickets. French’s First Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Nathan Kimball, was ordered to lead the advance. Shortly after General Kim-

\textsuperscript{54} Walker, 156.
\textsuperscript{55} Walker, 156.
\textsuperscript{56} O’Reilly, 246.
\textsuperscript{57} Walker, 156.
\textsuperscript{58} O’Reilly, 246.
\textsuperscript{59} Walker, 158-159.
ball's brigade began their advance, they came upon the obstacle that their corps commander had warned Burnside about. From the western edge of town, the open ground fell slightly into a waste water canal approximately fifteen feet wide and four to six feet deep, and six hundred yards from the entrenched Confederates. Had Burnside heeded the warning and conducted a thorough reconnaissance, countless Union soldiers' lives would have been spared.\textsuperscript{60}

Brigadier General French's Third Brigade, commanded by Colonel John W. Andrews, was the second brigade to advance followed by the Second Brigade, now commanded by Colonel Oliver H. Palmer of the 108th New York.\textsuperscript{61}

Up at daybreak, December 13, the men of the 130th took breakfast followed by a roll call while hearing firing down river.\textsuperscript{62} Fog hung over the city removing from view both the enemy position and the Union artillery on the opposite of the Rappahannock.\textsuperscript{63}

The regiment began its eastward march in the left column along Sophia Street, the street that ran closest and parallel to the river.\textsuperscript{64} Once the regiment reached Frederick Street, which ran parallel to the railroad, it turned right heading southward and advanced a short distance to a location north of the railroad where the Third Division assembled for its assault.\textsuperscript{65} It was now 10:00 A.M.\textsuperscript{66} French positioned the Second Brigade on Princess Anne Street, north of Hanover Street, where it aligned with Colonel John W. Andrews'

\textsuperscript{60} Walker, 159-162.
\textsuperscript{61} Walker, 166-167. This is the same Colonel Oliver H. Palmer who shamed himself and his regiment during the battle of Antietam. See footnote #135, chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{62} Masonheimer Diary, December 13, 1862.
\textsuperscript{63} Page, 246.
\textsuperscript{64} Spangler, 64.
\textsuperscript{65} O'Reilly, 247.
\textsuperscript{66} O'Reilly, 247.
Brigade. The Third Brigade was aligned with the 14th Connecticut on the left close to the courthouse with the 130th Pennsylvania in the center and the 108th New York on the right ending on George Street.\textsuperscript{67}

Brigadier General Nathan Kimball’s First Brigade prepared themselves to make the initial assault. At 11:00 A.M., Couch received the orders to begin the attack and ordered Kimball’s brigade to move out. Brigadier General Kimball’s Brigade first encountered Confederate sharpshooters followed by murderous and accurate artillery shelling from the Confederate Washington Artillery positioned at the top Marye’s Heights. Men began to fall as they were open easy targets for the skilled Southern artillerists. Some took refuge in the canal while others used portions of the wooden fence that encircled the fairgrounds as cover. Moving forward, Kimball’s Brigade advanced nine hundred yards to the Southerners directly to their front. Waiting until General Kimball’s men reached within one hundred yards, Brigadier General Thomas R. Cobb’s Georgians, hidden behind the three and one-half feet stone wall, stood up and virtually annihilated Kimball’s on-rushing skirmishers. The first Union wave stalled suffering over a 25 percent causality rate. Brigadier General French requested that Colonels Andrew’s and Palmer’s Brigades, the second wave, to make themselves ready. It was now noon.\textsuperscript{68}

Colonel Andrew’s Third Brigade was the first to move followed by Colonel Palmer’s Second Brigade.\textsuperscript{69} Once entering Princess Anne Street, Andrew’s brigade began to receive Confederate artillery fire from Marye’s Heights that intensified when it

\textsuperscript{67} O’Reilly, 248.
\textsuperscript{68} O’Reilly, 261.
\textsuperscript{69} O’Reilly, 261-263.
entered into Prussia Street. After receiving the order to fix bayonets, the Second Brigade followed Andrew’s brigade’s route out of the city with the 14th Connecticut in the lead followed by the 130th Pennsylvania and 108th New York.

Colonel Zinn left his horse behind and mingled with his men on the march urging them in a “firm clear voice, “Forward men.” After progressing only a short distance, “we saw on our right the concentrated fire of the Confederate artillery tearing through and silencing the five batteries brought across the river and stationed at the edge of the city,” wrote Private Spangler. As they continued their march, artillery shells shattered rooftops spreading debris over their heads. Confederate artillery zeroed in on the advancing division creating gaps throughout its ranks. The artillery onslaught that came from both Marye’s Heights and Willis’ Hill were too much for some men who sought shelter behind a nearby brick warehouse. Pushing forward and emerging into the open plain when the regiment was about to deploy in a line of battle, it came under a deadly artillery fire about the time it reached the canal Major General Burnside had refused to acknowledge existed. Private Spangler wrote the canal was “a most serious and embarrassing obstacle, and very distressing under a raking storm of projectiles.” The canal was impassable with the exception of several damaged street bridges, many with only the stingers in tact that let only room enough for soldiers to negotiate in a single file.

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70 O’Reilly, 262.
71 O’Reilly, 261.
72 Bosbyshell, 166.
73 Spangler, 64.
74 Spangler, 64.
75 Spangler, 64.
76 Spangler, 64.
77 Spangler, 64.
78 Spangler, 65.
This delay provided Confederate artillery the time adjust its aim accurately and pour its devastating fire into the oncoming Union columns. After negotiating the canal, the regiment continued by columns of four for a considerable distance to be met once again by massive Confederate artillery bombardment. Private Spangler recalled that, "while in this formation a shower of missiles created havoc in our ranks, one of which took off the head of Captain McLaughlin of Company E, scattering the brains over our company." Lieutenant Franklin G. Torbert from Company I was also killed. "When in line going up the field, a battery opened on our right flank killing two men," wrote Corporal Masonheimer.

The regiment was ordered to lay down with no other orders. Private Spangler took this opportunity to rid himself of his haversack that was "filled to repletion" that was hindering his advance. On his left was Private Eli W. Myers with Private William Clemmens to his right, both of Company K. Private Spangler remembered:

A bullet knocked off Clement's cap and a moment later a shell exploded over us, a piece of which violently struck Myers in the back. I got up to assist in carrying him off the field, but being small, was pushed aside by others equally anxious to get beyond the range of fire for we all felt that success was a forlorn hope. The wound would prove fatal.

The devastating artillery fire and its deadly results caused a few men of the regiment to take momentary cover behind the depot on the nearby brickyard. The 130th and re-

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79 Spangler, 65.
80 Spangler, 65.
81 Bosbyshell, 166.
82 Masonheimer Dairy, December 13, 1862.
83 Spangler, 65.
84 Spangler, 66.
85 O'Reilly, 264.
remainder of the Second Brigade quickly reformed behind the canal as the Confederate artillery continued to pour out its accurate and devastating shelling.\textsuperscript{86}

The Third Brigade made the first assault losing half of its ranks within the first fifteen minutes.\textsuperscript{87} Within the next five minutes, after seeing the Third Brigade's attempt fail, the men of the 130th formed a line of battle that was 150 yards behind Colonel Andrew's Brigade.\textsuperscript{88} The men slipped and fell as they clawed their way out of the murky waste water canal and "tramped forward in neat ranks and measured steps" while Confederate artillery tried to slow their progress. Colonel Zinn jumped to his feet and shouted, "Stand up to it boys!"\textsuperscript{89} "Shot shell and bullets were pouring around us," noted Corporal Masonheimer.\textsuperscript{90} Pouring rifle fire into the protected Confederates as the regiment moved forward, the 130th came under a terrific storm of bullets from the tested veteran Confederates of the 18th Georgia, 24th Georgia, and Phillips Legion belonging to Brigadier General Cobb's Georgia Brigade assigned to Brigadier General Robert Ransom's Division.\textsuperscript{91} As they moved closer to the stonewall, the Confederate artillery changed its munitions from shell to canister taking an immediate heavy toll of causalities by the hundreds.\textsuperscript{92} The 130th returned fire while charging across the ground that had

\textsuperscript{86} O'Reilly, 265.
\textsuperscript{87} O'Reilly, 266.
\textsuperscript{88} O'Reilly, 267.
\textsuperscript{89} Masonheimer Diary, December 13, 1862.
\textsuperscript{90} Masonheimer Diary, December 13, 1862.
\textsuperscript{91} O'Reilly, 267.
\textsuperscript{92} O'Reilly, 267.
been the Fredericksburg Fairgrounds, stopping half way.\textsuperscript{93} Here Major John Lee was hit.\textsuperscript{94}

As the regiment’s color bearer fell, Colonel Zinn, waving his sword in his right hand, grasped the falling regimental colors in his left hand lifted them in the air and shouted, “Stick to your standard, boys! The One Hundred and Thirtieth never abandons its colors; give them another volley!”\textsuperscript{95} These were the beloved Colonel’s final words. Within seconds, a Rebel bullet ball struck him beneath his left eye. Within the hour, he succumbed to his mortal wound in the presence of the regimental Chaplain, George W. Chalfant. The chaplain later accompanied the colonel’s body to his home to Churchtown.\textsuperscript{96} Company A’s Commander, Captain William A. Porter, immediately assumed command of the regiment.\textsuperscript{97}

Within a short time, the regiment was swept back by musketry, and canister “rising tier after tier, which no troops could withstand,” recalled Private Spangler.\textsuperscript{98} While the regiment was about to renew the attack, the Confederates leaped over the wall charg-

\textsuperscript{93} O’Reilly, 268.
\textsuperscript{94} O’Reilly, 268.
\textsuperscript{95} Spangler, 66.
\textsuperscript{96} John D. Hemminger, \textit{Cumberland County Pennsylvania in the Civil War: 1861-1865}, 1926, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: State Library of Pennsylvania), 35; Pennsylvania Antietam Battlefield Commission. \textit{One Hundred and Thirtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry: Ceremonies and Addresses at Dedication of the Monument at Bloody Lane, Antietam Battlefield, September 1904.} n.p., 1904. USAMHI, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, 43. On the arrival of Colonel Zinn’s body to his home in Churchtown, his only daughter, Elsie, age six was ill with diphtheria, only to die within several days. The grieving mother buried her alongside her father. The remaining son, George, only one year old at the time of his father’s death, was later admitted to West Point Military Academy through the assistance of Congressman Levi Maish. George Zinn graduated top in his class being commissioned in the Army Engineer Corps. At the time of the 1904 memorial dedication, he was serving on active-duty holding the rank of major.
\textsuperscript{97} Masonheimer Diary, December 14, 1862. In John Hemminger’s \textit{Cumberland County Pennsylvania in the Civil War:} p 35, First Lieutenant Sharp of Company E was noted as being in charge of the regiment.
\textsuperscript{98} Spangler, 66.
ing the Pennsylvanians, but quickly returned to the safety of the stonewall. Unable to withstand the massive Confederate artillery and musketry firepower, the regiment turned about and returned to the edge of the fairgrounds joining the 14th Connecticut. Within minutes, Captain Porter saw Union artillery to the rear begin firing with its first rounds striking the regiment. The men of the regiment began to run, but regained their composure as best they could. The open area of the fairgrounds left no cover from the friendly artillery fire decimating the ranks.

The Second Brigade’s ranks had dwindled significantly, losing its cohesion. The regiment remained on the field with little effect as long as possible to the point that its ammunition had been almost exhausted. Finally, acknowledging their desperation, some of the men returned to the canal while others left the field in small groups and headed back into the city. Brigadier General French gave the order for his division to make their way back to Fredericksburg.

As General Winfield S. Hancock came upon the field meeting the returning regiment, he greeted them with his personal orders to advance back to the heights with his newly-arrived division. Shattered and broken, the men of the 130th retired past him. Private Spangler later recalled that “he must have felt sorry for upbraiding us” since he was not aware that French had ordered the Third Division off the battlefield.

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99 Spangler, 66.
100 O’Reilly, 269.
101 O’Reilly, 269.
102 O’Reilly, 269.
103 O’Reilly, 272-274.
104 O’Reilly, 274.
105 Spangler, 67.
The regiment, along with French's entire Third Division, made their way back into the city still suffering casualties from the Confederate artillery poised on Mayre's Heights. Confused and unorganized, the Pennsylvanians found whatever shelter available.

Many of the men from Company A found refuge in a house on Sophia Street owned by a Mrs. Mills. Private Spangler later recalled that "At nightfall the boys began to bake 'slapjacks' in the yard" but quickly gave up the endeavor since the fire became a target for Confederate artillery. Around 7:00 P.M., as the men were sleeping "as a result of sheer exhaustion on the first floor... a spherical shell penetrated the brick wall... scattering bricks and mortar debris all over the room." Fortunately for those nearby, the fuse was spent, causing no injury or loss of life.107

The following day, Sunday, December 14, the regiment assembled and marched along the shore of the Rappahannock River stopping near a general hospital where the men remained under arms throughout that day and night. As the Confederates continued to pelt the town, Union troops re-crossed the pontoon bridge back into Falmouth.108 "A sad day" penned Corporal Masonheimer in his diary.109 At 6:15 P.M. that evening, both Union and Confederate soldiers witnessed the night sky coming alive with a dazzling illumination known as an aurora borealis, or Northern Lights.110 Assuredly, both sides considered this rare occurrence a heavenly sign.

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106 Hemminger, 35.
107 Spangler, 68.
108 Masonheimer Diary, December 14, 1862.
109 Masonheimer Diary, December 14, 1862.
110 O'Reilly, 441.
Later in the evening on the night of December 15, "in the midst of a violent storm," the army re-crossed the pontoon bridge to return to their old camp near Falmouth.\(^{111}\) Company E's Lieutenant Joshua Sharpe led the orderly withdrawal of the regiment both exhausted from the strain and emotions of battle and grief-stricken over the loss of their commander.\(^{112}\) Around noon, on December 16, the regiment arrived at its former camp.\(^{113}\) "A tired boy I was when I landed," lamented Corporal Masonheimer.\(^{114}\)

On December 16, Lee gave permission to the Union Army to bury its dead on the battlefield.\(^{115}\) Captain William Laughlin's body was found, stripped of his uniform.\(^{116}\) The following week, Captain Laughlin's brother, John, returned his body to his home in Newville, Pennsylvania.\(^{117}\) The regiment's 79 casualties included five killed, 71 wounded, and three captured or missing.\(^{118}\)

Not unlike most men in the Army of the Potomac after the battle, those in the 130th were wrought with despair, desperation, and low morale. In a letter to his parents, Private Weiser described his feelings after the recent debacle: "I consider the move a perfect failure for the loss of life in killed and wounded . . . ."\(^{119}\) Private Spangler placed the blame squarely on the Army of the Potomac's commander claiming that he was "Utterly

\(^{111}\) Hemminger, 35.  
\(^{112}\) Bosbyshell, 166.  
\(^{113}\) Hemminger, 35.  
\(^{114}\) Masonheimer Diary, December 15, 1862.  
\(^{115}\) O'Reilly, 458.  
\(^{116}\) Hemminger, 35.  
\(^{117}\) Hemminger, 35.  
\(^{118}\) OR. Series I, Vol. XXI, 131.  
\(^{119}\) John S. Weiser to his parents, December 17, 1862.
incapable of commanding so large an Army. Burnside lost his head the moment he confronted so able and formidable an adversary as Lee.”\textsuperscript{120}

From the December 16 through the 24, the regiment remained in its Falmouth camp recovering from the effects of battle while carrying out necessary military duties as drill, picket duty, guard duty, and inspections. A detail of eighteen men from the regiment’s Company A performed guard duty at Major General Darius N. Couch’s headquarters on December 16.\textsuperscript{121} After returning from a sleepless night taking his turn guarding Couch’s headquarters on December 19, Company E’s Private Brehm complained of the personal demands of military life: “There is truly no rest for the soldier and now he realizes the severity & hardships of an outdoor life.”\textsuperscript{122}

Christmas Day, 1862, found most of the men in the regiment longing for the company of their families and the comforts of home. Being away from friends and family during the Christmas holiday undoubtedly played heavy on everyone’s hearts. In a letter to his daughter, Kittie, Lieutenant Turner described his holiday away from home: “Today I hope will be the last Christmas I will spend in such a place as this. I had to day a big dinner fried onions and potatoes & pork boiled together hard crackers & coffee (but I cannot drink the coffee we get here).”\textsuperscript{123} Company E’s Private Brehm’s diary day clearly revealed his frame of mind:

\begin{quote}
Thurs. 25. Christmas. Can this be Christmas day. Indeed it seems anything else. How the soldier could relish a slice of good bread spread with butter just from the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{120} Spangler, 80.
\textsuperscript{121} Masonheimer Diary, December 16, 1862.
\textsuperscript{122} Brehm Diary, December 20, 1862.
\textsuperscript{123} John R. Turner to daughter Kittie, December 25, 1862.

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home cupboard. Well the day passes off dryly, but stop I believe we draw potatoes and onions, well this is a dainty in itself.¹²⁴

Corporal Masonheimer’s account of his Christmas Day was much the same: “nothing in our stockings. No Christmas gifts, no turkey for dinner; but a big piece of fat pork. . . . A very dull Christmas to me.”¹²⁵

The closing days of 1862 passed with little significance. On Sunday, December 28, the 130th’s men who were hospitalized as sick or wounded were sent to Washington.¹²⁶ An evening sermon was given from the text “today if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.”¹²⁷

On the last day of 1862, “A cold bluster day,” the regiment was serenaded by the 14th Connecticut’s Band as the “band played its ear out.”¹²⁸ Private Brehm’s final 1862 diary entry noted, “These Holidays have been rather dry and long to be remembered.”¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Brehm Diary, December 25, 1862.
¹²⁵ Masonheimer Diary, December 25, 1862.
¹²⁶ Masonheimer Diary, December 28, 1862.
¹²⁷ Brehm Diary, December 28, 1862.
¹²⁸ Masonheimer Diary, December 31, 1862.
¹²⁹ Brehm Diary, December 31, 1862.
CHAPTER 6

“A CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH”

“All hail: to the New Year’s morn. It is clear & cold this morning. During the day it becomes more pleasant where the wind is broken and I notice a few warbles from the Blue birds happy voice,” noted Private Brehm on the first day of the new year 1863.¹ The positive tone of Private Brehm’s notation is perhaps one of hope – hope to never have to see the needless wholesale slaughter of his fellow soldiers, the loss of his regimental commander, and the feeling of disgust, despair, and shame. Within a short span of four months, this regiment of raw Pennsylvania recruits and inexperienced officers had fought two fierce battles in the most treacherous positions in the eastern theater. In both clashes, the Army of the Potomac could not claim victory. To the Federal government, the War Department, the Lincoln administration, and perhaps most important, to the individual soldier, a victory must be attained in order to turn the tide of war and return pride and dignity to the North.

Falmouth would become the winter home for the 130th Pennsylvania Regiment along with the entire Army of the Potomac. The first days of January 1863, were taken up preparing for the effects of the oncoming Virginia winter. A genuine concern was adequate long-term shelter for the soldiers. Shelter tents would not suffice for the harsh winter. Permanent log huts provided a quick and simple solution. Rectangular holes were dug approximately two and a half feet deep and lined with logs that projected about

¹ Brehm Diary, January 1, 1863.
three feet above the ground.\textsuperscript{2} Mud and plaster was placed between the gaps of the logs to keep out the wind and cold air.\textsuperscript{3} Private Masonheimer’s hut measured thirteen-by-five feet.\textsuperscript{4} Uprights and a cross piece were placed on the top with the shelter tents stretched over the structure making the roof.\textsuperscript{5} At the exterior of one end there was a three feet square chimney built with empty commissary barrels stacked about eight feet high, completing the chimney.\textsuperscript{6} Generally, these winter huts could house four men although “it required tight squeezing.”\textsuperscript{7}

The first two weeks were uneventful for the men of 130th giving them time to slowly recover from battle and prepare for winter. Considering battle causalities, sick, discharged, and those recovering from battle wounds, the regiment’s effective strength was at approximately 175 men in mid-January of 1863.\textsuperscript{8} Drawing rations, fixing their huts, dress parades, guard duty and drill occupied the majority of their time. Picket duty on the banks of the Rappahannock River directly across from Fredericksburg was tasked to the regiment.\textsuperscript{9} Company C’s Private Harman R. Miller wrote his sister that things were now going well: “We have good times since the battle get plenty to eat each one does his own cooking we set down at the fire and make a tin cup of coffee and, fry crackers when we get fresh beef make rice soup and cook beans.”\textsuperscript{10} On occasion, tiny sail

\textsuperscript{2} Spangler, 87.
\textsuperscript{3} Harman R. Miller to his sister, January 15, 1863, Antietam National Park Collection, U.S. Department of the Interior, Sharpsburg, Maryland.
\textsuperscript{4} Masonheimer Diary, January 5, 1863
\textsuperscript{5} Spangler, 87.
\textsuperscript{6} Spangler, 87.
\textsuperscript{7} Spangler., 87.
\textsuperscript{8} Harman R. Miller to his sister, January 15, 1863.
\textsuperscript{9} Spangler, 88.
\textsuperscript{10} Harman R. Miller to his sister, January 15, 1863.
boats filled with coffee were sent across the river to the Confederates in trade for Southern tobacco. In the spare time available, some soldiers would be found reading a copy of the local newspaper, *The Observer*, sent from home or visiting friends in nearby regiments.

On Saturday morning, January 17, the regiment received orders to be ready for a review. Permanently joining the Second Brigade was the 12th New Jersey commanded by Colonel R. C. Johnson. They marched two miles to Major General Sumner’s headquarters where Major General Burnside reviewed the corps while the men stood in the cold for an hour. As Burnside rode through the lines, he received little applause or cheering that clearly demonstrated the men’s lack of confidence in their commander.

About the same time in January, the Second Brigade command was given to Brigadier General William Hays, who was transferred from the Reserve Artillery within the Second Corps. General Hays replaced Colonel Oliver H. Palmer who was discharged from the service.

Fortunately for the regiment, as well as the entire Second Corps, it was spared from the fiasco of Burnside’s infamous “Mud March” that took place between January 20 and 24. The Second Corps may had won a reprieve due to the lead role they took in the assault on Marye’s Heights. In response to pressure from Washington, and perhaps in

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11 Spangler, 88.
12 Brehm Diary, January 5-15, 1863.
13 Walker, 196.
14 Masonheimer Diary, January 17, 1863.
15 Brehm Diary, January 17, 1863.
16 Walker, 206.
18 Walker, 199.
an attempt to redeem himself as the Commander of the Army of the Potomac, General Burnside planned to cross the Rappahannock River several miles above Falmouth at Banks Ford turning southward and attack the flank of Confederate forces at Fredericksburg.

Although the regiment did not actively participate in General Burnside's ill-fated effort, since the Third Division was to be the reserve for this action, they would be drawn into it.\textsuperscript{19} Tuesday morning, January 20, began as a cloudy morning with a hint of oncoming snow. After division drill in the morning and a dinner of bean soup, orders were received to be ready to march the next day. Private Brehm recorded that "Cheering of troops on the surrounding hills on hearing the orders to march the next morning. Battery after battery pass to the right of our camp over the hills and to the left a column of infantry has been passing since noon."\textsuperscript{20} Later that evening after the regiment went to bed, it began raining and blowing continuing all night.\textsuperscript{21}

When the regiment awakened the next morning it witnessed pontoon wagons "sticking about the hillsides" and "supply wagons stalling in the hollows" despite the rain and wind the troops kept coming throughout the day.\textsuperscript{22} Wagons were in the mud almost to the hubs of the wheels.\textsuperscript{23} "Things look disparaging upon the whole," Private Brehm recorded in his diary.\textsuperscript{24} The saturated ground acted as a sponge causing doubled and quadrupled teams pulling the heavy guns to sink in the mud blocking the way for

\textsuperscript{19} Masonheimer Diary, January 21, 1863.
\textsuperscript{20} Brehm Diary, January 20, 1863.
\textsuperscript{21} Masonheimer Diary January 20, 1863.
\textsuperscript{22} Brehm Diary, January 21, 1863.
\textsuperscript{23} Masonheimer Diary, January 21, 1863.
\textsuperscript{24} Brehm Diary, January 21, 1863.
those that followed. Private Masonheimer recalled, "This is the day to try my patriotism" as water ran though his hut while waiting for orders to move that never came.

Orders were given for the regiment to remain in camp the next day, January 22. The day started out cloudy, but later turned to a constant drizzle. Realizing that any attempt to hit the Confederates now would prove fatal, Burnside ordered the troops march back to their camps. The delays robbed him of any semblance of surprise. Some of the stray soldiers attempting to locate their camps wandered into the 130th's camp seeking shelter for the day. A few of the men in Company A helped pull stuck caissons and wagons out of the mud with the aid of ten mules. Later, they had to dig the mules out.

In a letter to his daughter, Lieutenant Turner offered a vivid description of the tragic yet comical ordeal: "The mud is awful some chuck holes big enough to bury two mules and very often we can see horses and mules fall in and sink into the mudd [sic] and then the tuggs [sic] begin. The teamsters must get right into the mud knee deep sometimes."

Private Brehm comically noted the events of January 23: "A most novel sight to stand on the brow of our hill and see the swarms of our troops crossing the hollows through deep mire and trudging up the eastern hills. Next ambulances & wagons horses splashing away & drivers bawling & shouting & whooping."

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26 Masonheimer Diary, January 21, 1863.
27 Masonheimer Diary, January 22, 1863.
28 Masonheimer Diary, January 22, 1863; Brehm Diary, January 22, 1863.
29 Bates, 14.
30 Brehm Diary, January 22, 1863.
31 Masonheimer Diary, January 22, 1863.
32 John R. Turner to his daughter, Kittie, January 31, 1863.
33 Brehm Diary, January 23, 1863.
In a January 23 letter Private Weiser described the ordeal to his parents:

The troops was passing our camp all day Tuesday and Wednesday it commenced raining on Tuesday evening and rained up until yesterday evening it has put a stop to the whole move and the troops are going back to their old camps. We did not move out of our Shanties as we are laying close to the river while others are laying fourteen miles back. I suppose if it had not have rained there would have been by this time another hard battle fought.\(^{34}\)

On January 22, Burnside departed his Falmouth Headquarters and headed for Washington.\(^ {35}\) Before his left, he drew up what was later to be referred to as Order No. 8 calling for the dismissal of certain officers from the service and the removal of others from the Army of the Potomac. When he arrived in Washington, he handed the order to President Lincoln along with his own resignation. If President Lincoln would approve his order, he would see that it was carried out and he would withdraw his resignation. President Lincoln chose to accept neither the order nor his resignation. Instead, he relieved him of command of the Army of the Potomac and returned Burnside to his previous command.\(^ {36}\)

In his place, Lincoln placed Major General Joseph Hooker who had been with the Army of the Potomac from the beginning of the war and had earned the nickname of “Fighting Joe Hooker.”\(^ {37}\) Almost immediately, the new commander of the Army of the Potomac did away with the grand division plan returning to the previous corps organization and focused the army’s attention on drilling and instruction.\(^ {38}\) The new commander also introduced the concept of Corps badges to easily identify units down to the division

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\(^{34}\) John S. Weiser to his parents, January 23, 1863.

\(^{35}\) Masonheimer Diary, January 21, 1863.

\(^{36}\) Bates, 15.

\(^{37}\) Bates, 16.

level by design and color. The third division’s assigned badge was a blue trefoil, or cloverleaf, often made of cloth and worn on the top of the soldier’s hat or kepi. Later, other cloth and medal badges appeared that were pinned on the soldier’s uniform. The next two months General Hooker spent reorganizing, re-equipping and improving the overall welfare of the men of the Army of the Potomac that had fallen into a state of depression.

Six months had now passed since the men of 130th had boarded the train in Harrisburg bound for Washington. With only three more months remaining, most in the regiment, as Private John Weiser, were contemplating what could happen in the meantime: “We have only three months to serve from Saturday evening next and if I stand it and slip through the Battles if any there are fought I think I will be none the worse for having served nine months as I have learned many a thing in the Army that a man never would notice any other place.”

Just as Private Weiser counted his remaining days, so did the new commander of the Army of The Potomac. Approximately 40,000 Union soldiers’ terms of service that had enlisted for nine months would soon expire. General Hooker needed to act soon or otherwise, later face his formidable opponent with a tremendous loss in his military strength.

The remaining days in January 1863 found the regiment occupied with the normal duties of army life policing their quarters, doing laundry, gathering firewood, inspections.

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39 Spangler, 89.
40 John S. Weiser to his parents, January 23, 1863.
41 Washburn, 39.
picket duty, and dress parades. They were able to find time to have a fun time of it playing “ball” on Sunday the 25 and the following Monday. An eleven-inch snowfall occurred on January 29 that “drifted our hut almost shut” wrote Corporal Masonheimer.\textsuperscript{42} Time seemed to stand still for the men during January with little to keep them busy other than their military duties and trying to keep warm in their crude huts. Private Brehm ended his diary “we all hail the last day of a long month.”\textsuperscript{43}

The first day in February 1863, was appropriately the Sabbath that found many in the regiment attending church services with the 14th Connecticut Regiment. The chaplain’s service pertained to Chapters Mark 12th & 17th: “Render to C[a]esar. . . . The discourse was edifying,” wrote Private Brehm.\textsuperscript{44} After church service, the men had the day to do as they pleased followed by a dress parade later in the day.\textsuperscript{45}

Private Brehm recorded on February 2, that it “is Candlemas day, as the sunshines I guess the ‘Ground Hog’ made a hasty retreat to his winter quarters.”\textsuperscript{46} As the ground hog may have retreated to his winter quarters during those cold blistering days of February 1863, so did the men of the 130th. Cold nights, snowfalls to twelve inches, sleet, rain, and strong winds were common descriptions recorded during the month of February 1863.\textsuperscript{47}

The command of the regiment had been vacant since the death of Colonel Zinn and the duties of the position had been taken on temporarily at varying times by both

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{42}] Masonheimer Diary, January 29, 1863.
\item[\textsuperscript{43}] Brehm Diary, January 31, 1863.
\item[\textsuperscript{44}] Brehm Diary, February 1, 1863.
\item[\textsuperscript{45}] Masonheimer Diary, February 1, 1863.
\item[\textsuperscript{46}] Brehm Diary, February 2, 1863.
\item[\textsuperscript{47}] Brehm Dairy, February 1-28, 1863; Masonheimer Diary, February 1-28, 1863.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Captain William M. Porter from Company A and Major John Lee from the regiment’s staff. At a regiment’s officer meeting on January 12, 1863 the officers nominated Major Lee for the position since Lieutenant Colonel Maish had not yet returned to the regiment.\(^{48}\)

Lieutenant Colonel Maish had been recovering in the U. S. General Hospital in York from a gunshot wound in his right lung he received during the battle of Antietam.\(^{49}\) Twenty-six-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Maish, a lawyer from York, Pennsylvania, recruited the company of volunteers from York, Pennsylvania that became Company K of the 130th regiment. While at Camp Simmons, he was promoted to the Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment on August 17, 1862.\(^{50}\) By order of the Union Army Adjutant General’s Office, Maish was promoted to Colonel on February 3, 1863 to replace the fallen Colonel Henry Zinn.\(^{51}\) He would command the regiment until its term of service expired on May 21, 1863.\(^{52}\)

On Saturday, February 14, the regiment sent twenty men and a sergeant to the Lacy House for picket duty for the first time along the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg. Within a short time, the Rebel pickets began to yell over to them although their orders were not to reply.\(^{53}\) Two hundred and fifty men of the regiment were

\(^{49}\) Levi Maish, Service Record. Medical document from the U.S. General Hospital, York, Pennsylvania, National Archives, Washington, DC.
\(^{50}\) Bates, 222.
\(^{51}\) Levi Maish, Promotion document from Adjutant General’s Office.
\(^{52}\) Bates, 222.
\(^{53}\) Brehm Diary, February 14, 1863.
sent back to the picket line on February 26th not to be relieved until 3:00 P.M., on the following day.\textsuperscript{54}

Two men of the regiment would succumb during the month of February while in camp near Falmouth. Private D. T. Raffensberger of Company K died on February 11 followed by Private Peter T. Knisley from Company F on February 16.\textsuperscript{55}

For many in the regiment, the most significant day in February was the last, the 28, when they were mustered with the entire Second Brigade by the commander, Brigadier General William Hays, for an inspection and to be finally paid for their military service from August 5, 1862 to January 1, 1863.\textsuperscript{56} Corporal Masonheimer received the handsome sum of $63.70.\textsuperscript{57} Many of the men sent money home while others spent it quickly and foolishly moving from one sutler’s tent to another purchasing such delicacies as “wooden” ginger cakes, brandy, peaches, and “cast-iron” pies.\textsuperscript{58}

The first day of March began as most other days with rain in the morning and one hundred of the regiment’s men being sent off for their turn at picket duty.\textsuperscript{59} On that day, the 130th received its second Chaplain, George M. Slaysman, a minister from Huntington County, Pennsylvania, who replaced the regiment’s chaplain, George H. Chalfant.\textsuperscript{60}

In a letter to the regiment’s acting commander, Major John Lee on January 3, 1863, Chaplain Chalfant tendered his resignation:

\textsuperscript{54} Masonheimer Diary, February 26-27, 1863.
\textsuperscript{55} Bates, 217, 223.
\textsuperscript{56} Masonheimer Diary, February 28, 1863.
\textsuperscript{57} Masonheimer Diary, February 28, 1863.
\textsuperscript{58} Page, 111.
\textsuperscript{59} Masonheimer Diary, March 1, 1863.
\textsuperscript{60} Masonheimer Diary, March 1, 1863. The officers of the regiment elected the Reverend G. M. Slaysman on January 24, 1863. See Regimental Records.
Recent events have transpired in my pastoral charge impairing and threatening to destroy its prosperity and making it my duty to return at once if possible. My family is without any male person to care for it and owing to the exigencies of the times and the prevalence in the community of a fearful epidemic [of] smallpox—as now . . . many necessary attentions but is greatly in danger of being left helpless. These considerations led me to offer this my resignation of the position of chaplain of the regiment and to respectfully urge its acceptance. This resignation to be . . . immediate.\textsuperscript{61}

Chaplain Chalfant was officially dishonorably dismissed from the army on January 7, 1863.\textsuperscript{62} On April 25, 1863, by Special Order No. 185, the War Department amended the discharge to “honorable” retroactive to January 7, 1863.\textsuperscript{63}

In the remaining days of March 1863, the men of the regiment experienced the routine army camp life of boredom, idleness, and general military duties. The cold and windy “disagreeable” weather continued with alternating rains and snow. Dress parades, reviews, inspections, picket duty, maintaining their huts and frequent drilling took up the majority of the daylight hours leaving the evening hours for socializing with friends assigned to nearby regiments and preparing for the next day’s duties.\textsuperscript{64}

At 3:00 A.M., on April 1, the regiment was ordered out “under arms” due to Confederate cavalry being reported in the vicinity on the Warrenton Road. The well-planned

\textsuperscript{61} Chaplain George H. Chalfant to Major John Lee, January 3, 1863, George H. Chalfant Service Record, National Archives, Washington, DC.

\textsuperscript{62} George H. Chalfant, Service Record, Resignation Letter, National Archives, Washington, DC.

\textsuperscript{63} The circumstances behind his dismissal remains a mystery. A portion of the lower left hand section of the original document in the National Archives that included approvals/comments by the chain of command had been obviously intentionally ripped out. Perhaps the missing comment would have explained the original dishonorable discharge.

\textsuperscript{64} George H. Chalfant, Service Record, SO #185, War Dept, Washington, April 25, 1863, National Archives, Washington, DC.

\textsuperscript{64} Masonheimer Diary, March 1-31, 1863.
incident turned out to be a bit of “Aprils Fools” trickery ushering in another month “in a camp near Falmouth.”

The first week of April was uneventful for the regiment with company and regimental drill on April 3 and brigade drill the following day. Later, on April 3, a portion of the regiment went on picket duty where it endured the continuance of winter with snow falling on April 5. Brigade drill and dress parades were repeated on April 6 and 7.

On April 8, the regiment came to understand fully the reason for the recent repeated drilling and dress parades. This momentous spring day would surely be one that would be long remembered by the men of the regiment as they began a four-mile march at 8:00 A.M. that morning. In a broad parade ground carved out in area not far from the Lacy House, they would join 60,000 other soldiers from the Army of the Potomac to participate in a review by President Lincoln who would be accompanied on his trip by his wife and young son Tad. Sergeant John Hirst, from the regiment’s sister regiment, the 14th Connecticut Regiment’s Company D, carefully recorded the memorable event:

The whole Army of the Potomac was there, dressed in its best bib and tucker, with their arms shining like burnished silver, while we were dirty, sleepy and ragged. Just look at us with our overcoats and knapsacks on, our blankets in a coil around our shoulders, a canteen filled with water, a haversack containing bits of beef, crackers and pork, three or four cooking utensils, such as frying pans. tin cups, old tomato cans, etc., hitched to various parts of our body. Of course we were all armed and some of us had axes besides.

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65 Brehm Diary, April 1, 1863; Masonheimer Diary, April 1, 1863.
66 Masonheimer Diary, April 3-7, 1863.
67 Brehm Diary, April 8, 1863.
69 Page, 114.
“The most beautiful sight ever I seen,” wrote Private Brehm, obviously excited over such a most unforgettable day. This colossal review not only awed the presidential party and high ranking generals, but it instilled a sense of confidence in the ranks to be a part of such a huge military force capable of great victories yet to come. 70

The following week brought the warmer weather of springtime, yet little to do for the men of the regiment other than picket duty, guard duty, company and regimental drill, and a dress parade on Sunday, April 13. 71 On that same day, the regiment noticed that Union cavalry and infantry units were beginning to move. 72 What they were witnessing was the initial stage of Major General Hooker’s later aborted plan to send Brigadier General George Stoneman’s newly-organized cavalry corps upstream above Fredericksburg to attack the communication and transportation assets in the Confederate rear. 73 Word was circulating that the regiment would soon be on the move although it had not yet received orders. 74

On the following day orders did arrive requiring the men to draw five days rations to put into their knapsacks and another three days rations to carry in their haversacks. Expecting to move at any time, the regiment remained in camp ready to march once the order would arrive. After almost two weeks had passed, the order finally arrived on Monday, April 27. The regiment was to be ready to move out at 3:00 A.M. the following morning. At 5:00 P.M. that evening, the regiment stood for an inspection to insure that

70 Ferguson, 62.
71 Masonheimer Diary, April 8-15, 1863; Brehm Diary April 8-15, 1863.
72 Masonheimer Diary, April 13, 1863.
74 Brehm Diary, April 14-15 1863.
they had adequate ammunition and rations. With less than a month before their nine-month term would expire, the regiment would soon be taking part in perhaps one of the most remarkable and most tactically-studied campaigns of the entire war.

75 Masonheimer Diary, April 27, 1863.
CHAPTER 7

HOLDING THE LINE:

THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN

Over four months had passed since the Union Army’s disastrous strike against General Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia at Fredericksburg. The long cold winter had given way to spring and both armies remained facing one another across the Rappahannock. The North was beginning to become impatient.\(^1\) During this time, the Army of the Potomac had improved by great expense both logistically and in strength.\(^2\) It was now time for its commander to act.

After months of preparation, General Hooker formulated a plan to move the majority of his army northward secretly and then to swing back southward and assault Lee’s left flank in two directions.\(^3\) In a ruse, he would send the remainder of his army, made up of the First and Sixth Corps, in plain view below Fredericksburg crossing the Rappahannock River with the appearances of a concentrated attack.\(^4\) Simultaneously, he would send two much larger wings northward to approach Lee’s forces in their left flank and rear for the actual attack. On April 29 and 30, the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Fifth Corps crossed the Rappahannock River in hopes of engaging the Confederates in the vicinity of the Wilderness.\(^5\) Anticipating that Lee, in turn, would move his forces to the right, they

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\(^1\) Bates, 36.
\(^2\) Bates, 36.
\(^3\) Bates, 36.
\(^4\) Bates, 44.
\(^5\) Bates, 49.
would be met by Hooker’s second wing of First and Third Divisions of the Second Corps that crossed over the Rappahannock River on two pontoon bridges at the United States Ford.⁶ Among these troops on that rainy Thursday morning of April 30, 1863, were the men of the 130th Pennsylvania.⁷

Around noon of April 30, the regiment arrived at United States Ford which was designated as their crossing point over the Rappahannock River located about six miles northwest of Fredericksburg.⁸ At that time, General Hooker’s order was read to the troops that held that “General Lee was outgeneraled and his army compelled to either ingloriously fly or give him battle on his own ground, where certain destruction awaited it.”⁹ After crossing the river over the pontoon bridge, the regiment rested until 6:00 P.M. They marched by moonlight westward another five miles passing deserted unfinished Confederate earthworks left in haste by the fleeing Rebels.¹⁰ The regiment encountered the Confederate’s rear guard “at the White House on the muddy road to Chancellorsville” where the weary regiment encamped for the night.¹¹

The following morning, May 1, while hearing cannonading, the Fifth Corps passed by.¹² At around 10:30 A.M., the regiment, along with the entire Second Brigade, was ordered out to the front.¹³ Heavy firing was heard around noon.¹⁴ Here the brigade passed the area of Chancellorsville, which consisted of a large brick mansion situated in a

⁶ Walker, 216.
⁷ Brehm Diary, April 30, 1863.
⁸ Spangler, 90.
⁹ Spangler, 90.
¹⁰ Brehm Diary, April 30, 1863.
¹¹ Spangler, 90.
¹² Brehm Diary, May 1, 1863.
¹³ Masonheimer Diary, May 1, 1863.
¹⁴ Masonheimer Diary, May 1, 1863.
clearing of about fifty acres.\textsuperscript{15} Later, the order was countermanded and the Second Brigade was ordered back. They marched to a ridge located approximately one-quarter mile north of the Chancellor house located immediately on the western side of Plank Road. Here the men camped for the night with the exception of Companies A, F, and D of the 130th that were the unlucky recipients of picket duty.\textsuperscript{16}

The next morning the Companies A, F, and D were relieved from their picket duty and immediately ordered, along with the remainder of the regiment, to guard General French’s headquarters.\textsuperscript{17} Heavy musketry fire from both sides was heard throughout the morning.\textsuperscript{18} Artillery fire continued all day.\textsuperscript{19} The 130th was told to expect orders to move at any moment. The orders finally came down at 5:00 P.M. moving the regiment approximately 500 yards south to the Orange Turnpike, about three hundred yards west of the Chancellor house, with their front facing westward in a defensive position.\textsuperscript{20}

The intersection of Bullock Road and the Orange turnpike lay approximately one thousand yards west of their position. Directly across the Orange Turnpike approximately 150 yards were artillery batteries from the 1st New York Light Artillery and the 4th United States Artillery. The 130th was on the brigade’s extreme left closest to the Orange Turnpike, with the 108th New York on its left followed by the 12th New Jersey and the 14th Connecticut on its right flank. To their front were regiments of the First and

\textsuperscript{15} Spangler, 90.
\textsuperscript{16} Masonheimer Diary, May 1, 1863.
\textsuperscript{17} Masonheimer Diary, May 2, 1863.
\textsuperscript{18} Masonheimer Diary, May 2, 1863.
\textsuperscript{19} Brehm Diary, May 2, 1863.
Second Brigade, Second Division, Third Corps. The 11th New Jersey and 16th Massachusetts were positioned to immediate front of the 130th. The troops were poised in wait for what would become one of the most noted strategic ruses during the entire war.\textsuperscript{21}

By now, since there had not been any further Union activity, Lee realized that the prior movement and current position in his front at Fredericksburg of Hooker's First and Sixth Corps was merely a feint and that "the main attack would be made upon our flank and rear."\textsuperscript{22}

The Army of Northern Virginia's available strength of 60,892 was about half of that of the entire Union forces placed at 133,868.\textsuperscript{23} The Confederate commander's intent was to continue to protect his lines at Fredericksburg while still meeting Hooker's main thrust on his right flank and his rear near Chancellorsville. Contrary to military doctrine, Lee divided his forces by leaving a division from Jackson's Corps, a brigade from Brigadier General Lafayette McLaw's division, and a portion of a reserve artillery unit to defend their entire Fredericksburg position.\textsuperscript{24} By 8:00 A.M., on May 1, the majority of Confederate forces were marching in the direction of Chancellorsville.\textsuperscript{25}

Late that evening the famous meeting took place at Lee's field headquarters at the point where his line crossed the plank road. There, under the shadow of a pine tree seated on some cast-away cracker boxes, Lee and Jackson discussed the tactical situation and planned their next day's actions.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{21} Chancellorsville NPS Maps, Map 5.
\textsuperscript{22} Bates, 66.
\textsuperscript{23} Furgerson, Appendix 2.
\textsuperscript{24} Bates, 66.
\textsuperscript{25} Bates, 66.
\textsuperscript{26} Bates, 82.
Lee was convinced that that the majority of the Army of the Potomac was concentrated near Chancellorsville. Furthermore, intelligence from Lee's Calvary commander, General J. E. B. Stuart, indicated that the right flank of the Union Eleventh Corps "was defenseless and easily assailable." It was at this point that Jackson proposed to march his entire corps quietly southward. This would give the appearance that he was marching away from the Army of the Potomac. Jackson would then detour his 28,000 men via a little known rural road leading through the woods turning in a northwestwardly direction. He would march his men in total silence around the Union front positioning his troops, unobserved, in the rear and flank of the unsuspecting Eleventh Corps.

Lee agreed, split his army into two small forces for the second time, again disregarding sound military strategy, relying on the potential of shock and resulting confusion. Jackson's Corps was in place by 5:00 P.M.

As cited in Samuel P. Bates' *The Battle of Chancellorsville*, General Hooker was notified of Confederate movements to the west of the Eleventh Corps' position. General Howard, the Eleventh Corps commander, sent a dispatch to General Hooker at 10:00 A.M. on May 2nd: "From General Devens' headquarters we can observe a column of infantry moving westward on a road parallel with this on a ridge about one and a half to two miles south of this. I am taking measures to resist an attack from the west." Assuming that the Eleventh Corps were taking appropriate defensive measures. General

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28 Bates, 82.
29 Gallagher, 22.
30 Gallagher, 22-23.
31 Gallagher, 27.
32 Bates, 89-90.
Hooker did not provide them support, although he did move portions of the Second and Third Corps near the Chancellor house to be held in reserve that could be sent in any direction. This was the movement taken by the 130th on the May 2, around 5:00 P.M., shifting their position approximately three hundred yards south to a wooded position that was only a short distance north of the Orange Turnpike. There was a dense forest to their front and right, and a large open clearing located to their extreme left across and south of the Orange Turnpike.

At approximately 5:15 P.M., Jackson gave his corps the order to advance on the unsuspecting Union Eleventh Corps. Both Lee and Jackson’s assumptions were remarkably accurate, and their brilliant plan was shrewdly executed. The Eleventh Corps had neglected to post pickets and the soldiers were engaged in cooking supper when rushing hordes of yelling Confederates emerged from the dense thickets. The result was a total rout and stampede of the vulnerable Eleventh Corps, whose soldiers offered some pocket resistance, but largely fled eastward running in terror through the ranks of the 130th Pennsylvania.

“When the disaster began our division was a short distance . . . from the Chancellor house . . . east of Howard. Shortly after, we encountered stampeded wagons, ambulances, packmules, cannon and caissons, with men and horses running for their lives,” recorded Private Spangler. The entire Second Brigade, along with General

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33 Bates. 89-90.
34 Chancellorsville NPS Map, Map 4.
35 Chancellorsville NPS Map, Map 4.
36 Bates, 100.
37 Page, 119.
38 Spangler, 90.
Berry’s First Division of the Third Corps, was ordered to stand fast and to stop the mass of fleeing Union Eleventh Corps soldiers and then meet the pursuing enemy close behind them. Efforts were taken in vain to stop the thousands of fleeing Eleventh Corps Germans who were later referred to as the “Flying Dutchmen.” The only soldiers who stopped were those who were either “knocked down by the swords of staff officers, or the sponge staffs used for the artillery.”

The only reply given by the fleeing Germans was “All ist veloren; vere ist der pontoon?”

As cited by Charles D. Page in History of the Fourteenth Regiment, during this incident, a rather extraordinary response surprisingly came from the 14th Connecticut’s band during this fiasco. According to Page, in an effort to put a stop to the fleeing Eleventh Corps soldiers the band: “went right into the open space between our new line and the Rebels, with shot and shell crashing about them, and played ‘The Star Spangled Banner’, ‘The Red, White and Blue’ and ‘Yankee Doodle’ and repeated them for fully twenty minutes.”

It was now dusk. “The Confederate shells came in showers, the fuses making streaks of fire like blazing meteors of huge rockets and burst over our heads with a defending roar,” noted Private Spangler. The threatening Confederate onslaught was quickly “checked.” Confederate rifle and artillery action lasted about a half an hour along their line and temporarily paused. The enemy lines that ran in the heavy-thicketed woods were now in total darkness. Years after the battle Edward Spangler recollected

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39 Page, 119-120.
40 Page, 120.
41 Page, 121.
42 Spangler, 92.
43 Spangler, 92.
that during the intervals between the rifle and artillery volley “the cries and groans of the wounded and the shouting and swearing of the more profane” could be heard.\textsuperscript{44}

After a temporary pause, the chaos returned recounted Private Spangler:

At first like pattering drops upon a roof; then a roll, crash, roar and rush – with deep and heavy explosions like the crashing of thunderbolts. Our artillery battalions were massed on the Chancellorsville plateau, Fairfax . . . where guns double shotted with grape and canister, in continuous roar thundered volleys over our heads, causing the ground to convulsively quake and tremble. . . . It was the most frightful and terrible night I ever experienced and the horror of the scenes defies even and approximate description.\textsuperscript{45}

Late on May 2, around 9:00 P.M., unknowingly, the men of 130th lay within a very short distance from the site of an unfortunate, yet epic event that would undoubtedly change the course of the war.\textsuperscript{46} Approximately six hundred yards to their front, Jackson and a portion of his staff rode outside of his lines to reconnoiter when newly-posted Confederate pickets mistook the party as General Alfred Pleasanton’s Union cavalry.\textsuperscript{47} Most of Jackson’s escort were either killed or wounded and the general received three bullets that “shattered both arms.”\textsuperscript{48} General Jackson would succumb from his wounds on May 10.\textsuperscript{49}

Varying versions describing the circumstances of that historic event have surfaced over the years. One plausible version involved an officer assigned to the 130th who may have been within twenty feet of the infamous incident, and may well have been, indi-

\textsuperscript{44} Spangler, 92.
\textsuperscript{45} Spangler, 92.
\textsuperscript{46} Bosbyshell, 167.
\textsuperscript{47} Doubleday, 39.
\textsuperscript{48} Doubleday, 39.
\textsuperscript{49} Doubleday, 40.
rectly, the cause of it.⁵⁰ On Saturday, May 2, around 7:00 P.M., a Second Corps staff officer approached Major John Hays, the regiment’s adjutant, who conveyed General Couch’s order to move the Second Brigade west on the Orange Turnpike to support Major General Hiram G. Berry’s Second Division that was assigned to the Third Corps. Within a short time, Brigadier General French arrived, protested that Major General Couch was not using proper command channels, and ordered Brigadier General William Hays not to move. In response, according to Major Hays, the Second Corps staff officer turned to him and exclaimed, “General Hays! You have heard the order from General Couch, and the responsibility of obeying or disobeying it rests upon you.”⁵¹ General Hays took little time moving the brigade leaving General French shouting profanities.

The brigade passed by the Chancellor house marching through the orchard on the way to the Orange Turnpike, dodging falling branches that were struck by Confederate artillery, and finally stopping by a Union artillery battery located close to the road. Since no one knew the whereabouts of General Berry, Major Hays was selected to locate General Couch to ascertain where the regiment should position itself. Upon finding General Couch and hearing his reply, “Damn it! Go where the fighting is,” Major Hays returned to the spot where he had left the brigade to find them gone. In search of the brigade, Major Hays arrived close to a position recently evacuated by a Confederate artillery battery when he saw a group of horsemen on the road. “They appeared to be standing there perfectly quiet,” recalled Major Hays. It was now approximately 8:00 P.M. “I had gone but a little way beyond when a heavy volley of musketry was fired so close to me that the

⁵⁰ Hays, 61.
⁵¹ The following account appears in Hays, 59.
guns seemed to flash in my face. My horse—never under fire before—wheeled around and started to run down the hill. As he turned he could see quite a commotion in the group of horsemen on the road and the thought instantly occurred to me that the volley of musketry had taken effect upon the horsemen. . . .” Contemplating becoming a prisoner, Major Hays galloped off in the opposite direction a short distance, tying his horse to a tree and proceeded on foot until reaching the Union lines where he was quickly cautioned not to speak “above a whisper” since the Confederates were so close.

Major Hays contended the noise made by his horse only twenty to thirty feet away may have drawn the attention of the Confederate pickets who were fearful that Union cavalry was in the vicinity. The Confederate order to fire and resulting volleys struck General Jackson and his entourage and undoubtedly changed the course of the war passing closely over the head of Major Hays.52

At approximately 2:00 A.M. on May 3, the fierce fighting had finally given way, leaving the forest “strewn with dead and wounded” in it aftermath.53 The 130th had heroically: “held the line” once again. At 5:00 A.M., enemy firing recommenced.54 The entire Confederate line assaulted the Union front beginning at 5:15 A.M. and continued all through the early morning.55 Confederate Major General William D. Pender’s Bri-

52 Hays, 61. John Hays returned to the Chancellorsville battlefield on September 29, 1910 and located this position. Upon finding the spot only twenty feet away was the monument marking the location where General Jackson fell. Supporting correspondence from Union General Joseph Revere, Lt. Col Kyd Douglass who was assigned to General Jackson’s staff, and Randolph Barton, who was assigned to Confederate General Paxton’s staff, adds credibility to John Hays’ accounts. A significant difference between the versions recorded involve whether Jackson and his men were either moving or, at rest as John Hays contented.

53 Spangler, 92.
54 Masonheimer Diary, May 3, 1863.
gade (13th, 16th, 22nd, 34th, and 28th North Carolina Regiments) of Jackson's Second Corps occupied the ground opposing the 130th and remainder of the Second Brigade. Crossing Bullock Road, Pender's Brigade made those early assaults into the area of the battlefield occupied by the 130th Pennsylvania and remainder of the Second Brigade. Brigadier General Joseph W. Revere's Second Brigade (assigned to the Second Division, Third Corps) and two regiments (11th New Jersey and 11th Massachusetts) from Brigadier General Joseph B. Carr's First Brigade from the same division as General Revere occupied the position to the immediate front of the 130th.\(^{56}\)

The 130th held the position approximately 300 yards from the Confederate's original position, remaining steadfast throughout the morning over the contest for ground.\(^ {57}\) Several Union brigades assaulted into the Confederate lines being repulsed each time.\(^ {58}\) Between 6:00 A.M. and 7:00 A.M., the 130th moved up to become first in line directly opposing Pender's Brigade.\(^ {59}\)

Sometime between 7:00 A.M. and 8:00 A.M., on May 3, Major General Berry's Second Division of the Third Corps moved up to the front of the 130th.\(^ {60}\) The intensity of fighting increased along the entire line and the Confederates gained ground on the right of the regiment. About fifty yards in front of Company K stood a Federal 12-pounder Napoleon cannon that had been used intensively the night prior.\(^ {61}\) It was eyed as a prize by the oncoming Confederates. The fight for the cannon resulted into a "hand to

\(^{56}\) Chancellorsville NPS Map, Map 8.
\(^{57}\) Spangler, 110
\(^{58}\) Spangler, 110
\(^{59}\) Chancellorsville NPS Map, Map 8.
\(^{60}\) Spangler, 110.
\(^{61}\) Spangler, 110.
hand contest” for its possession with the Confederates being repulsed and the gun recovered by the blue-clad troops.62

Around 7:30 A.M., Pender’s regiments pushed an assault through the first Union line reaching the second line held by Hay’s Second Brigade.63 The 13th North Carolina turned to the right and flanked the 12th New Jersey catching most of the nearby Second Brigade staff by surprise capturing Brigadier General Hays and his entire staff with the exception of one officer.64 The attack was smartly repulsed. Being the senior regimental commander, Colonel Charles J. Powers immediately took command of the Second Brigade.65 Colonel Powers had replaced Colonel O. H. Palmer who had resigned as the commander of the 108th New York after the battle of Fredericksburg.66

At approximately 7:30 A.M., Major General Berry personally delivered an order and checked on his brigades located near the 130th.67 He dismounted his horse that was shaken by the terror of battle and ventured into Company K’s position to view the ongoing attack through his field glasses when an enemy bullet fatally stuck him.68 Four soldiers from the 130th’s Company E carried his body to the rear.69

Brigadier General Joseph W. Revere succeeded the fallen Berry and immediately ordered an orderly retreat of both Berry’s division along with the 130th and the remainder of its Second Brigade sister regiments. Not only did this unauthorized order cause Re-

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62 Spangler, 110.
323.
64 Sears, 323.
65 Washburn, 190.
66 Washburn, 190.
67 Sears, 323.
68 Spangler, 110-111
69 Spangler, 111.
vere to be later dismissed from the army, it provided the Confederates the opportunity to take possession of important ground "at the edge of the Chancellorsville plateau." About this time, the center and the right of the battlefield had fallen.\textsuperscript{70}

By 9:00 A.M., most of the Union troops and artillery batteries were exhausted and out of ammunition.\textsuperscript{71} The re-supply requests and calls for reinforcements brought no response. Although thousands had fallen on the field, the Union had remained positioned on the same ground and all of the engaged units remained organized and effective. Sometime after 9:00 A.M., the pivotal point in the battle arrived when Major General J. E. B. Stuart who had taken command for the fallen Lieutenant General Jackson, brought together the two wings of his corps for a final assault en-masse. Literally every piece of Confederate artillery opened up with a "fearful fire over the plain, which fairly shrieks with the flying, purging shells." Then the entire Confederate lined advanced.

The Army of the Potomac was again in retreat and the field was lost. The area around the Chancellor house was now a "hell of fire" as Bates described, with "shots screaming over it from every direction . . . the house itself was in flames." To add to the already horrors of war, the forest caught fire and quickly spread. In its path were the countless helpless wounded and dying soldiers who would perish in the conflagration. Bates further described that "Of the more than 20,000 who went down . . . by far the larger part fell on this little belt of forest . . . unquenched by the blazing tide that swept over it."\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{70} Walker, 243.
\textsuperscript{71} The following account appears in Walker, 242.
\textsuperscript{72} Bates, 128-129.
Under orders from Brigadier General Revere, the 130th and its division fell back into a clearing near Bullock Road.\textsuperscript{73} Later that morning the 130th and the entire Second Brigade's position would move to a location approximately five-hundred feet northeast of the intersection of Bullock roads and Plank Road on the north side of Mineral Springs Road.\textsuperscript{74}

Private Spangler later vividly described the horrifying scene after arriving in the regiment's new position: "The forest where the battle raged the fiercest was now on fire, and many of the severely wounded were burnt to death. One of the nerviest things I saw in our new position was a tall soldier, with his right arm shot off, walking off the field apparently unconcerned."\textsuperscript{75}

The regiment remained in its position near the Bullock Clearing inactive throughout the day. At 5:00 P.M., skirmishers to the right of the regiment drew some Confederate soldiers from the woods, whereupon several nearby Union artillery batteries opened up. While the artillery was "piling them up" the infantry captured one of their colors. The thunder of constant cannonading was heard on the regiment's left throughout the daylight hours of May 4 and into the night.\textsuperscript{76}

Early on the morning May 5, Confederate infantry fire awakened the regiment early and continued throughout the entire day.\textsuperscript{77} At noon, the weather took a dramatic change with thick clouds, thunder, heavy wind gusts, and rains that continued all that

\textsuperscript{73} Spangler, 110.
\textsuperscript{74} Chancellorsville NPS Map, Map 11.
\textsuperscript{75} Spangler, 112.
\textsuperscript{76} Masonheimer Diary, May 4, 1863.
\textsuperscript{77} Masonheimer Diary, May 5, 1863.
Exhausted and fatigued the regiment’s men were permitted to lie down for a short rest in the afternoon when suddenly an unexpected “tremendous crash of lightening” abruptly roused the entire brigade with most of the men grabbing their rifles believing that the battle had resumed.\footnote{79}

With no other orders, the regiment laid down for the night only to be awakened and told to pack up and be ready to leave.\footnote{80} After several hours of waiting for their turn, around 2:00 A.M. on the morning of May 6, the regiment took its place in line with the rest of the Army of the Potomac and headed in the direction of the same pontoons at the United States Ford which it had crossed over only five days before.\footnote{81} The retreat route included a new road that had just been hastily cut the day before leaving exposed stubs and small stumps resulting in already tired soldiers tripping and falling “headlong into the mud.”\footnote{82} The new “so-called” road took the regiment through brooks, mud holes, and anything else that stood in the way leading to the pontoons to the United States Ford and across the Rappahannock River and back to their previous Falmouth winter camp.\footnote{83} Private Spangler recorded the details of his ordeal: “I became so tired and exhausted trampling through mud and thickets and stumbling over stumps that I was compelled twice to fall out of ranks and lie down and take brief rests. The thought, however, of becoming a prisoner and confined to horrible Rebels prisons nerved me to renewed...

\footnote{78}{Brehm Diary, May 5, 1863.}
\footnote{79}{Spangler, 115.}
\footnote{80}{Masonheimer Diary, May 5, 1863.}
\footnote{81}{Brehm Diary, May 5, 1863.}
\footnote{82}{Page, 123.}
\footnote{83}{Page, 123.}
efforts..."\textsuperscript{84} Making matters even worse, as a result of the heavy rains the day before, the pontoon crossing was made difficult by an unexpected rise in the river turning the approaches to the pontoons into a mire.\textsuperscript{85}

Along with the entire Army of the Potomac, the regiment crossed over the pontoons at daybreak on May 6, finally reaching its old campsite around noon after a miserable muddy twelve-mile march and no breakfast.\textsuperscript{86} In the rain, the men put back their shelter tents over their old huts and began to settle back into their familiar quarters most likely saying little, for no words could express their disgust and disappointment.

The regiment suffered only light casualties at Chancellorsville compared to Fredericksburg and Antietam, with only four officers and twenty-five enlisted men listed as wounded.\textsuperscript{87} The regiment’s staff suffered several causalities. Colonel Maish was hit in his thigh only after recently recovering from his lung wounds received at Antietam.\textsuperscript{88} The regiment’s adjutant Major Hays was hit seven times with four of the bullets tearing through his uniform and three into his body with one bullet striking his leg.\textsuperscript{89} The regiment’s Sergeant Major, William H. Eisenhart, was struck in the abdomen.\textsuperscript{90}

The overwhelming sentiment from the lowest private to the Army of the Potomac’s corps commanders clearly placed the blame on their new commander, Major General Joseph Hooker. "The troops engaged never fought more gallantly, the disaster

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{84} Spangler, 118.
\item \textsuperscript{85} Walker. 251.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Masonheimer Diary, May 6, 1863.
\item \textsuperscript{87} OR. Series I, Vol. XXXV/1.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Levi Maish, Service Record, Casualty Sheet, National Archives, Washington, DC. Folder 11, #274.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Hays, 22.
\item \textsuperscript{90} William H. Eisenhart, Service Record, Casualty Sheet, National Archives, Washington, DC., Folder 11, #274.
\end{itemize}
being alone due to the indefensible errors and blunders of the commander. The most costly blunders of General Hooker followed in rapid succession and lost us the battle. The whole affair was unrelated and disjointed,” claimed W. Spangler years later.91

On May 3, the regiment’s adjutant, Major John Hays, encountered Major General Hooker on the front porch of the Chancellor house. When questioned as to what brigade Major Hays belonged, upon Major Hays’ response, Major General Hooker replied, “My god! Is he driven in! I haven’t a man I can send in there!” Major Hays contended that Major General Hooker was “wild with excitement—not with liquor as some has charged—and did not seem to have a grasp upon affairs. He lacked the dignity, calmness, and full knowledge of affairs that seem essential to the command of the army.” 92 Major General Couch had become so outraged “in every nerve and fiber of his body” by the shear ineptness of his superior General Hooker, in a meeting with President Lincoln on May 22 acting as a spokesman for the majority of his fellow commanders, he recommended that Major General George G. Meade be given the command. While his recommendation was not adopted, at least for the time being, and General Couch deferring the position, the respected Commander of the Second Corps asked to be relieved. On June 10, the command of the Second Corps devolved to the distinguished and battle-proven Major General Winfield S. Hancock who had so competently commanded the Second Corps’ First Division.93

91 Spangler, 116.
92 Hays, 63.
93 Walker, 253-255.
CHAPTER 8
HOME AGAIN

Thursday, May 7, was not unlike any other day in their camp in Falmouth with a morning inspection of arms and ammunitions.\(^1\) Some men were unlucky enough to be ordered to report for picket duty while others were afforded the opportunity to rest and recuperate from the previous days grueling march.\(^2\) The next two days brought much the same routine with picket duty along the Rappahannock River and little else to keep the regiment occupied. Sunday, the 10th, brought with it the warmth of summer and was considered “almost scorching” by Private Masonheimer.\(^3\) Being Sunday, the men were given time to themselves with the exception of a dress parade. Time was assuredly passing slowly, with the anticipation that soon their term of service would be over, although no order had yet arrived.

On Monday, May 11, 1863, Private Lewis Masonheimer penned his last diary entry that revealed not only his thoughts, but those of the entire regiment: “A very warm day. Detail made from the Regt for Picket. Great excitement about going home. Dress parade. Received two months pay. “Very unexpected,” noted Private Masonheimer in his diary that day.\(^4\) The following day, the long awaited orders were published—the regiment was going home! (See Appendix B – May 12, 1863, Special Orders #122.)

\(^1\) Masonheimer Diary, May 7, 1863.
\(^2\) Brehm Diary, May 7, 1863.
\(^3\) Masonheimer Dairy, May 10, 1863.
\(^4\) Masonheimer Diary, May 11, 1863.
On Tuesday May 12, 1863, the men of the 130th Pennsylvania had served their required term of enlistment and were ordered back to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to be officially mustered out of service. Passing through York they arrived in Harrisburg on May 21 and were officially mustered out of Federal service turning over their rifles and cartridge boxes to the state.\(^5\)

A special town meeting held in York took place on May 15 to plan an official reception “in a manner befitting their gallantry and distinguished service” for those members of the regiment from York and surrounding areas. After receiving a dispatch from Harrisburg at 2:00 P.M., on Saturday, May 23, the York church bells were rung announcing their Harrisburg departure signaling that all the stores were to close and that everyone prepare for the regiment’s arrival. The church bells rang out once again at 4:00 P.M., announcing their arrival on North George Street where the Patapeco Guards met the York veterans and led the procession to the Barracks “where a handsome collation provided by the Ladies Aid Society was furnished to the war-worn veterans. “All the flags were thrown to the breeze, and the town was filled with people, which gave it a lively and animated appearance.”\(^6\) Later in the day, the regiment’s York veterans were given a banquet under an open canvas in the United States Hospital enclosure that was located on the city commons.\(^7\)

A week later, the residents of Carlisle welcomed their veterans of the 130th in a similar fashion. Carlisle’s church bells also rang out when the train arrived where the

\(^5\) Spangler., 122.  
\(^6\) *The York Gazette*, May 26, 1863.  
\(^7\) Spangler, 122.
town's reception committee met the distinguished veterans. They were escorted to the town square for a celebration reception dinner.\footnote{The Evening Sentinel, December 28, 1929.}

Newville's Company E arrived home on May 22. After arriving at the Newville depot, the company was led through the streets by a fife and drum. On May 28, Professor John Leidigh, Captain Sharp, and the Ex-Governor Joseph Ritner hosted them at a formal dinner at Liberty Hall where addresses were given.\footnote{The Valley Star, June 18, 1863.}

As the returning soldiers the 130th marched through their hometown streets overwhelmed with jubilation now reunited with their families and friends assuredly their thoughts turned to those who where now not with them, never to return who gave the supreme sacrifice.
CONCLUSION

"MANHOOD SHALL BE THE TEST OF CITIZENSHIP"

The regiment suffered its greatest number of killed at the battle of Antietam at thirty-two killed, compared with eight at Fredericksburg and two at Chancellorsville.\(^1\) The 4.1 percent of those killed in action was only slightly higher than the 4.0 percent overall average of Civil War battle deaths.\(^2\) A soldier in the 130th had approximately a one-in-five chance that he would be either killed or wounded with the same odds of being discharged due to either wounds or sickness. Wounds, and or disease, accidents, and imprisonment resulted in 92 deaths during the nine-month term of service.\(^3\)

Fortunately, the 130th endured only 1.6 percent of those assigned who succumbed to disease.\(^4\) In comparison with the overall 7.2 percent for all who served, this statistic speaks well of the regiment’s concern with adequate sanitation practices and the quality of its surgeons. These figures cannot include the unknown actual number of casualties considering the untold numbers of these veterans who continued to die as a direct result of wounds, disease, and exposure long after the war. (Refer to Annex D for detailed casualty statistics.)

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1 Bates, 207-223.
3 Dyer, 524.
4 Bates, 207-223.
While compiling statistical data, several trends became quickly apparent. Soldiers' interpersonal relationships often developed with a soldier with the next name in the alphabet. In many instances, these soldiers would share similar war experiences, some fatal. For instance, two privates from Company H obviously influenced one another. On August 17, 1862, Private John Miller deserted from Harrisburg before leaving on the train bound for Washington. The next day, Private Charles A. Morgan deserted when he arrived in Washington. Company B's Privates, Thomas Toben and John Tray, were killed at Antietam on September 17, 1862 the same day that the Kennedy brothers, Alexander and Cyrus Kennedy, from Company E were wounded. Company E's Privates Thaddaeu McKeehan and William A. McCune, were killed at Antietam. These are just a few examples demonstrating that a soldier's fate was often a matter of the spelling of his last name.\(^5\)

Throughout the regiment's nine-month term of service, the official records indicate that the regiment was a well-disciplined one with only two general courts martial proceedings. In general courts martial proceedings in Alexandria, Virginia, on December 30, 1864, Private Abraham Lowkart from Company B was found guilty of deserting the regiment on September 18, 1863, the day after the battle of Antietam. Although Private Lowkart pleaded "not guilty" to the charge, he was unable to provide the officers convening the board any plausible explanation of his disappearance. He was found "guilty" by

\(^5\) Bates, 207-223
the board and sentenced to serve out his nine months assigned to another regiment without pay.⁶

The regiment’s other general courts martial charged Major Joseph S. Jenkins on the count “Absent Without Leave” during the period of January 29, 1863, to February 9, 1863. The proceedings took place on at 10:00 A.M., on February 25, 1863, and were conducted at the 108th New York Regiment’s headquarters under the guide of its Judge Advocate officer, Major F. E. Pierce. The convening board consisted of five officers detailed from other regiments. Major Jenkins pleaded “guilty” to both the specifications and charges offering the board a sincere explanation that led to his action.⁷

At the time I raised my company [Company C] last summer, I had expected to be able to return home from Harrisburg and make some provisions for my family (as by reason of some misfortunes my means were very limited and all that I had that was available I expended in raising my company) . . . . All this time & up to the present the Government has failed to pay me any money, and my family was in need. I was led to take this step which I know was contrary to orders, in order to relieve them.⁸

Further, Major Jenkins informed the court that during this time away he traveled back to Fort Marcy to secure the company books that left behind when the regiment departed in September 1863. Major Jenkins ended his statement claiming that there were mitigating and extenuating circumstances and “that a man may owe a higher duty to his family under certain circumstances than he does to his country, particularly when his

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⁶ Abraham Lowkart Courts Martial File, National Archives Record Group 153: Records of the Judge Advocate General’s Office (Army), Court-martial case file, LL2963.  
⁸ Jenkins Courts Martial File.
country might spare his services for a few days without injury of or loss and his suffering family require his protection.”

The courts martial board found Major Jenkins “guilty” on both the specifications and charges and sentenced him to forfeit one month’s pay and he received an official reprimand. Major General French approved the board’s action, although he felt the board “too lenient for an officer who occupies so conspicuous position as does a field officer.”

General French’s presentiment that the Pennsylvanians would “again rally round that flag which you have so nobly defended” would be fulfilled almost immediately. The division commander assuredly knew what lay deep within the souls of his proven veterans. Many of the men of the 130th would re-enlist and diligently serve their country throughout the war in other regiments, in particular the 97th and 187th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiments. Company G’s Private John S. Weiser would be commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant and serve in Company B, 22nd Pennsylvania Cavalry. Private Washington L. Stoey from Company A, also enlisted in Company B of the 22nd Pennsylvania Cavalry in June of 1863, serving in the unit until February 1865. Later that same month, he was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 78th Pennsylvania Volunteers and would eventually serve as the commander of the military prison, Port of Nashville, until the war’s end.

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9 Jenkins Courts Martial File.
10 Jenkins Courts Martial File.
12 Stoey Family Papers, Department of the Interior, Antietam National Park, Sharpsburg, Maryland.
Private Isaac Bowman of Company H would take time out to marry Rebecca J. Enders and return to service in the 210th Pennsylvania Volunteers where he was promoted to sergeant and later received a field commission to 2d Lieutenant.\footnote{Civil War and the Enders Family Papers, Newville Historical Society, Newville, Pennsylvania. 5.} Company C’s Private William H. Seifert, a twenty-three-year-old blacksmith from Hanover, would also take time out to marry Ellenora Doll of Abbotstown, before re-enlisting in the 97th Pennsylvania Volunteers later being promoted to corporal.\footnote{William H. Seifert Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, DC.} Private John R. Stoey would serve the remainder of the war as the first sergeant for Company C of the 201st Pennsylvania Volunteers.\footnote{Unidentified Newspaper Obituary, February 1927, Cumberland County Historical Society} Private Henry D. Hamm, from Company C, re-enlisted in Company I, 1st Maryland Infantry serving until the end of the war.\footnote{130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment File, Antietam National Battlefield Park, US Department of the Interior.}

In June of 1863, First Lieutenant Joshua Sharp, who took command of Company E after William Laughlin fell at Fredericksburg, raised a company from Cumberland County that became Company G, 14th Regiment, Veteran Reserves Corps.\footnote{Joshua Sharp, Service Record, National Archives, Washington, DC.} After the war, he was appointed to the rank of Brevet Major in the Regular Army.\footnote{Personal War Sketch, Joshua W. Sharp Post 371, Newville Historical Society.}

Company E’s 2nd Lieutenant Joseph A. Ege, First Sergeant William Vanard, and Harrison Trego recruited a company known as the First Battalion from Newville in response to the 1863 Confederate invasion into Pennsylvania.\footnote{Personal War Sketch, Joshua W. Sharp.} The company was assigned provost marshal duty at Gettysburg and later became a part of the 187th Penn-
sylania Infantry Regiment with Joseph A. Ege being promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.\textsuperscript{20} Others from the 130th joined the ranks of the new 187th, with many filling leadership positions. Captain David E. Seipe, who commanded Company K was promoted to the regiment’s major. Sergeant William E. Zinn, who served in Company F, became its sergeant major. Sergeant Samuel C. Ilgenfritz, who distinguished himself at Antietam, became the first sergeant of Company I. Private George Kennedy from Company H would fill the position of the regiment’s hospital steward. The 187th would see action in engagements at the Wilderness, the siege of Petersburg, and Weldon Railroad.\textsuperscript{21}

Along with many of his comrades, Augustus G. Kyle, a musician from Company E, joined the 187th Pennsylvania serving until the end of the war.\textsuperscript{22} The 187th Pennsylvania was given the honor of acting as the escort and honor guard leading President Lincoln’s funeral procession in Philadelphia on April 22, 1865.\textsuperscript{23} Augustus G. Kyle carried and played the same drum he used while serving in the 130th Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{24}

Following the war, Levi Maish, the regiment’s commander, would return to his former York law practice earning prominence in the community and taking an interest in politics. Later, he would be called again into the service of his country, but in a somewhat


\textsuperscript{21} Gibbs, 235-320; Personal War Sketch, Joshua W. Sharp Post 371, Newville Historical Society.

\textsuperscript{22} Gibbs, 265.

\textsuperscript{23} Gibbs, 135-139.

\textsuperscript{24} Letter from Gilbert E. Kyle to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, July 29, 1997, Newville Historical Society.
different capacity being elected to the U. S. House of Representatives for four terms between 1875 and 1891.25

In 1888, the surviving veterans of the regiment formed an association holding annual reunions over the next forty years in Harrisburg, Antietam, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Mechanicsburg, Newville, New Cumberland, and Frederick.26 Only on four occasions were reunions not held. John Hays and J. D. Hemminger were strong supporters of the association credited with the success of many of the regiment’s reunions. Appropriately, the 130th’s final reunion took place on the sixty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1927, which was celebrated by eight veterans: Washington L. Stoey, Company A; Ephriam Lease, Company A; Josiah Hovetet, Co. E; J. D. Hemminger, Co E; J. R. Maxwell, Co. F; M. H. McCall, Co. I; Adam Wiseman, Co. I; and Henry Horn. Co. K. Exactly, one year later to the day, the association’s secretary, and regimental diarist, J. D. Hemminger passed away.

In April 1903, at the request of the Antietam Battlefield Commission of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker approved the funding of the commissioning of a granite and bronze monuments that marked the position of 130th Pennsylvania Regiment along with the twelve other Pennsylvania commands engaged in the battle of Antietam.27 Committees of three survivors from each command were selected to meet with the commission and select the site and design of their respective

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26 The Evening Sentinel, December 28, 1929, provides the following account.
27 Bosbyshell, 5-10.
Dr Samuel M. Whistler, from Company E, John Kirk from Company H, and Michael W. French from Company F served on the 130th’s committee.  

The memorials were officially dedicated and transferred to the Federal government on the forty-second anniversary of the battle, at 2:00 P.M., September 17, 1903. Attending the formal dedication ceremonies were the Governor of Pennsylvania and his staff, the Assistant Secretary of State, the Commander-In-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Carlisle Industrial School Band, veterans representing each of the thirteen Pennsylvania Commands, and thousands of guests. Ceremonies were conducted at each monument in the morning.

At 10:30 A.M., a group of between 150 and 200 survivors, wives and families, and guests gathered around the gray granite monument near the regiment’s position at Bloody Lane. “‘At Ease’ was the subject chosen by the . . . committee that depicts a manly American Volunteer . . . in half dress uniform resting easily on his musket ready at a moments notice to resume the firing that has for the time ceased.” A bronze life-like portrait medallion of Colonel Zinn was placed on the front of the pedestal of the monument. The 7 feet 4 inch statue rests upon a large rectangular pedestal giving the monument a total height of 14 feet 9 inches.

John D. Hemminger, then introduced the first regiment’s chaplain, Reverend George W. Chalfant, D.D., to give an opening prayer, called the 130th’s ceremony to or-

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28 Bosbyshell, 5-10.  
29 Bosbyshell, 233.  
30 Bosbyshell, 5-10.  
31 The Valley Star, September 22, 1904.  
32 Bosbyshell, 183.  
33 Bosbyshell, 184.  
34 Bosbyshell, 183.
der. *The Star Spangled Banner* was sung followed by the unveiling of the monument.\(^{35}\) John Hemminger provided a report that explained the role of Antietam Battlefield Commission, and how the monuments were funded and selected. He ended his comments by honoring the regiment's first commander: "As we think of Colonel Zinn as the man who made the One Hundred and Thirtieth Regiment what it was. Surely no noble an officer as he was fearless in battle, a good disciplinarian, affable and courteous, and yet dignified."\(^{36}\)

Dedication addresses followed by S. M. Whistler, and Edward W. Spangler who gave tribute to Colonel Zinn and provided a full history of the regiment that vividly detailed the regiment's sacrifices and hardships throughout its nine months of hard campaigning.\(^{37}\) Upon the conclusion of the services, the survivors retraced their steps through the Roulette House and Bloody Lane.\(^{38}\) At 2:00 P.M., many of the survivors attended the general dedication ceremony that took place later in the afternoon at the National Cemetery in Sharpsburg.\(^{39}\)

As volunteers they came, knowing full well, that many would pay the supreme sacrifice, while others would carry the wounds and scars of battle for the remainder of their lives. Civil dissension jeopardized their government that called upon them to defend the principals of its founding fathers. In his closing remarks at the dedication service Simon M. Whistler spoke for all of his comrades who served in 130th Pennsylvania Regiment: "It was for the good of the people of the South as well as for the people

\(^{35}\) *The Valley Star*, September 22, 1904.
\(^{36}\) Bosbyshell, 153-156.
\(^{37}\) Bosbyshell., 156-182.
\(^{38}\) *The Valley Star*, September 22, 1904.
\(^{39}\) *The Valley Star*, September 22, 1904.
of the North that the Union should be preserved. To those who follow you must be entrusted the sacred duty of defending the principals for which you stood—that the American government must ever be upheld as the highest form of organic democracy in which manhood shall be the test of citizenship.\footnote{40 Bosbyshell, 168.}
APPENDIX A:

COMMANDERS AND STAFF,
AUGUST 1862

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS
Henry I. Zinn, Colonel, Commander
Levi Maish, Lieutenant Colonel
  John Lee, Major
H. Clay Marshall, Adjutant
John R. Turner, Quartermaster
  Surgeon, Vacant
Assistant Surgeon, Frederick L. Haupt (August 19, 1862)
  Chaplain, Vacant

REGIMENTAL NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS
William G. Bosler, Sergeant Major
William F. Cutler, Quartermaster Sergeant
Joseph C. Halbert, Commissary Sergeant
  John G. Barr, Hospital Stewart

COMPANY A
(Cumberland County)
William M. Porter, Captain
John R. Turner, 1st Lieutenant
  John Hays, 1st Lieutenant
John O. Halbert, 2d Lieutenant
George Thayer, 1st Lieutenant
Alphonso B. Beisel, 1st Sergeant

COMPANY B
(York County)
Hamilton A. Glessner, Captain
William H. Tomes, 1st Lieutenant
  Henry Reisinger, 2d Lieutenant
George K. Shenberger, 1st Sergeant
COMPANY C
(York and Montgomery Counties)
   Joseph S. Jenkins, Captain
   Benjamin F. Myers, 1st Lieutenant
   William G. Bosler, 2d Lieutenant
   Clinton Keister, 1st Sergeant

COMPANY D
(Cumberland County, Shippensburg – The Shippensburg Guards)
   James Kelso, Captain
   Samuel Patchell, 1st Lieutenant
   Daniel A. Harris, 2d Lieutenant
   Jacob Steinman, 1st Sergeant

COMPANY E
(Cumberland County, Newville)
   William Laughlin, Captain
   Joshua W. Sharpe, 1st Lieutenant
   Henry Clay Marshall, 2d Lieutenant
   Joseph A. Ege, 1st Sergeant

COMPANY F
(Cumberland County, Mechanicsburg)
   Henry I. Zinn, Captain
(Promoted to Colonel and 130th’s Commander, August 17, 1862)
   John B. Zinn, Captain
(Promoted from 1st Lieutenant to Captain, August 17, 1862)
   William A. Givler, 2d Lieutenant
   Levi M Haverstick, 1st Sergeant
(Promoted to 1st Lieutenant, August 17, 1862)

COMPANY G
(Cumberland County)
   John Lee, Captain
(Promoted to Major, August 17, 1862)
   John S. Lyne, 1st Lieutenant
(Promoted to Captain, August 17, 1862)
   Thomas D. Caldwell, 1st Sergeant
(Promoted to 2d Lieutenant, August 17, 1862)
   Henry Keller, Sergeant
(Promoted to 1st Sergeant, August 17, 1862)
COMPANY H
(Cumberland, Dauphin, and Chester Counties)
John C. Hoffaker, Captain
George C. Marshall, 1st Lieutenant
John K. M’Gann, 2d Lieutenant
1st Sergeant-Not filled

COMPANY I
(York County)
Lewis Small, Captain
David Wilson Grove, 1st Lieutenant
Franklin G. Tolbert, 2d Lieutenant
Jeremiah Oliver, 1st Sergeant

COMPANY K
(York County)
Levi Maish, Captain
(Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, August 17, 1862)
David Z. Seipe, 1st Lieutenant
(Promoted to Captain, August 17, 1862)
James Lece, 2d Lieutenant
(Promoted to 1st Lieutenant, August 17, 1862)
John J. Frick, 1st Sergeant
(Promoted to 2d Lieutenant, August 17, 1862)
Jas. P. M’Guigan, Sergeant
(Promoted to 1st Sergeant, August 17, 1862)
APPENDIX B:
SPECIAL ORDER #122

Special Order #122
Headquarters 3rd Division 2d Corps
Army of the Potomac, May 12, 1863
Special Order No. 122. Extract

III. The 130th and 132d Pennsylvania Regiments of nine months will be relieved from duty with this Division, the first at retreat to-day and the latter at retreat on the 15th inst.

Transportation will be in readiness at Falmouth Station at 7 A. M., tomorrow for the 130th and for the 132nd on the 15th unless otherwise directed. A staff officer from these headquarters will proceed to Acquia Landing where by roll call he will ascertain that no unauthorized persons leave with the regiments. The General commanding the Division takes pleasure in promulgating in orders their gallantry, soldier like bearing, and efficiency, during their entire term of service.

Within the nine months for which they were enrolled they have participated in the battles of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and the series of engagements near Chancellorsville; each has lost in that short period the Colonel who first brought it into the field, the brave Zinn who led the 130th in Fredericksburg, and the gallant Oakford, of the 132d, who fell at Antietam.

Soldiers you return to your native State which has received luster from your achievements, and by your devotion to your Country’s cause. This Army and the Division to which you are attached, although they lose you, will always retain and cherish the credit which your military bearing on all occasions has so reflected on them.

Your Division Commander cherishes the belief, after a sojourn (sic) at your homes with the friends who are all anxiety to behold those of you who have passed unscathed through the midst of so many dangers, will again rally round that flag which you have so nobly defended. By command of

MAJOR GEN. FRENCH
Commanding Division

(Signed) John M. Norvell
Chief of Staff and A. A. G.

Headquarters, 2nd Brigade, May 12, 1863

Official, J. Parks Portler
Captain and A. A. A. G.¹

Source: The York Gazette, May 19, 1863.
APPENDIX C:

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: Permission was granted to include the following photographs in this thesis. Any reproduction is unauthorized.

Colonel Henry I. Zinn
(Lt. George G. Meade, Jr., Collection, USAMHI)

Colonel Levi Maish
(Post War Photograph)
(Mollus Collection, USAMHI)

Major John Hays, Adjutant.
(USAMHI)

Captain Joshua W. Sharp
Company E.
(Newville Historical Society)
2d Lieutenant Joseph Ege
(Pictured as a Lt. Colonel)
(Courtesy of Susan M. Boardman)

Private John D. Hemminger
Company E. (USAMHI)

Musician Augusts G. Kyle
Company E.
(Cumberland County Historical Society)

Private Edward W. Spangler
Company K.
(From Edward W. Spangler's
"My Little War Experience")
The Roulette Farm
Sharpsburg, Maryland
(Cumberland County Historical Society)

Bloody Lane
Sharpsburg, Maryland
(USAMHI, Mollus Collection)
Belle Plain, Virginia
(USAMHI, Mollus Collection)

Maryre's Heights
Fredericksburg, Virginia
(USAMHI, Mollus Collection)
Chancellor House, Chancellorsville, Virginia
(USAMHI, Mollus Collection)

Second Corps Mail Wagon
Falmouth, Virginia
(USAMHI, Mollus Collection)
130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Reunion, September 17, 1890
Cumberland County Court House Steps
(Cumberland County Historical Society)
130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Regimental Flag
(Capitol Preservation Committee of Pennsylvania)

130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Antietam Monument
(Taken by Author)
APPENDIX D:

130th Regiment
Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Regimental Strength and Casualty Statistics

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<th>Command/Staff</th>
<th>Assigned</th>
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<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Died of Wounds</th>
<th>Died of Disease</th>
<th>Died Unknown</th>
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<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Disability</th>
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Maps:


Websites:


Vita

Terrence W. Beltz, a resident of Midlothian, Virginia, completed his B. S. in Business Administration at Bowling Green State University in 1972. He is employed at the Virginia Housing Development Authority in Richmond, Virginia and is a Colonel in the U.S. Army Reserves. He has an ardent interest in 19th Century American history, particularly in the Civil War. He is the great grandson of Private William H. Seifert, who served in Company C of the 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.