

BAPTISM OF FIRE

The 151st New York Infantry at Payne's Farm and Mine Run

by Dennis Schank with Scott Schotz

This article was written by Dennis Schank and edited by Scott Schotz in 1995 and privately published as an illustrated, 42-page booklet as a fundraiser for reenacting and preservation causes. In 2005 it was updated and expanded by Kevin O'Beirne to serve as historical information for participants in the 2005 Payne's Farm battle commemoration on the original battlefield, where Federal participants will portray the 151st New York. – Editor

This essay is dedicated in loving memory to our fathers: Donald O. Schank and Kenneth H. Schotz, who always supported our question for American history. – The Authors

Like many regiments from across the North, the 151st New York State Volunteer Infantry—recruited from the far western portion of the Empire State—was a brave band of farmboys and village dwellers who answered the call to preserve the Union in 1862. Along the way, marching in the ranks of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the Shenandoah, they demonstrated time and again that they were the stuff of heroes.

To become heroes, however, the 151st had to “see the elephant”, as the first taste of combat was often called in the Civil War. Like the relatively unheralded 151st regiment itself, the western New Yorkers’ baptism of fire would be in a battle that is, today, rarely discussed and is relegated to less than a page in even the larger, more thorough Civil War history books. The 151st would come face to face with their grayclad opponents for the first time in a bitter, forgotten campaign called Mine Run, in central Virginia on the western border of a dreadful, tangled second-growth forest called the Wilderness of Spotsylvania, in an obscure, open field called Payne’s Farm. This is the regiment’s story from November 26 through December 3, 1863.

Prelude to Battle

On August 27, 1862 the headline on the *Niagara Falls Gazette* newspaper trumpeted,

“New Niagara District
Regiment is Launched”

It was the first public pronouncement of the birth of the 151st New York State Volunteer regiment in the War of the Rebellion.

The Civil War was about sixteen months old when, on August 20, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 volunteers for the Union army. In response to Lincoln’s call, Franklin Spaulding received authority from the State of New York to recruit an infantry regiment in the state’s 29th Senatorial District that, at that time, covered the counties of Niagara, Orleans, and Genesee. Spaulding was an experienced militia officer and became the colonel of the new regiment—designated as New York’s 151st regiment—and collector for the district.

The 29th Senatorial District was an extremely rural area, located north of Buffalo (in 1860, the tenth largest city in the United States) and west of Rochester. Most of the larger villages in the district owed their livelihood to transportation, being located on the

water routes of the Niagara River, Lake Ontario, and the Erie Canal. Population centers in Niagara County included Niagara Falls and Lockport (the latter on the forty-year-old Erie Canal), Orleans County—just east of Niagara—included Medina and Albion (both on the canal), and Genesee County—located south of Orleans County—had Batavia as its county seat. Numerous other small villages and hamlets dotted the three counties' sparsely populated, sleepy countryside. The area is largely unchanged nearly a century and a half later.

In New York in the Civil War, regiments were raised in this manner: each senatorial district was also designated as a regimental district. Within this district each election district was given a certain quota of men for enlistment. Two men from each election district were appointed to help enroll the recruits. A military committee was appointed for the district, and this committee had the power to authorize certain people to recruit for the regiment—the recruiters often became the commissioned officers of the regiment. For example, on August 27, 1862, the *Niagara Falls Gazette* reported, “The committee authorized the following: Captain Stone of Lockport, F.W. Coleman of Niagara Falls, Wiles of Olcott, and Hart of Middleport.”

As soon as the men enlisted they were sent to a regimental camp; in the 29th Senatorial District it was Camp Church in Lockport, in southeastern Niagara County. On September 3, 1862, in a disagreement at Camp Church with the district's military committee over issuance of commissions in the still-forming regiment, Franklin Spaulding resigned and Lt. Col. William Emerson became colonel of the 151st.

Recruiting fever was high in Niagara County, and the *Niagara Falls Gazette* bubbled with enthusiasm as the area's boys signed up for the new regiment: “We learn that the whole County is alive and at work to hurry up the new regiment. We have not seen so much enthusiasm since the spring of 1861. Every man and woman is helping the cause.”

Recruiting procedures in the 1860s, unlike United States army's conscriptions in the Twentieth Century, had to be persuasive. In small towns a pattern was usually followed: posters were displayed around town announcing the night of a “War Meeting”—basically a recruiting rally. The local militia would turn out, there was almost always a torch-lit parade, and one or more prominent citizens such as a county judge, well known lawyer, or preacher, would give patriotic speeches from a platform draped in American flags and red-white-and-blue bunting. Offers would be made to take care of the families of married men, or sometimes a private bounty would be paid to enlistees. Fifes and drums would play or a choir would sing patriotic songs. Young women dressed in patriotic colors encouraged the men to enlist. It is no wonder, with all this persuasion and peer pressure, that numbers of men at each war meeting proudly marched up and signed their names for three years or the duration of the war.

Men enlisted outside of the war meetings as well. In places like a slightly used recruiting office in Niagara Falls on Park Place, or in a slapped-together wooden shanty on the northwest corner of Main and Market Streets in Lockport, would-be officers held forth signing up recruits. And the farmboys came from the rural lanes and villages, looking for adventure, or for patriotic reasons, or just because their friend or relative had volunteered, and enlisted in the 151st.

Watson C. McNall was at a war meeting in Royalton Center in Niagara County and remembered, “While there was a recruiting office in Lockport, one man who while he wanted to enlist[,] said he was too old. But I got a horse and buggy and went to his home

in Pendelton Center, took him to a barber shop in Lockport where, he was shaved, hair cut and colored, and he was accepted by the examining surgeon.”

The patriotism in the 29th Senatorial District was unquestionable, because, despite the fact that other units were recruiting in the district at the same time, the 151st enlisted its quota of one thousand men in less than two months. The companies were recruited principally:

- Company A (Independent Rifles): at Medina, in western Orleans County
- Company B: at Niagara Falls, in southwestern Niagara County
- Company C: at Batavia, in central Genesee County
- Company D: at Albion, in central Orleans County
- Company E: at Rochester, in Monroe County (east of Orleans County)
- Company F: at Lockport; in southeastern Niagara County
- Company G: at various places in the counties of Niagara and Orleans
- Company H: at various places in Niagara County
- Company I: at Lockport, in southeastern Niagara County
- Company K: men from Colonel Franklin Sidway’s uncompleted regiment from Erie County (Buffalo, Eden, and North Collins), and men from the Niagara County towns of Somerset, Olcott, and Newfane.

Camp Church was established when Peter A. Porter’s 129th New York Infantry, later re-designated as the 8th New York Heavy Artillery, moved their camp from Niagara Falls to Lockport. The camp was named in honor of S.E. Church, who helped Porter recruit the 129th/8th Heavies, which included many friends and relatives of the men in the 151st.

Camp Church was at the agricultural fairgrounds in Lockport, on twenty acres of land bordered by Washburn, Willow, and Beattie Streets, and a line parallel to Grant Street. The camp officially opened on Monday, August 4, 1862 when the first two companies of the 129th regiment arrived. It was a tented camp enclosed by an eight-foot high, tight board fence. Three days after Spaulding received authorization to raise the 151st regiment, Porter’s 129th New York left for the seat of war, leaving Camp Church empty. Soon the new recruits of the 151st began arriving at the Lockport fairgrounds.

Watson C. McNall related, “Here [at Camp Church was where] all the companies were sent as fast as they were recruited from our Senatorial District. It was great fun playing soldier there, old broken muskets, some without lock or stock, to do guard duty.”

The youthful and inexperienced nature of the new soldiers was underscored by Charles Gill, who recalled,

“While we were there the annual county fair was held. A line of guards was posted across the grounds between our camp and where the fair was to keep the boys from overrunning the whole place, it did [work], in a measure, but did not altogether prevent the boys or girls, either, from getting in or out of the camp by running the guards, who were neither very strict or watchful.”

The September 27, 1862 edition of the Lockport *Daily Journal & Courier* reported, “We learn that the guard house at Camp Church was pretty well filled yesterday for

various ‘deviations’ we learn that one soldier was confined for kissing his girl ‘*across the line*’.”

Another amusing incident at Camp Church was the mutiny of Company B. The regiment’s cooking at Camp Church was done by contractors and the food, as one man related, was, “Hardly fit for human consumption.” Charles Gill described the incident:

“The soup was invariably cold, or nearly so, with a rim of grease around the edge of the dish, and some of the boys declared they had found pieces of dish cloth in it... One day at dinner things seemed worse than usual, the potatoes were half cold and soggy, and the bread sour. The men arose in their wrath and headed by Orderly Sgt. Fred Derrick, made things lively. The tables were temporary affairs, the tops were made of long boards, running lengthwise of the table; when the reaction started a big Irish man, who sat about halfway down the table stood up grasped the edge with his hands, he just gave it one lift tore the board completely out, making a general scattering of cold soup and other condiments.

“Corporal Gill, sitting opposite, got the full benefit by having about two quarts of soup spilled down the front of his jacket and pants. The mutineers were then formed by twos and marched back to quarters, with Sgt. Derrick in the lead. There was one good thing about the trouble, the men fared much better in the way of food, while we remained at Lockport.”

While the men were at Camp Church, the main task was, of course, to turn them and their newly minted officers into soldiers. A Regular Army officer was detailed as the regiment’s military tactics instructor. But, as one man laughingly remembered, “It was with difficulty that some of the men could even get the ‘*left, left, left*’, at the tap of the drum, and at the command of ‘*right dress*’ the hesitancy and awkwardness must have appeared ludicrous to the commanding officer!”

On October 22, 1862 the men of the 151st took their oath of allegiance to the government and were officially mustered into the United States Army. The next day, Thursday, October 23, 1862, the regiment left western New York for the war. The October 29, 1862 edition of the *Niagara Falls Gazette* said,

“The 151st Infantry Leaves Camp Church For Front.

“Regiment departs — the 151st New York Infantry left Camp Church for the seat of war on Thursday last, going via Elmira to Baltimore. The company of Capt. Imo from Rochester which had been in camp at Buffalo for sometime was added to the regiment before leaving, thus increasing the same to nearly the maximum number.”

The men from the 151st marched out of the fairgrounds to Lockport’s railroad depot followed by the cheers of their friends and neighbors. The same issue of the *Gazette* described the scene at the railroad station:

“A large number of people, most of them relatives and friends of the soldiers, witnessed the departure. Of course there were affectionate partings of husbands and wives, of parents and sons, of soldiers and sweethearts. The regiment leaves thousands at home who will pray for their welfare and success.”

The 151st left Lockport at 4:30 p.m. aboard, as one soldier described, “first rate cars”, arriving at Elmira Station at 6:00 a.m. They ate breakfast, marched one and a half miles

to a camp, ate lunch, and marched to the Elmira armory. There, the regiment received their Enfield rifles—excluding Company A, which had privately purchased breech-loading Sharps rifles before joining the regiment in Lockport.

The men were then loaded on freight and cattle cars, much to their disappointment, and arrived in Baltimore's Metropolitan Depot at 10:00 p.m., October 30, where they were fed and quartered. In the morning, the regiment marched to Lafayette Square barracks.

Here the 151st spent the winter of 1862-1863 quartered in nearby hospitals, while learning to become proficient in drill and completing the transformation from citizens to soldiers.

On April 26, 1863 the regiment received orders to move from Baltimore. They spent the late spring and summer marching through parts of modern West Virginia, Maryland, and the lower (northern) Shenandoah Valley, participating in a few small skirmishes but never really "seeing the elephant". During this time, the 151st was part of various provisional brigades in the Eighth Corps. In July, following the battle of Gettysburg, the 151st and the rest of their Eighth Corps division was transferred to the Army of the Potomac and became the third division of the reconstituted Third Corps, under Major General William French.

With the Army of the Potomac, the 151st participated in the pursuit of the Army of Northern Virginia in the closing stages of the Gettysburg campaign, and participated in the mid-October Bristoe campaign, and the early-November mini-campaign at the Rappahannock River fords.

In a letter dated November 20, 1863 published in the *Orleans American* newspaper, a 151st New York soldier told of the regiment's summer and autumn activities to this point:

"The 151st has not yet been directly in an engagement but it is not [because of] the want of good will, for it has been drawn up in line of battle times innumerable right in the face of the enemy, but somehow the wily foe always ran. Our regiment ought to be grateful to it's Supreme Ruler; The 2nd Brigade had a night engagement on the advance to Brandy Station [in the early-November Rappahannock Station/Kelly's Ford campaign], and the 1st [Brigade, with the 151st] were in supporting distance. The First Division did the work at Kelly's Ford but the 3rd [Division, with the 151st] was nearby. We were under fire at McLean's Ford, on the Bull Run [during October's Bristoe campaign], but the Johnnies did not get [our] range, and the regiment did not realize the situation. This occurred while [we were] marching down to reinforce another battalion, which had taken advantage of some rifle pits, and were fighting only a few rods to the front of our line of battle."

Six days after that letter, the men of the 151st would finally receive their true baptism of fire.

The Campaign Opens

On November 21, 1863, Army of the Potomac commander Major General George Meade received an intelligence report that General Robert E. Lee's Confederate army was just half the strength of the Army of the Potomac. Like Ambrose Burnside a year earlier, needing—for political reasons—to strike another blow before going into winter

quarters, Meade planned a late-autumn campaign: a march across the Rapidan River to turn Lee's right (eastern) flank. Two Confederate corps, under Lieutenant Generals Richard Ewell and A.P. Hill, were stretched out on a line over thirty-five miles long and were a tempting target. Ewell's Corps held the line from Morton's Ford to Orange Court House, while Hill's Corps was distributed from south of that point along the railroad to near Charlottesville, with an interval of several miles between the two corps. Meade's plan was a good one and, if carried out in a timely manner, could well have been successful, yet from the beginning it was plagued by blunders by his subordinates.

Federal infantry commanders received orders to march half an hour before sunrise on November 26, 1863—Thanksgiving Day. No supply trains were to slow the Yankee advance; instead, each man would carry five days rations.

On November 24 Lee alerted his outpost guards after learning from a scout that Meade had called up large quantities of rations. The next day, November 25, Confederate cavalry clashed with Federal horsemen near Ely's Ford on the Rapidan. When the Confederate signal station on Clark's Mountain spotted marching columns of bluecoated infantry and Union ordinance wagon trains in motion on November 26, Lee started shifting his forces. He ordered Major General Jubal Early—filling in for the ailing Ewell—to withdraw Ewell's Corps quickly from its fortifications along the Rapidan River and march westward to meet the threat, with the Hill's Corps to follow.

Meade's army began moving at dawn on November 26, 1863. The march was led by Sykes's Fifth Corps that, with the First Corps, would cross the Rapidan at Culpeper Mine Ford and proceed to Parker's Store on the Orange Plank Road, and then move to Orange Court House. Major General Gouverneur Warren's Second Corps was to cross at Germanna Ford and proceed on the Orange Turnpike (more-or-less parallel to the Plank Road) to Robertson's Tavern at Locust Grove. Simultaneously, French's Third Corps—with the 151st—was to cross the Rapidan at Jacob's Mill Ford followed by Sedgwick's Sixth Corps, and join with the Second Corps.

French's Third Corps was a polyglot of new, untested soldiers and grizzled veterans. Its First Division, under David Birney, were veterans of all the corps's battles from the Peninsula through Kelly's Ford. The Second Division, under Henry Prince, was also veterans, and included the famed Excelsior and New Jersey brigades. The untried element was Brigadier General Joseph Carr's Third Division—derisively referred to by one of Birney's soldiers as "General French's pets". Carr's First Brigade, under Brigadier General William Morris, included the 151st New York, 14th New Jersey, and 10th Vermont. The 151st marched through the campaign under the command of Lt. Col. Erwin Bowen. (Unfortunately, neither General Morris nor Lt. Col. Bowen provided an official report of the campaign that is included in the *Official Records*.)

Meade's plan started out poorly at the beginning with the delinquency of the Third Corps—particularly William "Blinky" French—right from the start. French, who was an old "McClellan man" who owed his position more to his connections than his military skill, was suspected to have problems with drinking; reports of French's alleged intoxication in the Mine Run campaign dogged him and eventually ruined his military career. After the campaign, the veterans of the First and Second Divisions referred to French's poor handling of the corps during the Mine Run campaign as "The III Corps as we understand it."

The Sixth Corps, which was to follow French, stepped off at sunrise but stalled on the road when it got to French's still-occupied camps. George Stevens, a soldier in the 77th New York in the Sixth Corps, wrote,

“Our Sixth corps was moving at sunrise, the hour designated, toward Brandy Station. Presently the head of the column halted in the midst of the camps of the Third corps which were yet undisturbed. According to the order for marching the Third corps was to precede the Sixth, and should have been out of camp before we arrived, but as yet not a tent was struck nor a wagon loaded, and most of the men were asleep in their quarters. The Sixth corps was obliged to halt and stand in the mud for hours waiting for the delinquent [Third] corps to get out of the way.”

After awakening on Thanksgiving morning, the 151st New York was immediately ordered to pack up, before breakfast. Their small shelter tents struck and wagons loaded, the regiment fell in and began to march, as the tardy Third Corps snaked from its camps, the Sixth Corps soldiers fumed: “At eleven o'clock we moved again, taking the road to the Rapidan,” wrote the impatient Stevens.

A Sixth Corps staff officer later wrote, “The season was not favorable. The weather was bitterly cold, and the roads were difficult.” “Our march was slow and tedious”, agreed another Yank on the road that morning.

About 2:00 p.m. hunger began to gnaw on several 151st New York men. Seth Beeman, John H. Stevens, and M. R. Bowen fell quietly out of the ranks into a wooded area and set about getting grub to eat. “Having collected on the way flour, milk, tea and little apples, we fried our pork, our hardtack, our apples, made flour gravy and our tea, then sat back on a log and enjoyed our Thanksgiving dinner. We sorted out our silverware then hurried on,” wrote one.

One of Sedgwick's men, marching behind the Third Corps, recalled,

“The road for several miles was merely a narrow passage cut through the forest; a dense growth of stunted pines and tangled bushes filling up the space between the trees of larger growth. Our corps moved along very slowly, halting for a moment, then advancing one or two rods [about 16.5 to 33 feet] then standing still again for perhaps several minutes and again moving forward for a few steps, this became very tedious. The men were faint and weary and withal discouraged, they were neither advancing nor resting. From one end of the column of the Sixth Corps to the other, through miles of forest the shout ‘coffee! coffee!!’ passed from one regiment to another, until there could be heard nothing but vociferous demand for coffee. At eleven o'clock that night the order, ‘Ten minutes rest for coffee,’ passed down the line and was received with shouts of approval. Instantly the roadside was illuminated with thousands of little fires, over which the soldiers were cooking their favorite beverage.”

Seth Beeman, John H. Stevens and M.R. Bowen overtook the 151st while it was waiting for a pontoon bridge to be laid across the Rapidan. Here another delay was incurred because the bridge was short one boat and its associated planking, and temporary means had to be improvised to cross the gap. Further, the very steep riverbanks rendered the passage of artillery and trains tedious and difficult.

The head of Prince's division reached the ford at 2:00 p.m., but Carr's division, with the 151st, did not cross until between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m., as sunset was drawing near.

General Carr reported, “The march was continued after crossing the river for about 3 miles, when it was discovered that the Second [Prince’s] Division had taken the wrong road.” The entire column, including the 151st New York, turned around and marched through the night back to “within a mile of the river, and bivouacking [there] for the night.” Undoubtedly, intense grumbling in the ranks was rampant at this point, as the men’s breath puffed in the frigid darkness. The 151st bivouacked for the night in a thicket a mile from the riverbank. “The men had thrown themselves upon the ground without waiting to erect shelter tents, and were sleeping soundly notwithstanding the severity of the cold,” vividly recalled a Sixth Corps soldier back by the river.

Shortly after 7:00 a.m. on November 27, the 151st and their division were again in motion, with the Third Corps under strict orders from Meade to move with greater speed while advancing southwestward. General Carr recalled that the division was ordered to throw out “strong flanking parties on the right [western] flank. The column moved slowly forward making frequent halts.” The day’s weather was cold and, according to a man in Richmond, “dark and gloomy.”

On the Federals’ left flank, Warren’s Second Corps led the march. As Warren’s lead elements passed through the settlement of Locust Grove, they collided with Confederates of Early’s Division (under Hays). Both sides entrenched and a standoff ensued. Meade’s plan called for the Second Corps to be joined by the Third Corps, and Warren was not to make a serious attack until French’s men arrived, lending increased urgency to the movement of the Third Corps to everyone except, that is, General French. Rumors abounded in the ranks that “Old Blinky” was in his cups again.

This time the delay was caused by French’s lead elements going the wrong way at a fork in the Jacob’s Mill Ford Road, going to the right when they should have gone left. While French and Prince squabbled while attempting to figure out which way to march, around midmorning, the skirmishers of Prince’s Second Division encountered Edward “Allegheny” Johnson’s Confederate division (Early’s corps) in thick underbrush near a farm owned by the Payne family. General Carr reported, “At 9.10 a.m. a few musket shots were heard in front. At 11.25 [a.m. the Third Division, with the 151st] halted on the edge of a field on the left of the road, and about 3 miles from Jacobs’ Mills [Ford]. At 12.30 the firing in front became quite brisk.”

“Allegheny” Johnson’s objective was to form his division on the left of Lee’s main force, marching into position along Mine Run—a north-south running tributary of the Rapidan at the western edge of the Wilderness. At Mine Run Lee intended to await Meade’s attack, but he needed time to complete his fieldworks, and the job of delaying the Yanks fell to Johnson’s and Hays’s men.

Among Johnson’s units was the famous Stonewall Brigade, including the writer John Henry Worsham. Worsham and his fellow Virginians marched toward Mine Run on a road separate and north of that taken by the remainder of the Early’s corps; he wrote, “We were quietly marching along a road which runs through a wood, listening to the distant cannon in our front [probably from Warren’s and Hays’s standoff at Locust Grove] and speculating as to the location of the expected battle.”

The stage was set for the heaviest fighting of the entire campaign, and the 151st New York and the Stonewall Bridge were destined to clash at its epicenter.

The 151st Joins the Fight

After marching about three and a half miles from Jericho Mills Ford, the 151st halted in a large tract of woodland at about noon on November 27. The rest break lasted about three hours, while Generals Prince and French debated which fork in the road the Third Corps should take, and while the skirmishing between Prince's vanguard and Johnston's Rebels heated up. The men of the 151st knew nothing about being on the wrong road, of course, and rested and boiled coffee while they waited in the chill, late November air.

All the men in the regiment were confident that they were going into battle. They could hear the firing of skirmishers to the front and the occasional boom of cannon. Different members of the regiment related to each other their premonitions the wounds they were about to receive, and their choice of where the bullet would strike. It was here that Captain Sylvanus Wilcox of Company H expressed his preference that, "If a ball should strike him, that it should prove fatal."

About 2:30 p.m. the regiment was ordered forward, and all the men knew that something would soon transpire to their front. Prince's Second Division was ahead and was now heavily skirmishing with Johnson's Rebels. Marching left-in-front, Carr's Third Division turned left off the road and entered a stretch of thick, tangled woods in an effort to get around the flank of the Confederates confronting Prince.

Clawing its way out of the woods, the 151st New York was formed in line on the right of Morris's brigade, which was also the right of Carr's Third Division. The 151st was the connection between Carr's and Prince's divisions. Carr's other brigades formed to the left (east), and his division faced southwest.

The 151st's Company A, equipped with breech-loading Sharps rifles, was ordered out ahead in a skirmish line. They advanced across Payne's farm and into the far woodline, almost to the Jericho Mills Ford Road. Sighting grayclad troops on the road, the skirmishers of Company A opened fire.

"Suddenly a part of our column was assailed on the flank by a Yankee skirmish line," wrote the Stonewall Brigade's John Worsham. "It was a complete surprise to us, since no one thought the enemy was in the vicinity. Regimental officers cut off companies from their regiments and formed them as skirmishers right in the road and ordered them forward... This was the promptest movement I saw during the war."

Increasing pressure forced the Federal skirmishers back toward their main line. After about a half hour of skirmishing, Johnson's Rebel division moved forward into Payne's Farm in line of battle. The men Company A fell back across the farm to rejoin the regiment.

The Stonewall Brigade advanced through the woods. Upon reaching the field, they dressed their line and moved forward, "At first in quick time, and then in double time, and with a shout, it appearing that the enemy with a heavy line of battle was driving our skirmishers back," recalled one of the western New Yorkers. The Confederates charged across Payne's farm emitting the Rebel Yell. John Worsham of the 21st Virginia recalled,

*"Tell my mother not to mourn for me,
that this war must go on and the Union
be preserved if it takes a son from
every family in the North."*

— Dying words of Captain
Sylvanus Wilcox, Co. H, 151st
New York, at Payne's Farm

“We came to an open field, where we could see the [Federals] behind a rail fence on the edge of a wood at the far side of this field... We soon came to a swamp in a bottom [Russell Run], the most miry place I ever entered. How the men crossed it, I don't know. Many left one or both shoes in the mud, the horses could not cross, the officers were compelled to dismount and take the mud too. We...crossed, halted a few moments under the hill, reformed our line, and went forward. As soon as we advanced up the hill sufficiently for the enemy to see us, the action became general and heavy.”

From the cover of dense brush on the other side of the field, Carr's division leveled their muskets and opened a withering fire. Simon Cummings of the 151st New York's Company H wrote in a letter home,

“We mowed them down like grass from the ground. They charged on one of our Batteries and the 6th Md. Vols. opened a volley of musketry on them and two of our cannon gave them a double charge of grape and canister and laid them down by the whole sail.”

The Confederates were staggered and paused in confusion, and some of Johnson's brigades and regiments became so disorganized that they, “Discreetly stopped at the fence” near Russell Run. Brigadier General James A. Walker, commander of the Stonewall brigade—who had somehow gotten his horse through or around the mire—feared that his men might break and spurred his mount forward. He grabbed the flag of one of his regiments, leaped his horse over a fence, and rode into the field to rally his troops and, with a cheer, they rushed on. At this point, parts of Morris's brigade, including the 151st, may have advanced into the field a little ways to confront the Rebels.

Charles H. Matison of the 151st's Company D. in a letter to the *Orleans American* newspaper, recounted what happened next:

“The old Stonewall brigade charged upon the 151st with savage fury, but was successfully repulsed until the left of the 2nd division gave way. This enabled the enemy to turn our right flank, and our brave boys were subjected to a murderous crossfire which caused our line to waver and finally fall back about ten rods. Here a new line was formed and our whole column went forward with a yell of desperate determination and the lost ground was regained. When our line fell back and the rebels charged down upon us, yelling like incarnate devils, our Reverend Capt. B. N. Wiles of Co. K, regardless of fear, stood his ground and urges his men not to retreat. ‘Advance men’ shouted he, ‘never run from the Johnnys’.. Our National Colors fell once, and only once, and that when Cpl. Earl [of Company I] was wounded. Cpl. Kuhn [of Company K] immediately seized them and bore them triumphantly through the remainder of the battle. Color Sergeant Samuel Trent Jr., who bore the Regimental Colors, stood by them unflinchingly and came through the fight unharmed.”

General Carr reported,

“General Morris, on moving up to connect with the Second Division, ... [drove] the enemy through the fields beyond. This position was held by our troops until the close of the engagement. The troops had barely time to take the positions assigned them when the engagement became general along the entire line.”

For half an hour or more the battle swung back and forth across the Payne's fields, as several Rebels assaults broke against the strong Federal line. The Confederates were stymied by the thickets from which the Federals were firing. General Carr recalled, "The enemy made repeated attempts to advance in front of the brigades of General Morris and Colonel Keifer, but were repulsed each time with heavy loss."

"It was found impossible to maintain an unbroken line," General Johnson reported, "and each [Confederate] brigade commander, in turn, finding himself unsupported either on the right or the left, ordered back his brigade."

"Neither side seemed to gain any ground, or lose anything except *men*," observed a soldier in the 17th Maine.

The 151st New York was in the fight for two and a quarter hours, "From three p.m. until dark our regiment was under terrific fire of musketry, accompanied by grape, shell and canister. Our loss is not heavy considering the time we were engaged, and the strength and fury of the enemy," wrote one of the New Yorkers.

Elwin Scutt of the 151st related:

"A funny incident in connection with my getting shot through the ankle was that John Donahue, who was sixty years old but gave his age at 45 at enlistment was lying on the ground in of me on a little higher ground than where I was standing, the bullet after passing through my ankle plowed its way into the ground directly under John's head, who yelled out that he was shot. As I turned around to see him, I realized that I was hit."

Sidney L. Hitchcock recalled,

"During the battle it happened that I was behind a tree with Sam Frier, nick named, Ben Butler. He had loaded his gun, as he drew the ram rod from the barrel he dropped it like a flash, looked at me and was very pale. I asked if he was hit? Assuring me that he was not he tried to pick up the rod, but could not. After placing the gun on his right arm he got it with his left hand and went to the rear. A bullet had passed between his right arm and body without breaking the skin, but both were black and blue and numb. He did not leave the company, but the men helped carry his knapsack the next day "

A week later, Simon Cummins wrote excitedly, although with poor spelling,

"The fight was an affle [awful] one for the time they fought. The old troops said the musketry beat it at Gettys Berg... They could not get eny good position. I was in this fight to but not in the line of battle. I was right in the rear of the line of battle a few rods. The bullets flew by my ears like the wind through the leaves of the trees in winter and one shell exploded rite square over my head and a great meny went over me to. I did not know but one would pick me off but fortune was in my favor and I came out without a scratch. The bullets passed close to my head and struck a tree behind me and some would nack [knock] the bark off and some went on a whistling &c. I saw [in] the paper that they called it a skirmish but it was the heaviest skirmish I ever saw and this is the 5 or 6th one I have been in sight of."

General Carr described the end of his division's role in the fighting:

“Shortly before sundown, the ammunition of the men being nearly exhausted, I requested General Birney, commanding First Division, who had moved up to my support, to relieve my line to enable my men to refill their cartridge boxes. The brigades of General Morris and Colonel Keifer were then withdrawn, the First Division taking their place. I massed the two brigades above named about 200 yards in rear of the line of battle; they were supplied with ammunition and held in readiness for another advance.”

“We fought until night brought an end to the battle,” wrote John Worsham. Carr agreed: “Darkness coming on, however, the firing entirely ceased.” The battle ended in a standoff, with the opposing forces holding their ground on opposite sides of Payne’s farm; neither side could claim a clear victory.

Edwin I. Wage of the 151st recalled,

“As night came on our regiment was withdrawn a short distance to the rear. A roll call was had by companies, many comrades who went into battle failed to respond to their names. At this time the enemy was still actively shelling the woods where we were. As the roll of Co. D was going on, a shell struck the ground a few feet in front of our line, bounded, passed over our heads, buried itself in rear of the line, and exploded without doing harm. After roll call volunteers were called for, to go over the field of battle between the lines, to find the wounded and remove them to the rear, where they could secure treatment.”

Wage was one of a number of men who volunteered and recalled,

“There was a moon but it was obscured a part of the time. We went onto the field between the picket lines, who were frequently firing, in single file, without arms, and made as little noise as possible so as not to draw the fire of either side. When a wounded soldier was found two or three men would assist him to the rear. I can never forget the experience of that night. Dead men lying in all positions, in some places two or three close together. One soldier was lying on his back still grasping his Enfield rifle in his right hand, the left extended holding the rod as he was in the act of loading, a shell had struck his head. I received a bad scare that night, and for a time thought I was sure to be taken prisoner. I had gone beyond the rebel picket and was inside their lines. With great caution I gradually worked my way back, guided by the picket firing. I never knew how long I was getting back, and shall never forget the sensations I felt at that time, and how glad I was when I reached our own lines.”

Charles Matison wrote to the *Orleans American*,

“We had the satisfaction of knowing that our shots had a telling effect upon the enemy, for twenty six of them were found dead in front of our line when the main body retreated. Our weary soldiers bivouacked at night upon the bloody field, surrounded by the dying and the dead, and next day moved after the retreating foe.”

George Smith of the 151st’s Company A reported in a letter to a friend that the regiment lost between 50 and 60 men at Payne’s Farm:

“The only commissioned officer killed, was Capt. Wilcox of Co. G [*sic – Wilcox was in Company H*], one of the best officers in the Regiment. He was killed by a

minnie ball a very few moments after the engagement began... Capt. Bowen was in the fight and is all right, he did his duty and nobly did he do it. I can say nothing less of the whole regiment. They all did nobly and get the praise of it from officers of high rank.... I had the honor of being with the transportation at the time so I have nothing to feel proud of.”

Years after the war Captain (later Colonel) Charles Bogardus of Company I recounted Wilcox’s death:

“He was the first of our officers to fall, pierced by a minnie ball cutting the femoral artery, from which he soon bled to death. When his life blood was ebbing away, which he fully realized, he said, ‘Tell my mother not to mourn for me, that this war must go on and the Union be preserved if it takes a son from every family in the North.’ Brave patriotic words from a dying man.”

Captain Wilcox expired around 9:00 p.m.—about four hours after the regiment left the fighting.

The Confederates’ impetuous assault had been halted, but they had punished the Federals severely, despite being the aggressors in most of the fight. When the firing stopped at dusk, French had lost 950 men to Johnson’s 545. Morris’s brigade suffered the heaviest casualties of all the Union regiments in the campaign: the 10th Vermont lost 69, the 14th New Jersey lost 61, and the 151st New York suffered 53 casualties (9 killed, 43 wounded, 1 wounded and missing; in total, fifteen percent of its 350 men who marched into the fight). Only the 17th Maine (Egan’s brigade, Birney’s First Division) and 6th Maryland (Keifer’s brigade, Carr’s division), both of which lost 52 men, and the 138th Pennsylvania (Keifer’s brigade) which lost 51, suffered nearly as much among the bluecoats. Morris’s, Keifer’s, and Egan’s brigades—all clustered in the same area of the battlefield—together accounted for 559 casualties, or almost 60 percent of the Federal losses in the battle.

Johnson’s attack proved costly for the Federals in another way, because it convinced French that he faced overwhelming odds and kept him in place, despite the fact that French’s corps outnumbered Johnson’s lone division by three to one. French’s hesitation gave Lee sufficient time to withdraw Johnson and the rest of his army in the middle of the night of November 27-28 to a ridge behind Mine Run, where formidable fieldworks were already under construction.

The 151st Advances to Mine Run

General Carr reported, “The enemy withdrew from our front [during the night], leaving their dead on the field. At 3.15 a.m., November 28, I received orders from headquarters Third Corps to withdraw my command to the position they occupied before the advance was made on the afternoon of the 27th.” The order to move, carried out after dawn, presaged a movement forward by the entire left wing of Meade’s army.

During the night General Sedgwick was ordered to move with his own Sixth Corps and French’s Third Corps to a position on Warren’s right at Locust Grove, joining the main body of the Army of the Potomac. This movement was completed early on the morning of November 28 in a cold rainstorm that, “Made very bad walking for a day or two,” wrote Simon Cummins of the 151st.

The Army of the Potomac then began to push forward (westward). For the 151st, November 28 was a frustrating day of marching, halting, freezing dampness, waiting, contemplating of their missing comrades, and wondering if another battle was imminent. The impatience of the day is reflected in General Carr's account:

“General French ordered me to follow with my command in rear of the Sixth Corps. I found the narrow road on which they were moving filled with their artillery, and ammunition and ambulance trains, and was delayed over an hour waiting for them to pass.

“I moved on, in rear of the trains of the Sixth Corps, at 6.30 a.m., halting at 8 a.m. on the edge of a large field in which part of the Sixth Corps was massed. Moved on again at 1 p.m. ... Halted again about a mile southwest of Robertson's Tavern. Moved again at 4.10 p.m., taking position at sundown on the left of the First Division on the east side of Mine Run, threw out pickets, and bivouacked for the night. My command remained in the above position all next day, November 29.”

After marching only about two or three miles on November 28, the Federals found themselves facing Lee's defensive line on the far bank of Mine Run. Beyond the creek they could see what one of Meade's soldiers called, “A very ugly looking line of hills, rendered more repulsive in aspect by fallen trees and lines of freshly dug earth.” Atop the hills stood an array of, “Infantry parapets, abatis [*sic*], and epaulements [emplacements] for batteries,” wrote a New Yorker.

Upon reaching Mine Run the Army of the Potomac formed a line facing the Rebels and the Federal high command started making arrangements for a general assault. The night of November 28-29 was again freezing cold; across the run, the Confederates worked to perfect their fortifications.

“Sharp picket firing and the occasional roar of artillery, warned us that we were on the eve of a great battle,” wrote the Sixth Corps's Steven. “A storm of rain [during the evening of November 28] rendered the situation cheerless and uncomfortable, but the excitement of getting into position, regiments and brigades marching from one part of the line to another, now approaching where the bullets of the rebel skirmishers whistled about them, and then withdrawing a little to the rear, kept up the spirits of the men not with standing the tedious storm.”

For the next several days Meade probed and his men entrenched in the freezing air, trying to find a weak link in Lee's line. When one was found, the next day dawned to reveal the spot strongly fortified, followed by the inevitable suspension of the Federal assault at that point.

The men of the 151st were miserable during this period: freezing, scant, cold rations, with details constantly on the picket line, under fire. A man in Company D of the 151st New York recalled of this period:

“During the Mine Run campaign we were skirmishing in an open piece of timber. Our orders were to screen ourselves as much as possible, and to fire whenever we could get a glimpse of the enemy, but to hold the line if possible, until we could be reinforced. Three of us had taken position behind a log. We would lie down—load[,] raise up, rest our guns on top of the log and fire. I had loaded my gun and was taking aim across the log at a rebel who was partly screened behind a tree.

Suddenly I was lying on the ground, I had dropped my gun, which had fallen on the other side of the log. One of the boys asked where I was hit? After feeling myself all over, for I was sure a ball had entered some part of my anatomy, I could not find a scratch, I replied I thought I was wounded in my mind! On investigation a rebel bullet had buried itself in the log directly under where I was resting my gun. If the rebel had elevated his piece a little I would hardly have been here to relate the incident. It was some time before the boys forgot to remind me of the time I was shot.”

The morning of November 29 dawned cold and gloomy with occasional rain, and revealed several lines of rifle pits on the Rebel side of Mine Run—one commanding the other so that, in case their defenders were driven from one, the next provided an equally strong or even stronger position. Charles Matison of the 151st wrote, “On Sunday [November 29] we confronted him [the enemy] all day, but he was not inclined to offer battle, but waited behind his entrenchment’s to be attacked.” The intermittent rain let up around mid-afternoon and the skies began to clear.

During November 29, the 151st and the rest of the division formed in line to assault Lee’s Mine Run position. However, no assault took place that day and, as darkness closed over the two armies, both sides spent the night constructing more fieldworks. The night of November 29-30 was clear and incredibly cold, with a bright moon that illuminated even to the floor of the tangled woods.

Late on the night of November 29-30 plans were made for a grand assault by the Army of the Potomac for the following day. At the signal the Fifth and Sixth Corps were to turn the Confederates’ left (north) flank while Warren, with his Second Corps and Prince’s and Carr’s divisions of the Third Corps—including the 151st—was to flank Lee’s right (south). “To do this,” wrote Matison, “The enemy’s batteries would have to be charged and taken, and as a special complement for bravery in Friday’s battle, Gen. French selected the 151st N.Y. and the 14th New Jersey Volunteers of Morris Brigade to assist in the undertaking.” Carr’s division was the rightmost of the flanking force, with its right on the Orange Plank Road. Because the terrain in front of Carr’s men was thickly wooded and the most inhospitable of the area fronting all of Warren’s wing, Carr’s unit, including the 151st, were to be the first regiments to start the charge that would initiate the grand attack.

French, with his remaining division and two divisions of Newton’s First Corps, was to hold an interval of four miles between the right and left, and open a fierce fire when Sedgwick and Warren went in. Meade was no longer trusting French to properly and promptly execute orders that included maneuvering.

Meade’s orders were for the Union artillery to open fire at 7:00 a.m. on November 30 and attack one hour later along the line with infantry. Division commanders summoned commanders of brigades and regiments and related to them the plan of battle, so that each knew his part.

The night was clear and bitterly cold—the air temperature dropped below zero degrees Fahrenheit—and the Federals were not allowed to have campfires. Pickets had to be relieved every half hour to avoid hypothermia and freezing to death. Water froze in the men’s canteens.

One Federal soldier recalled that, “Though our drooping eyelids called pitifully for sleep, each soldier knew that to sleep uncovered in that bitter air would be the sleep of

death.” Four miles up the line from the 151st, Stevens averred, “It was vain to attempt to sleep, and the men spent the night in leaping and running in efforts to keep warm.”

Alerted to the Yanks’ presence, Confederate troops moved to occupy high ground in front of Warren. Throughout the night, the men of the 151st could hear trees being cut down on the ridge ahead and other unmistakable sounds of an army digging in. The assault the next morning promised to be bloody—probably a forlorn hope.

Everyone knew that the new day would bring on a terrific struggle. While no man knew his fate, each seemed braced for the conflict. Many Union soldiers prepared for the impending charge by writing their names on slips of paper and pinning them to their blouses and overcoats so that they could be identified if killed. With freezing fingers clutching pencil nubs, a few even added the words, “Killed in action, November 30th, 1863”.

The night crawled sluggishly in the abysmal cold, and dawn’s frozen approach was slow.

Saved By the Grace of God

As daylight crept to the horizon of what promised to be a bright, clear day, the men had the opportunity to judge for themselves the strength of the defenses that they were being called upon to attack: “All felt that it would be madness to assault,” wrote Robert Carter of the 22nd Massachusetts. “I felt death in my very bones all day.” George Bicknell of the 17th Maine wrote, “That there was not a man in our command who did not realize his position. Not one who did not see the letters of death before his vision... Never before nor since had such an universal fate seemed to hang over a command.”

At 7:00 a.m. the Union signal gun sounded from the center of the line and a heavy cannonade commenced on the enemy works. The men were ordered to fall in and, “They stood, with their muskets on their shoulders, their hearts beating violently in anticipation of the onset to be made in another moment.” Led by Carr’s division, Warren’s Second Corps and the two divisions of the Third were to launch the attack across the frostbitten ground and the other corps were to key their attack by the sound of Warren’s guns.

But there was not a sound from Warren on the left. Looking through his field glasses in the pale morning light, he was appalled by the formidable Confederate earthworks bristling with troops and artillery from A.P. Hill’s Corps. He decided that an attack would be suicidal and, on his own initiative, he called off the assault. “The works cannot be taken,” he told Meade. “I would sooner sacrifice my commission than my men.” “Old Snapping Turtle” Meade was infuriated by Warren’s insubordination, but reluctantly agreed with him and officially called off the offensive.

The 151st and the rest of Carr’s division remained in position until 12:30 p.m., and then marched to rejoin General French. All day the men suffered from cold and hunger—by now they had only hard bread and no coffee. Simon Cummins of the 151st dealt with it the best he could:

“We had five days rations dealt out to us and we ate them up about the third day. I got out and begged all I could and then I had to go with out a day and I came to a wagon stuck in the ditch and it was loaded with corn. I got three ears and made me a breakfast of that and a cup of coffee and some pork.”

Sixth Corps soldier Stevens remembered with horror, “Many of the men who were on the picket line that day and the night before were found, when the relief came around,

dead at their post frozen.” Accounts from 151st New York men contain no tales of death from the cold in the regiment but, without question, the western New Yorkers suffered miserably in the low temperatures.

Late the next morning, December 1, orders came down from General Meade to prepare to withdraw north of the Rapidan. The 151st New York started the march at 6:00 p.m. but was soon halted for nearly three hours while wagons and artillery moved ahead of them. The regiment crossed the Rapidan at Culpeper Ford a little after 3.30 a.m., December 2, and marched a mile further before bivouacking.

The rest of the Army of the Potomac was doing likewise that night of December 1-2. Its pickets built fires and kept up a show of force to keep the Rebels at bay until the withdrawal northward was completed. The last Federal troops crossed the Rapidan at about 10:00 a.m. on December 2.

General Carr summed up the rest of the campaign’s anti-climax: “My command moved from its bivouac near Culpeper Ford at 2 p.m., December 2, halted again at 4.30 p.m., resumed the march at 1 a.m., December 3, and reached [a point]... near Brandy Station at 6 a.m.”

The 151st marched back to the winter quarters that they had left one week earlier. The Mine Run campaign was over.

Aftermath

One soldier of the 151st summed up the weeklong campaign as follows:

“We began the campaign with about 350 men in our regiment. After seven full days and nights of fighting and skirmishing in the thick woods and under brush, I learned that our regiment lost between fifty and sixty men killed and wounded. During the entire time the weather was bitter cold but we were not allowed to light any fires. It was a miserable life. Nothing but cold coffee and hard bread and the constant fighting. I suspect that the Rebels suffered as much as we did.”

Regarding the 151st New York’s casualties, list it is interesting that forty-three men were reported as wounded in action, yet the list compiled for this essay contains only thirty-seven names, three of whom were taken prisoner after being wounded, whereas the *Official Records* lists forty-three wounded and one missing. I could not locate six of the wounded men—possibly their wounds did not require surgical treatment, such as what happened to Sam Prier. Of the thirty-seven wounded men listed below, eleven died of their wounds, ten men were eventually discharged, and one man transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps for the balance of his enlistment.

Another interesting fact concerns one of the soldiers from Company B, John Whelan, who had served in the British Army a decade earlier, where he had participated in one of the most famous assaults in history. In 1854 during the Crimean War, Whelan was one of 600 cavalymen at the battle of Balakava who charged into “the valley of death” made famous by Lord Tennyson in his poem, “The Charge of the Light Brigade”. Whelan served in the British Army from 1853 to June 1856, after which he emigrated to Niagara Falls. In 1862 he joined the 151st to again charge into battle—at Payne’s Farm.

The cost of the Mine Run campaign in the 151st was actually greater than it initially appeared. In the end, thirty-four men never rejoined the regiment. These men, as Captain Coleman wrote to the *Niagara Falls Gazette* newspaper, “Stood to their post like true soldiers. The regiment has been highly praised by brigade and division commanders,

and also by the troops who relieved us, being the 17th Maine Infantry, First Division, Third Corps.”

Indeed, the 151st New York’s baptism of fire had been a fierce one, and in a campaign that is today largely forgotten.

As they settled into their winter huts near Brandy Station, the men of the 151st did not know it, but their beloved Third Corps would be broken up in the spring, and they would be transferred to the Sixth Corps. They would be back fighting in the Wilderness in just five months, only a few miles from Payne’s Farm. The regiment fought in the struggles of the Overland, Shenandoah, Petersburg, and Appomattox campaigns, and the pursuit of remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia into southwestern Virginia, before returning to Washington D.C. in June 1865 to be mustered out. The men of the 151st returned home to the villages and quiet fields of western New York, again civilians, but forever brothers who had been “baptized with fire” in Payne’s farm fields.

Men of the 151st New York Killed at Payne’s Farm

Name	Rank	Company	Age at Enlistment	Cause of Death
Balcom, Francis	Corpl.	G	38	
Brooks, William H.	Private	F	18	
Chapman, Henry	Private	I	30	
Donnaly, Thomas	Private	B	44	
Dwinell, John	Private	D	41	
Fisk, Myron	Corpl.	K	26	
Moronel, John	Sergt	B	24	Ball entered brain through eye, passing diagonally through the brain. Lived about three hours but never spoke after receiving his mortal wound
Willmore, Charles	Private	C	24	Ball struck head, killing instantly
Wilcox, Sylvanus	Captain	H	24	Ball entered thigh, severing the femoral artery. Bled to death.

Men of the 151st New York Wounded at Payne’s Farm

Name	Rank	Company	Age at Enlistment	Description of Wound
Birdsall, Seth A.	Private	K	24	
Bissinger, Joseph	Private	E	21	Died of wounds on 12/22/1863 at Fairfax Seminary Hospital, Fairfax Va.
Brady, John T.	Private	G	28	Discharged for disability on 10/01/1864 at DeCamp Hospital, Davids Island, New York Harobr
Caldwell, William R.	Corpl.	G	33	
Enright, Thomas	Private	G	22	
Fitzgerald, James	Private	G	26	Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps
Gage, William H.	Private	D	20	Discharged on 4/24/1864
Gillseppe, Leander	Private	G	20	Died of wounds on 5/17/1864
Gwynne, John	Private	G	22	Discharged in May 1864
Kelly, John	Private	G	25	
Monroe, William	Private	G	21	
Spaulding, Christopher	Private	A	44	Died from lockjaw as a result of wounds received, at Brandy Station, 12/03/1863.
Steinhauer, Philip	Private	E	18	Wounded at Payne’s Farm 11/27/1863, died on the field, 11/28/1863
Stout, William T.	Private	K	32	

Bradley, Ethan T.	Private	I	24	Discharged for disability on 1/24/1864 at Second Division hospital, Alexandria Va.
EnEarl, Henry Jr.	Corpl.	I	44	Discharged for disability on 8/24/1864 at Auger Hospital, Alexandria Va.
Evans, Evan	Private	F	27	Died of wounds on 12/22/1864 at hospital in Alexandria Va.
Mahanna, Robert	Private	B	21	Ball struck bone on left arm above elbow, arm possibly amputated. Discharged 1864.
Bragdon, Theodorre	Private	F	30	Died at regimental hospital at Brandy Station, Va. on 2/26/1864 of chronic diarrhea
Kohler, William	Private	H	28	Wounded at Payne's Farm. Died of "lung disease" on 2/05/1864 caused by a ball wounded to the chest rec'd on 1/18/1864.
Silk, Alfred	Private	F	25	Died of wounds on 2/05/1864.
Burbridge, John	Private	I	18	Discharged for disability on 2/13/1864 at Third Division Hospital, Alexandria Va.
Scutt, Elwin A.	Private	I	18	Shot through ankle and discharged for disability on 2/24 at Mansion House Hospital, Alexandria Va.
Stebbins, William	Corpl.	H	24	Died of "lung fever" caused by a bullet to the chest, 1/11/1864 at Third Division hospital, Alexandria Va.
Warner, Stephan	Private	I	32	
Wetherbee, John M.	Private	G	23	
Kinney, Hazand	Private	F	40	Wounded and captured on 12/03/1863, Confederate doctor unable to save his life. Died as POW at Richmond on 12/19/1863
Whelan, John	Sergt.	B	33	Flesh wound to right thigh, six inches below the hip; severe but not dangerous
Damerow, William	Private	B	18	Left shoulder and arm, no bone affected; flesh wound.

Selected References

- Beaudry, Paul Stephen, *The Forgotten Regiment; History of the 151st New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, Cleveland: Inchem Publishing, 1995.
- Cummins, Simon B. (Jones, Melvin, ed.), *Give God the Glory*, revised edition, Grand Rapids MI: Parts Press, 1997.
- Graham, Martin, and Skoch, George, *Mine Run: A Campaign of Lost Opportunities, October 21, 1863-May 1, 1864*, second edition, Lynchburg VA: H.E. Howard Company, 1987.
- Haley, John (Silliker, Ruth L., ed.), *The Rebel Yell & The Yankee Hurrah: The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer*, Camden ME: Down East Books, 1985.
- Howell, Helena Adelaide, *Chronicles of the One Hundred Fifty-first Regiment*, New York City, 1911.
- Jaynes, Gregory, *The Killing Ground*, Alexandria VA: Time Life Books, 1986.
- Johnson, Robert U. and Buel, Clarence, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. IV*, New York: The Century Company, 1886-1887.
- Jones, John B., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, Vol. II, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1866.
- Linderman, Gerald F., *Embattled Courage*, New York: Free Press, 1987.
- Reed, Richard, *Niagara County in the Civil War*, Lockport NY: Niagara County Historical Society, n.d.

Robertson, James, *The Stonewall Brigade*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.

Stevens, George T., *Three Years in the Sixth Corps*, Albany: S.R. Gray Publisher, 1866.

Swinton, William, *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*, Blue & Grey Press, 1998.

United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 29, Part 1*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1888-1901.

Worsham, John H., *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1912.

Dennis Schank and Scott Schotz are members of the 151st New York Memorial Regiment reenactment group from Niagara County, New York