

**A DOCUMENTARY AND LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS OF
THE BUCKLAND MILLS BATTLEFIELD (VA042)**

Submitted to

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1849 C STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20240**

Prepared by

STEPHEN FONZO

**BUCKLAND PRESERVATION SOCIETY
8230 BUCKLAND MILL RD
GAINESVILLE, VA 20155**

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THE BUCKLAND MILLS BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE: DEFINING FEATURES

Following traditional military analysis of battlefields, the National Park Service (NPS) employs a method called the KOCOA approach, for identifying Key Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, and Avenues of Approach and Retreat (Table 1). In a KOCOA analysis of battlefields, defining landscape features are those that are mentioned in battle accounts and which can be located on the ground. Defining features possess significance to the ultimate success or failure of the regiments in battle, establish the battlefield boundaries, and allow archeologists to select areas of survey with the highest potential to yield information and material culture relating to the battle. Defining features may be natural or cultural (e.g., buildings and roads) in origin.

Table 1: Definitions of KOCOA Battlefield Evaluation System

Battlefield Element	Definition	Examples
Key Terrain	A portion of the battlefield, possession of which gives an advantage to the possessor.	Road junctions, bridges, high ground.
Observation and Fields of Fire	Any point on the landscape that allows observation of the movements, deployments, and activity of the enemy that is not necessarily key terrain, offers opportunity to see over an area and acquire targets, and allows flat-trajectory weapons to be brought to bear on the enemy.	High ground, sloping approaches to entrenched positions.
Cover and Concealment	Landforms or landscape elements that provide protection from fire and hide troop positions from observation.	Walls, structures, forests, ravines, riverbanks, entrenchments, ditches.
Obstacles	Landscape elements that hinder movement and affect the ultimate course of the battle.	Rivers, walls, dense vegetation, fortifications, ravines, ditches.
Avenues of Approach	Corridors used to transfer troops between the core battle area and outer logistical areas.	Roads, paths, creek beds, railroads.

Two previous studies of the Buckland Mills Battlefield each yielded preliminary lists of defining features. The 1992 NPS Civil War Sites Advisory Committee study produced a survey form and corresponding map of the battlefield boundaries, based upon documentary research. The 2006 Louis Berger, Inc. investigations, which included archeological survey and documentary research, resulted in the completion of a report that contained a more detailed list of defining features. The Berger archeological survey focused on and illuminated one area of the battlefield, near Vint Hill Road and mostly on Buckland Farm, and the subsequent report acknowledged that further research would be “required to establish the battlefield core and study area boundaries” (Bedell 2006: 42¹). More intensive documentary research has now identified a refined and expanded list of significant battlefield features (Table 2, page 24) that are mentioned in accounts and which can be located on the ground using details from these accounts. These defining features of the battlefield support the boundaries drawn by the American Battlefield

¹ Bedell, John (2006), *Archeological and Historical Investigations of the Buckland Mills Battlefield, Buckland, Virginia*, The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington DC.

Protection Program (ABPP) of the NPS on its Buckland Mills Battlefield (VA042) Map (ABPP 2007). A comparison of the many firsthand battle narratives that exist shows that many features of the battlefield landscape fall under more than one KOCOAs category. As there are many key terrain features on the battlefield that determined the course of events, the discussion of key terrain will include a comparison of various battle narratives, which are collected and annotated in the following “Primary Sources” section.

Key Terrain

Nearly all primary accounts of the battle discuss the *bridge at Buckland* and each side’s desire to access and control it to prevent the opponent from crossing Broad Run, the primary obstacle of the battlefield. For at least two hours on the morning of October 19th (approximately 10:00AM-12:00PM), General J.E.B. Stuart held a position on the west side of the bridge, with artillery and sharpshooters placed in the town, thwarting any attempt by Kilpatrick’s cavalry to cross. According to Kilpatrick, “he occupied a strong position on the opposite side of Broad Run, which could only be crossed at a bridge and a ford 1 mile below” (OR 1890: 380-384). With the bridge in Confederate control, the shape of the battle changed, as Stuart noted, “very soon they appeared to abandon the attempt in my front while moving detachments toward my flanks” (OR 1890: 438-454). This maneuver by Kilpatrick involved sending part of Custer’s brigade, with Pennington’s battery, to the hills at Cerro Gordo, and part down to the ford one mile below the town, while Davies’ brigade massed in the woods on the eastern banks of Broad Run ready for an attack. Though possession of the bridge was crucial, its location on the open ground of the Warrenton turnpike made anyone attempting to cross vulnerable to artillery and musket fire. As James H. Kidd of the 6th Michigan Cavalry noted in his 1908 memoir,

Custer rode up with his staff and escort, and halted in the road, making a conspicuous group. Stuart's cannoneers planted a shell right in their midst, which caused a lively scattering, as they had no desire to be made targets of for that kind of artillery practice. Fortunately no one was killed.

At around noon, Stuart gave up his position in the town and his control of the bridge, feigning retreat towards Warrenton in order to set a trap for Kilpatrick’s cavalry that Fitzhugh Lee, commanding the other division of Stuart’s cavalry, had conceived earlier that morning. The trap itself hinged upon Stuart luring Kilpatrick’s cavalry far enough down the turnpike that Fitzhugh Lee could regain the bridge and cut off any Federal attempt at re-crossing Broad Run. The plan nearly succeeded, though Custer with most of his brigade was not cut off from the bridge during retreat because he had decided not to follow Davies’ brigade down the turnpike in the afternoon. Thus, as Fitzhugh Lee moved up towards Buckland from the direction of Auburn to flank Kilpatrick, he encountered Custer’s brigade waiting and resting just south of the turnpike on the hills at Buckland Farm. E. A. Paul, traveling with Kilpatrick, wrote that immediately after Custer retreated from the powerful attack led by Fitzhugh Lee, Custer managed to control the bridge for a short time as many of his men crossed to safety: “Once across the river, the bridge was held, though some of the men were entirely out of carbine ammunition, and resort was had to Colt’s revolvers, in which the officers took a conspicuous part” (Moore and Everett 1863: 563-564). This position did not last, however, and according to Davies, who had been charged on the rear and flank by Hampton’s Division from beyond New Baltimore to Buckland, “arriving

within 1 mile of Buckland Mills I learned that the enemy's infantry had driven General Custer's command across Broad Run, and held the bridge and fords at the mills" (OR 1890: 384-89). Once again, the course of battle shifted, as Davies was forced to march his brigade across woods and fields to attempt a more dangerous crossing further upstream of the Buckland Mill. Kidd wrote:

Fitzhugh Lee was between him and the bridge, he was hemmed in on three sides, and in order to escape, his men had to plunge in and swim their horses across Broad Run. The Fifth Michigan, except Major Clark's command, escaped in the same way. The wagons, which followed Davies, including Custer's headquarters wagon containing all his papers, were captured.

Personal narratives of the battle emphasize that the land immediately surrounding the bridge, in the *town of Buckland* itself, was key terrain which both sides attempted and succeeded in controlling at various times during the day. Stuart's "strong position" on the southern and western banks of Broad Run is noted by nearly every officer in the battle, with Custer even commenting that, "the position for his artillery was well chosen" (OR 1890: 389) and Kidd noting that "Stuart stationed a piece of artillery on the high ground so as to command the bridge and its approaches" (Kidd 1908). In opposition to this, Kilpatrick's cavalry formed their own strong positions on the eastern and northern banks of Broad Run, placing sharpshooters on the bluffs (site 44PW1603) overlooking the Buckland Mill and mill ford, Davies' brigade in the wooded town lots at the base of these bluffs, and Pennington's battery on the hills at Cerro Gordo (Waud, "Buckland from Mr. Hunton's House, scene of cavalry engagement with Stuart, 19 October 1863," Library of Congress). Alfred Waud wrote in his diary, published with an engraving of his drawing (*Harpers Weekly* 1863)²:

Mr. Hunton's family, consisting of his wife, three daughters, and some servants, took refuge in the cellar. Pennington's battery took position both sides of the house, and the sharp-shooters behind its corners and the trees and fences, all which show scars from the rebel bullets.

Later, in the afternoon, possession of the buildings, bluffs, bridge, and ford in the town of Buckland once again became important in the attempt to cut off the Federal retreat back to its infantry at Haymarket and Gainesville. Fitzhugh Lee's plan was to occupy these positions while the Federal cavalry pursued Stuart to Warrenton, but he met Custer's brigade, whose position required him to attack them. He attacked using a combination of direct charges, artillery fire, and flanking maneuvers, so as to cut them off in Buckland before crossing Broad Run. Fitzhugh Lee nearly succeeded in doing so, and in capturing Pennington's battery. However, some of his own men, in the 3rd Virginia Cavalry under Col. Thomas H. Owen, who led the charge against Custer, wrote that in the midst of this charge, some of Custer's men had managed to gain possession of high ground in Buckland that shielded the retreat and allowed many of their forces to cross the bridge and ford there. Lieutenant Colonel William R. Carter observed that, "a force of Infantry & artillery, which he had as a support, held the position around Buckland until the

² Waud, Alfred, "Army of the Potomac – Buckland, scene of a cavalry skirmish with Stuart," (Engraving with diary excerpt) *Harpers Weekly*, November 14, 1863, p. 725.

greater portion of his command had retreated by” (Carter 1998: 96-97). Lieutenant Robert T. Hubard, Jr. described this situation in the town further (Nanzig 2007):

Fitz Lee, getting in range, charged the pickets, etc., and we advanced beautifully till in 1000 yards of the bridge when a fire from 2 rifle pieces was opened on us from *across* [emphasis in the original document] the bridge. This was unexpected and caused some delay as we had to shell these guns off before we could get the bridge. Finally, a beautiful charge was made by the whole division, (part mounted, part on foot), and Hampton, driving [George A.] Custer’s Brigade back.

Captain William N. McDonald of Rosser’s Laurel Brigade also attests that, “Custer held the ford at Buckland against Fitz Lee, until most of Kilpatrick’s men escaped through the woods, and then withdrew with his artillery” (McDonald 1907: 201-203). Thomas Owen, in command of both Carter and Hubard, wrote in his official report that he finally managed to remove Custer’s men from the town by taking possession of the bridge and ford there, and eventually Cerro Gordo (OR 1890: 470-74):

Taking advantage of the opportunity, I pressed forward with my sharpshooters and took possession of the *bridge* and *ford* at Buckland, and forced those of the enemy who were cut off to leave the road to their right and flee across the run above the bridge and ford. This they did pell-mell, in great disorder and confusion, to save themselves the best way they could; but a great many were captured, killed, and drowned, and a number of their wagons and ambulances were also captured in their flight.

General Lee, seeing that they were badly routed and demoralized, ordered me to continue my pursuit, which I did, after crossing our battery and taking a good position on *the hill beyond the run* and firing several shells into the rear of their retreating column.

Custer’s command of ground in the town of Buckland during his retreat from Fitzhugh Lee is partly explained by S. A. Clark of the 1st Vermont Cavalry, who described the line of battle formed by Custer at around 3:30pm when Fitzhugh Lee’s attack commenced (Clark 1897: 108-110):

Custer formed his line with his left resting on Broad Run, where he posted a section of Pennington’s guns, supported by the First Vermont Cavalry. His right extended through a woods and along a ridge on which he placed the balance of his battery.

This line of battle formed 200 yards south of the Warrenton turnpike, facing south, and according to Clark’s account, occupying a length of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. While an intense struggle severely endangered Custer’s right flank, in the wooded ridge west of modern Vint Hill Road, the men on his left flank were close to the town, positioned near the wooded southern edge of town, and these troops used this location to their advantage in shielding Custer’s retreat (Clark 1897):

The two guns on the left were protected by two companies of the First Vermont, and they were getting pretty well crowded when Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, taking Lieutenant Clark of Company F, who was commanding Company L at this time, made a dash into the woods to the left of the guns, and began such a hollering, cheering and firing our revolvers rapidly, as to convey the impression that a heavy flanking party was on Lee's flank. The ruse worked long enough for Pennington to limber up his guns and fall back, which he did, Custer in person with the First Vermont, fighting every foot. Though pressed in flank, and nearly in their rear, they kept up with the guns, and crossed the run in fairly good shape. There was no denying Killpatrick's division was pretty well scattered, but Custer, with his men, was in no way demoralized, although pretty well squeezed. McClellan, in the "Life of Stuart," says: "Custer was a hard fighter, even in retreat, and he succeeded in saving his artillery, and recrossed Broad Run without serious disorder."

Returning to Lieutenant-Colonel Preston and the men with him: when Custer fell back with the guns, Lee's men came down the road on which we were making such a fuss, a brigade strong, paying little heed to us, as the run was said to be impassable, and they felt pretty sure of us. They were on our flank and front, and felt sure they could take us in later. It looked very much that way to Preston and myself. But we worked on the plan of "not captured until you're caught." Colonel Preston placed the men in compact form, making a bold front, and requested me to look for a crossing of the run. Good luck showed us a crossing, which was an old mill race or something of the kind. We quickly passed over a few men, dismounting them to protect the crossing of the balance of the men, which was quickly and quietly done.

The 1st Vermont has crossed a ford on Broad Run at the Kinsley mill race. Possession of this concealed ford allowed a safer retreat for the Union cavalry while the ford at the Buckland mill was being taken again by the Confederates. Both fords, centrally located where heavy fighting took place in the morning and afternoon, were clearly key terrain as well as avenues of retreat, given the nature of Fitzhugh Lee's plan to trap the Federal troops at Buckland and given the difficult obstacles presented by Broad Run's steep banks and high water.

Though obvious as an avenue of approach and retreat, the *Warrenton turnpike* was also key terrain that both sides were trying to control. Kilpatrick's early afternoon pursuit of Hampton's Division, under Stuart, to beyond New Baltimore, and Custer's decision at the same time to occupy a position along the turnpike just west of the town were attempts at controlling the open ground of fields and hills that stretched along both sides of the road between New Baltimore and Buckland, with the exception of a wooded area nearly one mile west of the Buckland bridge. Stuart's Adjutant at the time, William W. Blackford says of the road, "It was a broad, straight turnpike road, and as far as the eye could reach their column of splendidly equipped cavalry came marching on with flags fluttering and arms glittering in the bright autumn sunshine" (Blackford 1993). George M. Neese, in Chew's Virginia Battery, approached Buckland from the direction of Auburn to support Fitzhugh Lee's advancing division as they expected to gain the rear and flank of Kilpatrick's cavalry under Davies while they moved westward along the seemingly open turnpike. Neese describes the surprise felt by many of Fitzhugh Lee's division by explaining, "when we arrived within about a mile of Buckland we

encountered the enemy, with cavalry and artillery posted right on the road” (Neese 1911: 230). William Carter also mentions this initial encounter with Custer’s brigade (Carter 1998: 96-97), emphasizing the importance of controlling the turnpike:

We soon captured the picket on the road to Greenwich and pressed on; but came upon a heavy force of the enemy stationed on the hills around Buckland. Dismounting our sharpshooters, we advanced, driving back the enemy & finally getting possession of the pike at Buckland.

As soon as Fitzhugh Lee’s division, moving northward, had massed a large force in the wooded ridge west of modern Vint Hill Road and extending all the way to the turnpike, they commenced their attack on Custer’s brigade, part of whom remained on the road as a reserve. Hearing the first artillery blasts and interpreting them as a sign to complete the trap which Fitzhugh Lee had set, Stuart charged Davies’ brigade eastward on the turnpike, out of New Baltimore and towards Buckland. E. A. Paul assesses the danger of the situation thus (Moore and Everett 1863: 563-64):

The extreme danger of the command as situated was seen at a glance by General Kilpatrick, and he dispatched Lieutenant Hickey with orders to General Davies to fall back at once, as he was in danger of being cut off. General Davies had in part anticipated the order, for upon hearing firing at his rear, had fallen back to within one mile and a half of General Custer’s brigade, and was there awaiting orders when the messenger arrived. While this was transpiring, the Fifth Michigan, Colonel Alger, was deployed as skirmishers to so far as possible fill up the gap between the two brigades and keep back a threatened movement of the enemy to divide the command. *A severe struggle now took place for possession of the pike* – our forces trying to hold it so as to enable Davies to pass and take up a new position, while the enemy were determined that the movement should not be made. Having both infantry and cavalry, in this they were successful.

By sometime around 4:00PM, Stuart had forced Davies to retreat from his position at New Baltimore. Willard W. Glazier of the 2nd New York Cavalry, who was at the front of Davies’ brigade when the attack began, explains (Glazier 1875: 324-25):

The onset was terrible and we were taken completely by surprise. Lee and his cavalry had been sent by a circuitous route with the design of falling upon our rear, and having come upon a small detachment of Union infantry at Thoroughfare Gap, he had cut his way through their lines and advanced by an unpicketed road upon our troops. Here by a preconcerted movement with Stuart, he begun the attack.

Thus, in order to gain possession of the turnpike near New Baltimore, where Davies held a strong position, the Confederates had to first gain possession of the perpendicular Thoroughfare Gap Road, which follows modern Route 600. According to Stuart’s report, “the enemy at first offered a stubborn resistance to my attack” (OR 1890: 438-454), and while Davies led the countermarch on the turnpike, his brigade fought as they moved until arriving within one mile of

Buckland, where two ridges of low hills intersect the turnpike. Here Davies realized the seriousness of the trap into which the Confederates placed his brigade (OR 1890: 384-89):

Arriving within 1 mile of Buckland Mills I learned that the enemy's infantry had driven General Custer's command across Broad Run, and held the bridge and fords at the mills. At the same time a column of infantry, coming in on my right from the direction of Auburn, threw out skirmishers and attacked my column. I sent out the Fifth New York, under Major Hammond, to hold them in check, which was successfully done.

I sent forward my wagons, artillery, and the rest of my column to the left, with instructions to cross Broad Run and make toward Hay Market, and then, with the First West Virginia Cavalry and the Second New York, attacked and drove back the rebel cavalry that were charging my rear. This done, I ordered the whole command across Broad Run, and moved through the fields and woods toward Hay Market.

With Custer having been driven out of his position around the town, Stuart had gained possession of the turnpike from west of New Baltimore to the low hills one mile west of Buckland, and Fitzhugh Lee had gained possession of the bridge, ford, and town. As Fitzhugh Lee's infantry and dismounted men concealed in the woods near Davies now attacked his flank, he was surrounded on three sides and abandoned his position on the turnpike, ordering his entire brigade to move to their left, over woods and fields to find another crossing over Broad Run. Henry C. Meyer, in the 2nd New York with Glazier, summarizes this series of events by writing (Meyer 1911: 65-69):

We had been driving the enemy during the morning toward Warrenton, and had halted to feed when a force of the enemy came unexpectedly in between Custer's and Davies's brigades, overwhelmed Custer's command, and drove it back across Broad Run; and *by taking possession of the bridge and the Warrenton pike*, had cut off General Davies's command, which was then vigorously attacked by Hampton's force, which Davies had been pushing toward Warrenton up to this time.

By 6:00PM, Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee continued their charges of the Union cavalry east of Broad Run, towards Haymarket and Gainesville, respectively. Of the charge along the Warrenton turnpike, Colonel Thomas Owen, commanding a brigade under Fitzhugh Lee, observes (OR 1890: 470-74):

General Lee, seeing that they were badly routed and demoralized, ordered me to continue my pursuit, which I did, after crossing our battery and taking a good position on the hill beyond the run and firing several shells into the rear of their retreating column. I advanced my command at a trot until I reached within about 100 yards of them, when I ordered a charge of the Third Regiment, and then the Second, and then the First Regiments, driving the enemy back upon a reserve of infantry, capturing and killing a good many, especially infantry. After driving them about 3 miles, and it becoming very dark, I was ordered to withdraw, which

I did with a good many prisoners, horses, equipments and arms, &c., leaving a picket behind, and encamped for the night near Buckland. Thus ended a fight which crowned our arms with the most signal cavalry victory of the war, as the enemy's cavalry, supported by infantry, was worse routed and demoralized than I have ever known them before.

Thus by sundown, the Confederates had unequivocally gained possession of the turnpike from New Baltimore to well beyond and east of Broad Run. Just how far this command of terrain extended is illuminated by S. A. Clark of the 1st Vermont, in his description of his regiment's movements to get back to the turnpike after crossing the ford at the Kinsley mill (Clark 1897: 108-110):

It was now getting dark, and we found ourselves in a thicket of scrub pines, equally hid from view of the enemy as of our own men. By going single file, and twisting and turning, and guessing at our direction from the sound of firing, we kept moving until we came near the main pike, on which we saw troops moving by in the dusk. We could not distinguish who or what they were. Keeping our men in the shade of the woods, Colonel Preston rode forward and discovered the troops to be the Sixth Corps [picketing outside of Gainesville], just relieving Custer's men on the pike. The Sixth Corps quickly sent Stuart the other way.

It is clear from every account of the battle on either side that the Confederate victory at Buckland depended on possession of the Buckland bridge and the Warrenton turnpike; access to "unpicketed" avenues of approach, such as the Greenwich Road from Auburn and the Thoroughfare Gap Road where it met the turnpike just east of New Baltimore; and, perhaps most significantly, the unintentional but complete separation of Davies' and Custer's brigades on the battlefield. In a letter to his mother written two days after the battle, Robert E. Lee, Jr., who was Lieutenant Ordnance Officer in his brother's brigade, commanded by John Chambliss, emphasized the importance of separating Kilpatrick's two brigades (Lee 1863):

The last fight was near Buckland on the Warrenton & Alexandria Turnpike; when Genl. Stuart retreated designedly before them towards Warrenton & Our Division under Genl. Fitz Lee came up perpendicular to the Pike & cut their column in two. The surprise was complete & we ran them as far as we could see them. Captured half of their ambulances, one wagon loaded with ammunition, and one loaded with medical stores & 300 prisoners.

The "*low range of hills*" or "*the woods*" along the Warrenton turnpike, one mile west of the Buckland bridge, is the key terrain element over which Lee "came up perpendicular to the Pike," and the terrain feature over which the Confederates had complete control throughout the duration of the battle. It is also the primary landscape feature which kept Kilpatrick's brigades apart. Remarkably, this landscape feature fits within every KOCOBA battlefield element category. On a modern USGS topographical map, this low range of hills is clearly visible as two ridges, running north-south and extending one mile south of modern Route 29 and over one-half mile north of the road, for a total length of approximately 1.5 miles. The easternmost ridge extends in a nearly straight line along the western side of modern Vint Hill Rd (Route 215). The

westernmost ridge extends in a northwesterly direction south of the turnpike, where the ridge is wider, and then extends to the north above the turnpike. A small tributary divides the ridges and empties into Broad Run behind the house at the historic Buena Vista Farm. The ridges are situated at the current locations of Route 215 and the Battlefield Baptist Church. Soldiers give these ridges a variety of names in their accounts, but every account that mentions the hills places them in the same location on the battlefield, and all of them agree that the Confederate position here was responsible for the devastating charges and serious losses inflicted upon the Union cavalry on the afternoon of October 19th. There was but one attempt, by Custer's brigade, to take a position on the wooded portion of these two ridges, but this maneuver failed nearly instantly, almost leading to the capture of Pennington's battery and directly resulting in a quick Federal retreat and the loss of a battalion from the 5th Michigan Cavalry. From positions on the same two ridges, mounted and dismounted Confederates forced Davies' brigade from the turnpike, capturing many prisoners and chasing others directly to the steep banks of Broad Run. The 2007 ABPP Buckland Mills Battlefield Map includes these ridges within the core area and study area of the battlefield, but until now no satisfactory account of the role of this key terrain in the battle has been given in a secondary source. What follows is a comparative discussion of the "low range of hills" as it is described in soldiers' primary accounts.

Fitzhugh Lee's division of cavalry maintained possession of the two ridges throughout the day, advancing around noon in a northern direction, from the southern end of this high ground to its northern extents, arriving at the Warrenton turnpike by 4:00PM. Therefore, an examination of accounts by men in Fitzhugh Lee's division provides the best starting point in understanding this landscape feature. In the early morning of the 19th, Fitzhugh Lee's division was moving from Greenwich to Auburn, marching roughly parallel to Stuart's division on the Warrenton turnpike. By 10:00AM, when Stuart began receiving fire from Kilpatrick's cavalry and artillery upon his position in Buckland, he also received a message from Fitzhugh Lee (OR 1890: 438-454):

I received a dispatch from Major-General Lee stating that he was moving to my support, and suggesting that I should retire before the enemy with Hampton's division in the direction of Warrenton, drawing the enemy after me, when he would come in from Auburn and attack them in flank and rear.

The strategy was unconventional, but the plan simple and clear. Fitzhugh Lee's division was composed almost entirely of seasoned Virginia cavalry regiments and artillery batteries, and he must have relied on his own knowledge and his men's knowledge of the terrain around Buckland in developing this tactic. Giving credit to his brigade commanders and staff officers, Fitzhugh Lee himself offers only a brief account of the battle at Buckland (OR 1890: 462-64):

On the 19th, I moved back via Catlett's to Auburn, from which place, by a preconcerted plan, I marched against the rear and flank of Kilpatrick at Buckland, General Stuart (in command of Hampton's division), in accordance with the same plan, having fallen back to within 2 miles of Warrenton, in order to draw Kilpatrick on. He was easily misled, and General Stuart having attacked him in front while the attack on his flank was progressing, his command was routed and pursued until after dark, losing some 200 prisoners, several wagons and ambulances; among them, I learn, was the head-quarters wagon of General

Custer. Prisoners were also taken from the First Army Corps near Gainesville, behind which Kilpatrick had taken refuge. I encamped that night at Buckland, and the next day (20th) recrossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford.

Lee's note that Stuart attacked the Federal cavalry on the turnpike while the flank attack was already in progress highlights the fact that the flank attack, which was really an attack against the separated brigade under Custer, occurred first, at 3:30PM according to James Kidd of the 6th Michigan. This attack served as the signal for Stuart to turn on Davies' brigade on the turnpike. Lee's division, composed of at least eleven regiments and two batteries, took up a distance of more than one mile, and their attack came from two directions: from the wooded ridge west of Custer's position near Buckland, and from the direction of Auburn, along the road to Greenwich.

Thomas Owen commanded Wickham's brigade under Fitzhugh Lee, and he describes the "flank attack" in slightly more detail:

Monday morning, the 19th, I withdrew my pickets and moved about daybreak to Auburn via Bristoe and Catlett's Stations. Having learned here through a courier that General Stuart, commanding Hampton's division, had fallen back nearly to Warrenton before the enemy, General Fitz. Lee, with his division, determined to strike the flank of the enemy about Greenwich or Buckland, and advancing on for this purpose, the Second Regiment in front, came upon and captured the enemy's pickets near Greenwich.

My command being in front, I was ordered to dismount all of my sharpshooters and deploy them on the right and left of the road, and bring up Breathed's battery and put it in position. This being done in face of shot and shell, as soon as General Stuart heard our guns he faced about and attacked them in front, while General Lee attacked them furiously on their flank. They were soon routed and made to flee precipitately across the run near Buckland for safety.

Specifically, Owen's account refers to the portion of Lee's attack that came from the direction of Auburn, on what was known as the Greenwich Road. As the Confederates had captured the only Union pickets at Greenwich during their advance, they had complete control of the high ground that runs along modern Vint Hill Rd, enough so to deploy dismounted sharpshooters and a battery. Archeologists from Louis Berger, Inc. located this artillery position in their battlefield investigations, on a hill that extends from a field on Buckland Farm westward across Vint Hill Rd, approximately 2/3 of a mile south of modern Route 29 (Bedell 2006: 24). Owen's account closely follows that of William Carter (Carter 1998: 96-97):

At Auburn we turned off towards Buckland to strike Kilpatrick in the flank & rear as he was pursuing Gen. Stuart down the pike towards Warrenton. We soon captured the picket on the road to Greenwich and pressed on; but came upon a heavy force of the enemy stationed on the hills around Buckland. Dismounting our sharpshooters, we advanced, driving back the enemy & finally getting possession of the pike at Buckland.

As surprised as the men of Fitzhugh Lee's division were to encounter Custer's brigade on the high ground around Buckland, Custer's men were even more surprised, in part because the

attack upon them had not come merely from the open ground along the road to Greenwich, but had also come from wooded high ground to the west of this road. Custer explains in his official report (OR 1890: 389-92):

The First Brigade took the advance at this point [after 1:00PM]. I was preparing to follow when information reached me that the enemy were advancing on my left from the direction of Greenwich. I had scarcely time to place my command in position to resist an attack from that direction before the enemy's skirmishers appeared. Pennington's Battery opened upon them, while the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, under Major Kidd, was thrown forward and deployed as skirmishers. One gun of Pennington's battery, supported by the First Vermont Cavalry, was placed on my extreme left. The First Michigan Cavalry, under Major Brewer, acted as a reserve and as a support for the remaining five guns of the battery. The Fifth Michigan Cavalry, under Colonel Alger and the Seventh Michigan Cavalry, under Colonel Mann, *were engaged in the woods on my right*. At first I was under the impression that the skirmishers of the enemy were composed of dismounted cavalry, but later developments convinced me that it was a very superior force of infantry that now confronted me.

After completing his positions for attack the enemy advanced upon me; in doing so exposed a line of infantry more than a mile in extent, and at the same time he opened a heavy fire upon me from his artillery. Pennington's battery, aided by the Sixth Michigan Cavalry poured a destructive fire upon the enemy as he advanced, but failed to force him back. A desperate effort was made to capture my battery. Pennington continued to fire until the enemy were within 20 yards of his guns. He was then compelled to limber up and retire to the north bank of Broad Run.

The sudden appearance of a force "more than a mile in extent," which Custer had not seen coming, was only possible because this force had formed a concealed position along the length of the wooded ridge to west of the Greenwich Road. This line of woods is clearly visible in the Alfred Waud sketch, "Buckland from Mr. Hunton's House, scene of cavalry engagement with Stuart, 19 October 1863" (Library of Congress). It is the only line of woods dividing an otherwise "hilly but open and fine agricultural region," as noted by Union topographical engineers (Plate VII, *The Official Atlas of the Civil War*, Govt. Printing Office, 1891-1895). The right of Custer's impromptu line of battle was placed in these woods, and his regiments there (the 5th and 7th Michigan) became engaged instantly with the superior force of the enemy already in position. In a letter written to his friend Annette Humphrey on the day after battle, Custer explains the bitter loss of men from the 5th Michigan in these woods, blaming Kilpatrick for allowing the Confederates positioned there to separate the division and part of his brigade (Merrington 1987):

My scouts had informed me of heavy columns of infantry moving around on both my flanks, evidently intending to cut me off. I informed Genl. K. of this and advised him to guard against it, but he did not believe me, and ordered me to halt until the last Brigade passed me, then to follow it, on the road to Warrenton. Scarcely had the first brigade passed when the enemy made a vigorous attack

from the direction I had forseen, bringing both infantry and artillery against me, at the same time throwing a column between the first Brigade and mine, thus cutting me off from the main body. I held my ground until the last moment. The rebel infantry had charged my battery, nearly capturing the guns. Nothing but to retreat, which I did in good order. Now comes my trouble. Genl. K. without my knowledge, had detached Major Clark and one battalion of the 5th Michigan to skirmish in the woods. Had he given the order, as he should have done, through me, we should not now have to regret the loss of the Major and his entire battalion.

E. A. Paul's narrative, regarding the struggle to gain possession of the turnpike, explains that the 5th Michigan regiment was sent into these woods to fill the gap between the two brigades. That this gap, occupied by concealed Confederate forces, was one of the most dangerous positions on the field became apparent only after this order was given (by Kilpatrick, according to Custer's letter). Kilpatrick seems to have become aware, if only after the fact, of the strong force in front of Custer when he writes (OR 1890: 380-84):

The enemy's cavalry soon made its appearance, driving the Seventh Michigan in on General Custer. General Custer's skirmishers and his battery repulsed the rebel cavalry, driving it back on the infantry. He now brought forward artillery, and sent forward a strong line of infantry skirmishers, but his artillery was silenced and his skirmishers driven back.

General Davies in the meantime was slowly retiring [eastward] from the direction of New Baltimore, being closely pressed by a large force of Stuart's cavalry. The enemy in front of General Custer now returned to the attack. He (the enemy) advanced two lines of infantry skirmishers, supported on the flanks by cavalry. At the same time he opened afresh with his artillery. Seven guns was the largest number seen at any one time. Before this formidable advance General Custer was forced to retire.

James Kidd, commanding the 6th Michigan in the front and center of Custer's line of battle, gives the most details about the force brought against Custer's brigade, and the positions from which they attacked. According to Kidd's own words, his account is written for the purpose of explaining how, "Lee, who was coming up from Auburn through the woods to the left, with the brigades of Lomax, Chambliss and Wickham and Breathed's battery, would swing in across the pike" (Kidd 1908: 215) to separate Kilpatrick's cavalry from the bridge at Buckland, and how this plan "was neatly frustrated by one of those apparent accidents of war which make or unmake men, according as they are favorable or unfavorable" (Kidd 1908: 216). Kidd begins the main body of his narrative by describing the position occupied by his brigade in the early afternoon of the 19th (p. 217):

The Gainesville-Warrenton pike, after crossing Broad Run, is bounded on both sides by cleared farm lands, fringed about one-third of a mile back by woods. From the place of Custer's halt it was not more than 500 or 600 yards to these woods. The road runs in a westerly direction and the brigade was on the south side of it.

After allowing his men time to rest and forage while they enjoyed a safe point of observation, Custer ordered his brigade to form and march westward on the turnpike, towards the woods, with the 6th Michigan sent in advance, right to the edge of the woods (218-19):

“Major,” said he, “take position with your regiment about 500 yards toward those woods remain there until the command is in column on the pike, then follow and bring up the rear.”

The order was given with a caution to be careful, as the Seventh Michigan had been scouting near Greenwich and might be expected to come in from that direction. Greenwich is almost due south from Buckland Mills, whereas Auburn, from which place Fitzhugh Lee was approaching, lay considerably west of south.

The movement of the two commands began simultaneously. The Fifth Michigan, Pennington's battery, the First Michigan and First Vermont, with Custer and his staff leading, were in a few moments marching briskly in column on the Warrenton pike, which was not very far away from the starting point. The Sixth Michigan meantime proceeded in column of fours toward the place designated by General Custer, close up to the woods. Nothing had been seen or heard of Davies for some time. Everything was quiet. Nothing could be heard except the tramp of the horses' feet and the rumble of the wheels of Pennington's gun carriages, growing more and more indistinct as the distance increased.

The Sixth had gone about 250 or 300 yards and was approaching a fence which divided the farm into fields, when Captain Don G. Lovell, who was riding by the side of the commanding officer of the regiment (since reporting for duty, October 12, I had been in command of the regiment), suddenly cried out:

“Major, there is a mounted man in the edge of the woods yonder,” at the same time pointing to a place directly in front and about 200 yards beyond the fence.

This description reveals the Federal assumption that Fitzhugh Lee's division was positioned so far west as to not pose a threat, because they had not heard from their pickets and scouts sent in the direction of Greenwich, who presumably would have gained some sign of a nearer presence. This led Kidd himself to assume that the mounted man spotted by Captain Lovell was a cavalryman of the 7th Michigan, but he soon discovered otherwise, as the course of the battle suddenly changed (219-22):

“The general said we might expect some mounted men of the Seventh from that direction.”

“But that vidette is a rebel,” retorted Lovell, he is dressed in gray.”

“It can't be possible,” was the insistent reply, and the column kept on moving.

Just then, the man in the woods began to ride his horse in a circle.

“Look at that,” said Lovell; “that is a rebel signal; our men don't do that.”

The truth of the inference was too evident to be disputed. Things were beginning to look suspicious, and in another instant all doubt, if any remained, was set at rest. The horseman, after circling about a time or two, brought his horse

to a standstill facing in the direction from which we were approaching. There was a puff of smoke from the muzzle of his revolver or carbine, and a bullet whizzed by and buried itself in the breast of one of the horses in the first set of fours.

"There, - it," exclaimed Lovell. "Now you know it is a rebel, don't you?"

The information was too reliable not to be convincing, and the regiment was promptly brought front into line, which had hardly been accomplished, when shots began to come from other points in the woods, and no further demonstration was needed that they were full of confederates.

The fence was close at hand, and the command to dismount to fight on foot was given. The Sixth deployed along the fence and the Spencers began to bark. The horses were sent back a short distance, under cover of a reverse slope. The acting adjutant was dispatched to overtake Custer and report to him that we were confronted by a large force of confederates and had been attacked. Before he had started, the confederates displayed a line of dismounted skirmishers that extended far beyond both flanks of the regiment and a swarm of them in front. A Michigan regiment, behind a fence, and armed with Spencer carbines, was a dangerous antagonist to grapple with by a direct front assault, and Fitzhugh Lee's men were not eager to advance across the open field, but hugged the woods, waiting for their friends on the right and left to get around our flanks, which there was imminent danger of their doing, before relief could come. It did not, however, take Custer long to act. Putting the Fifth Michigan in on the right of the Sixth, he brought back Pennington's battery, and stationed the First Vermont mounted to protect the left flank, holding the First Michigan mounted in reserve to support the battery and to reinforce any weak point, and proceeded to put up one of the gamiest fights against odds seen in the war. Opposed to Custer's five regiments and one battery, Fitzhugh Lee had twelve regiments of cavalry, three brigades under Lomax, Owen and Chambliss and as good a battery – Breathed's – as was in the confederate service.

Before the dispositions described in the foregoing had been completed, Breathed's battery, which had been masked in the woods to the right and front of the position occupied by the Sixth Michigan, opened fire with shell. But Pennington came into position with a rush, and unlimbering two pieces, in less time than it takes to tell it, silenced the confederate artillery, firing over the heads of the Sixth Michigan skirmishers. Fitzhugh Lee pressed forward his dismounted line, following it closely with mounted cavalry, and made a desperate effort to cut off Custer's line of retreat by the bridge. This he was unable to do. The Sixth held on to the fence until the confederates were almost to it, and until ordered by Custer to retire, when they fell back slowly, and mounting their horses, crossed the bridge leisurely, without hurry or flurry, the battery and the other regiments, except the First and Fifth Michigan, preceding it, The First Michigan brought up the rear.

Fitzhugh Lee was completely foiled in his effort to get in Custer's rear, or to break up his flanks. Unfortunately, a portion of one battalion of the Fifth Michigan, about fifty men, under command of Major John Clark, with Captain Lee and Adjutant George Barse. Being dismounted in the woods on the right, they

were not able to reach their horses before being intercepted by the enemy's mounted men.

Fitzhugh Lee had attempted to flank Custer's brigade on the left, in a field on Buckland Farm, and on the right, on the turnpike itself, by launching attacks over open ground to the south, described in the accounts of Lee's men, and the wooded ridge to the west of Custer's position, described by Kidd. Lee was nearly successful, but Custer was able to shield his horses and battery on the opposite side of an eastern sloping hill, near the intersection of modern Routes 215 and 29. Most of Custer's brigade was ultimately close enough to the town to cross Broad Run at the bridge and fords before these were completely overtaken by Lee's command. After the war, Kidd had an opportunity to read other accounts and to speculate on the motives of the commanders in this battle, writing (224-25):

The battle was opened by Wickham's brigade of Virginians commanded by Colonel T. H. Owen of the Third Virginia cavalry. It was the First, Second and Third Virginia that led the advance. Pennington gave Breathed's battery much the worst of it.

The truth is that Fitz. Lee did not find Custer ready to oppose him, though it did not take him long to get ready, after he was attacked. Custer with most of his command was well on his way to follow Kilpatrick. Only one regiment was left behind, and that one regiment - the Sixth Michigan cavalry - was taken entirely by surprise when fired upon by the vidette, and was all that Colonel Owen had in front of him when he arrived and began the attack. It is possible that ignorance of what it was facing helped the Sixth Michigan to hold on till Custer could be notified and brought back. And again, it is possible that Custer was marching more slowly than the writer wots of; that he suspected the ruse which was being played by his old West Point instructor [Fitzhugh Lee was Custer's Instructor in West Point before the war broke out], and sent the regiment out there for the express purpose of developing the enemy, if enemy there was, making a feint of moving away so as to deceive, but keeping an ear to windward to catch the first sound of danger. It has always seemed to the writer that General Custer must have had a motive which did not appear on the surface, in giving that order. His order was to go 500 yards. Five hundred yards would have brought us to the woods. If he suspected that there might be an enemy there, no surer way to find out whether his suspicions were well founded or not could have been chosen. One thing is certain. He was back in an incredibly short space of time. It may be that he heard the sound of firing and was on his way when the adjutant found him.

Kidd believed that Fitzhugh Lee possessed the troops and positions necessary to block Custer from both Davies and Broad Run, and thereby inflict a much more serious loss. He astutely observes in his memoir (223):

Fitzhugh Lee made a mistake in halting to dismount. He should have charged the Sixth Michigan. Had he charged at once mounted as Rosser did in the Wilderness, with his overwhelmingly superior force at the moment of his arrival he must certainly have interposed between Custer and the bridge. He allowed one

regiment to detain his division until Custer could bring back his brigade, and get his regiments into position to support each other.

Another account from one of Custer's men, S. A. Clark of the 1st Vermont, describes the wooded ridge and further casts doubt on Killpatrick's ability to gather an appropriate understanding of Fitzhugh Lee's position there (Clark 1897: 108-110):

Killpatrick [sic] took Davies's Brigade and pushed on to, and beyond, New Baltimore after Stuart. Even when Killpatrick started, Fitzhugh Lee's column was in sight, loitering along the edge of the woods, waiting for Killpatrick to get a good start, so he could more effectually cut him off. Killpatrick, seeing the troopers of Lee, supposed them to be his flank protectors, as he was apprised troops would be sent for that purpose. Killpatrick, of course, gave no further thought to his flank, but pressed on after Stuart. Fitzhugh Lee, from his position, no doubt could not see all of Custer's brigade, and supposed the men he saw were just rear guard feeding their horses. Lee's and Killpatrick's suppositions were at fault, and well-nigh cost them dear, as Lee came out in sight of Buckland Mills, and he was somewhat surprised to see Custer in his path. Nothing daunted, Lee threw out a skirmish line a mile long, stoutly supported by mounted men, and attacked Custer at once. Custer had no alternative but fight or run, and he was not of the running kind, and at once made preparation to fight. Custer formed his line with his left resting on Broad Run, where he posted a section of Pennington's guns, supported by the First Vermont Cavalry. His right extended through a woods and along a ridge on which he placed the balance of his battery. Custer hardly had his men in position before Lee struck him. At the first sound of Lee's guns Stuart turned upon Davies and Killpatrick, attacking them in front and flank, forcing them back to Buckland, inflicting serious loss, and causing quite a stampede. This stampede placed Custer's right flank in a very critical position, and his line had to be quickly withdrawn to meet the new emergency.

Finally, the troopers of Davies' brigade reflect a third set of perspectives on the ridges that comprised the "low range of hills." As soon as Lee's flank attack upon Custer's brigade began, Stuart turned his command, Hampton's division, upon Davies' advancing column near New Baltimore. That Davies' first resisted this charge is indicated by the number of casualties in regimental records that identify the location of capture or injury at New Baltimore rather than Buckland. Willard Glazier of the 2nd New York indicates in one of his memoirs that his brigade was driven from their position near New Baltimore not just by the force of the charge, but by flanking attacks from Confederates who had gained possession of the road to Thoroughfare Gap (modern Route 600), and concealed cavalry from the south, presumably the advance guard of Chambliss' brigade (see above; Glazier 1875: 324-25). William Emslie of the 2nd New York describes the same experience in a letter to his father, written from camp on October 25th, saying, "we attacked then and drive them to Buckland Mills and fought about four hours and they fell back and we after them until we got to New Baltimore and the first thing we knew we were surrounded by infantry and cavalry" (Emslie 1863). This happened shortly after 3:30PM, at which point Davies' led his men on a countermarch back towards Buckland. He had made it, with the front of his brigade (which had been the rear) to within 1 mile of Buckland, where the

low range of hills intersects the turnpike, when, “at the same time a column of infantry, coming in on my right from the direction of Auburn, threw out skirmishers and attacked my column” (OR 1890: 384-89). In a separate book written about his experiences as a prisoner, Glazier describes this latter encounter and his regiment’s position when they took their last stand on the turnpike, and when he was captured along with many of his colleagues (Glazier 1868: 33-37):

The Harris Light [2nd New York], having been in front while advancing, by this sudden evolution was thrown in the rear, and was thus compelled to meet the desperate charges of the enemy in pursuit. Reaching *a little rise of ground in the road*, we made a stand, and for some time checked the advancing Rebels, by pouring into their ranks deadly volleys from our carbines and revolvers. Stuart, who commanded in person, saw clearly that he could dislodge us only by a charge, and, ordering it, led a brigade upon us. Our men stood firmly, and were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their advancing columns.

At this important juncture, my faithful horse was shot under me, and our little party, outnumbered ten to one, was hurled back by the overpowering shock of the Rebels, who rode directly over me. Injured severely by the fall of my horse, and by the charging squadrons that trod upon me, I lay in the mud for some time quite insensible, and, when returning to full consciousness, found that I was being carried hastily from the scene of action by a Rebel guard.

William Blackford, Stuart’s Adjutant, confirms the importance and position of this range of hills, while accurately suggesting that the ridges together occupied a distance of one-half mile from east to west: “A mile and a half from Buckland the road crosses a low range of hills, and behind these Stuart placed Hampton and then awaited the sound of Lee’s guns” (Blackford 1993). Blackford further writes,

Not seeing us, the enemy was just ascending the little rise behind which we were, not two hundred yards distant, when rapid firing of cannon in Lee’s direction announced his attack, and at the same moment our two columns were let loose, and at them we went.

Attacked in front and flank, they did not wait for us to get halfway to them before they broke, and then it was a race like a fox chase for five miles.

Henry McClellan, Stuart’s Assistant Adjutant General adds, “Now commenced the race for Buckland. Routed in front, and admonished by the artillery firing that an enemy had gained their rear, Kilpatrick’s men ran in a manner worthy of the occasion” (McClellan 1993: 393-397). Davies’ brigade lost that race, due to the positions held by the strong Confederate forces on the low range of hills and in the town of Buckland, and though they lost many men to capture, they extricated themselves from the trap by turning left and moving north along the ridge until they found a suitable crossing of Broad Run upstream of its hairpin turn. Retreat was perhaps the only advantage the Union forces derived from this key terrain feature, because every part of these ridges had been occupied by Confederate cavalry, infantry, and artillery except the region extending north of the Warrenton turnpike and west of Buena Vista.

The primary sources, so clear on almost every other aspect of the battlefield, offer little information about the main course of Davies’ retreat across Broad Run and over the woods and

fields towards Haymarket, where Union infantry supports were waiting. McClellan acknowledges that “some of the fugitives from Davies’ brigade crossed at Buckland with Custer; the remainder, now cut off from that ford, continued their flight toward Haymarket” (McClellan 1993: 393-97). Of this Davies says, “I sent forward my wagons, artillery, and the rest of my column to the left, with instructions to cross Broad Run and make toward Hay Market, and then, with the First West Virginia Cavalry and the Second New York, attacked and drove back the rebel cavalry that were charging my rear” (OR 1890: 384-389). The “fugitives” who crossed with Custer must have done so around 5:00PM, just before Custer’s remaining positions at the Buckland bridge and mill ford were overtaken, and they took the old Buckland to Haymarket toll road (the road bed of old Route 625) in their retreat, all the while receiving fire from Confederate artillery placed at Cerro Gordo. These routes of retreat for Custer’s brigade and a portion of Davies’ brigade are clearly visible on historic maps drawn during the war, specifically those of Warren and Sneden (Warren 1862; Sneden 1862)³. The majority of Davies’ command was still stuck in a difficult position on the rise, or ridge, in the turnpike, and Davies writes that, “I ordered the whole command across Broad Run, and moved through the fields and woods toward Hay Market” only after fighting a while on the ridge. The best account of this crossing is Henry Meyer’s description of Kilpatrick’s orders to inform Davies that he had been cut off from the turnpike and bridge (Meyer 1911: 65-69):

‘Meyer, somebody must get to Davies and let him know that Custer has been driven across Broad Run and that the enemy have got this bridge.’ On turning my horse to go back, he called out: ‘Tell him to make his way the best he can to Haymarket where he will find General Newton’s corps [1st Army Corps].’

I was unable to return across the bridge, as the enemy had the other end of it and were moving up the stream so as to intercept Davies, whom they knew was being driven back on them. Riding until beyond their line I saw some of Custer’s men, who had been cut off, come out of the woods at that point and cross the stream to escape, when I took advantage of the confusion to cross to the west side, trusting I would not be noticed and that the woods at that point would screen me from observation. Being familiar with the country I made my way around their flank and rear, having the sound of Davies’s firing to direct me to his whereabouts. I soon reached him and found him hard pressed. When I reported the situation, his men were rallied for another charge, which was led by Captain J. F. B. Mitchell, so as to gain time to permit a withdrawal, as directed. We then galloped across the country, the forces opposing following on our flanks, until we crossed Broad Run farther up towards Haymarket. Davies’s artillery had meanwhile been conducted away in safety under the guidance of Doctor Capehart, of the First West Virginia Cavalry, who knew the country well. The brigade was thus saved from serious loss; indeed, none other than the casualties in fighting. Custer’s and Davies’s brigades formed a junction when they reached the First Corps commanded by General Newton, and the enemy withdrew.

³ August 30, 1862, “Map of Battlefield of Manassas, Virginia,” by Secretary of War and Bvt. Major-General G. K. Warren; “March during Second Battle of Bull Run, August 28-31, 1862,” by Robert Knox Sneden. These routes of retreat are also shown on the 1933 Map of Prince William County (Routes 625, 682, and 683).

Further archival research and archeological investigations will be necessary to locate the precise locations of Davies' brigade in its cross-country maneuvers to Haymarket. However, several primary accounts describe the engagements in and around Haymarket that occurred just as Davies' had reached his infantry supports. These narratives of the final hours of the Battle of Buckland Mills provide evidence of the final key terrain feature in the battlefield – *the high, open ground at the Gainesville-Haymarket Pike*. This area is indicated on the 2007 ABPP map as two core areas in and around the town of Haymarket, on the one-half mile wide ridge of open land situated between modern Route 55 and the north fork of Broad Run. Davies' own summary of what happened shows that the battle was not yet over when he reached Haymarket, nor was the particular struggle of his brigade to find some ground they could control and protect from Stuart's persistent charges (OR 1890 388-89):

I struck the pike from Gainesville, through Thoroughfare Gap, about a mile below Hay Market, outside the pickets of the First Army Corps, just in time to check Lee's cavalry, which were coming down through the Gap to cut off my brigade. I at once placed my guns in position, and rallying my command, met and drove back his attack. I must here express my acknowledgments to the general commanding the division, who personally led several charges, and directed the formation and disposition of the men. I then fell back to Gainesville and went into camp.

Stuart gives his own parallel account of this nighttime attack on Haymarket (OR 1890: 438-454):

Crossing at Buckland, General Fitz. Lee pushed down the pike toward Gainesville, while I, with the few men of Gordon's and Rosser's brigades who could be collected after our unusually long chase, moved around to our left and pressed down toward Hay Market. Here I encountered, besides a large cavalry force, the First Army Corps, who retired a short distance beyond Hay Market on the Carolina road. I attacked their infantry pickets by moonlight and scattered them over the fields, capturing many. General Lee pressed down to within a short distance of Gainesville, where he encountered their infantry, and captured prisoners from the First Army Corps on that road also. The pursuit was continued until after dusk.

Major General John Newton, in command of the First Army Corps, was responsible for holding this key terrain. His preparations and the better condition of his troops, as compared to Davies' exhausted, wet, and injured brigade, helped preserve the ground against a series of attacks that lasted until 10:00PM or midnight, by some accounts. He writes that this was not achieved without loss (OR 1890: 231-32):

Immediately upon receiving notice from General Kilpatrick of the pressure upon him, and which was reported to me to be cavalry strongly supported by infantry, I sent the First Brigade, First Division of this corps, commanded by W. W. Robinson, out toward the Warrenton pike, and succeeded in preserving one brigade (I think Custer's), which was being driven in from that

road. General Kilpatrick's main body came in on the road from Thoroughfare Gap in great confusion.

My pickets allowed our cavalry to pass through them, and attempted to repel that of the enemy, but being unfortunately but necessarily posted in the open ground, they were overborne, and driven in on the road from Thoroughfare Gap. My command was promptly under arms to attack, and the 143rd Pennsylvania Regiment (Colonel Dana), of the Third Division, was ordered forward to support Elder's battery, which went into position and opened fire upon the enemy about 400 yards in advance of my line of battle. This was about 7:30 p.m. The enemy picketed in front of my line until about midnight, when they retired.

In conclusion, I have to regret that my loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to about 50, most of the latter being lost through the misconduct of an officer of the pickets, who has since been dismissed the service on that account.

Newton's reference to "the road from Thoroughfare Gap," on which Kilpatrick's cavalry was driven, indicates the old Mountain Road that extended from Thoroughfare Gap to Gainesville, through Haymarket. This closely follows the path of modern Route 55. John Wilson, in command of the 1st Maryland Infantry, describes the role his regiment played in protecting this terrain as another infantry regiment became cut off by Stuart's charges, while situating this location in greater detail (OR 1890: 233-34):

After the Maryland Brigade was withdrawn from the north side of Hay Market, I received orders from Col. N. T. Dushane, commanding brigade, to proceed to the support of the 7th Maryland Regiment, which was on picket in front of the town. Arriving at a point designated, I was ordered by General Kenly, commanding division, to divide my regiment, stationing one wing on each side of the road, and to throw out skirmishers toward the Gap. I immediately commenced the execution of this order, advancing the Company A as skirmishers on both sides of the road.

While so advancing, and when about 300 yards from the main body, they were fired on by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and the fire being returned the enemy fell back. Finding the enemy a considerable distance inside of the original picket line held by the 7th Maryland Regiment, I deemed it prudent to strengthen and extend my line, which I did by advancing Companies F, G, and B, extending said line from the Leesburg road on the right to the pickets of the First Division on a small stream on my left.

The regiment that had been cut off was the 7th Maryland Infantry. Their commander, Edwin Webster explains (OR 1890: 234-35):

It appears that no pickets had been posted on the left of my line, between the road to Thoroughfare Gap and the stream, about 500 yards still farther to the left. The enemy, taking advantage of this gap, had passed in the dark to the left and rear, and were thus able to attack us from the front, left, and rear. I was myself with Makechney's pickets at the time. The fire of the enemy was returned until I saw

that we should soon be entirely surrounded, when I ordered the pickets to fall back on the right into an adjacent strip of woods. This was done in good order. A few of the men, before they reached the woods, were, however, captured by the enemy, who charged down the pike, and in the fields on its right and left; the enemy in considerable force having passed to my left and rear were repulsed by the 1st Maryland Regiment, Colonel Wilson, which had been ordered to my support.

Only after a collective effort on the part of the 1st and 7th Maryland Infantry, the 143rd Pennsylvania Infantry, and Elder's battery, had the area become totally secure. At this point the positions in and around Haymarket were safe from further attack, and at a late hour, sometime between 10:00PM and midnight, the Confederate cavalry terminated their successful, day-long rout of the Union cavalry.

The battle in total had lasted from 10:00AM to at least 10:00PM, an affair that Stuart called in his own report to Robert E. Lee, "our unusually long chase" (OR 1890: 438-454). Using knowledge of terrain, connecting roads, and the high waters of Broad Run to their advantage, the Confederate cavalry placed Union cavalry and infantry in vulnerable positions throughout the day and night of October 19th, a series of accomplishments that allowed Stuart to confidently write that, "the rout was the most complete that any cavalry has ever suffered during this war." It was rare in the Civil War for battles to last into the night, but Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee knew they were in advantageous positions to continue their charges of Kilpatrick's division. The battle was unique from a tactical perspective, and Joseph McKinney has written, "Seldom have commanders attempted such a complex and risky scheme of maneuver. It is even more remarkable that Stuart and Lee were successful in executing their plan almost exactly as envisioned" (McKinney 2007⁴).

Victory at Buckland had given the Army of Northern Virginia a final victory for 1863, and had brought about the termination of the Bristoe Campaign. By defeating Kilpatrick's cavalry after a nearly indecisive and costly month of fighting, the Confederates had succeeded in forcing a Union withdrawal of forty miles from its positions at Culpeper to its older positions near Manassas and Fairfax Court House (Jones 2002: 54⁵). In this sense the battle had been decisive, and the soldiers present were aware of what had been accomplished when they wrote their reports, diary entries, and letters about the conflict. The battle became fondly known among Confederates (especially in Hampton's Division) as the "Buckland Races," and the triumph reaffirmed the confidence held between Generals J.E.B. Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee and their troops. In contrast, the defeat suffered by the Union troops at Buckland had a demoralizing effect on the Federal soldiers and officers. Willard Glazier spent most of the remaining war years in southern prisons as a result of his capture at Buckland, and in one of his memoirs noted that this was Kilpatrick's first defeat (Glazier 1875). Kilpatrick himself confided in friends that, "this is the only cavalry victory that the enemy can boast over my command" (Martin 2000: 141⁶). Custer's letter to Annette Humphrey revealed a newly developing distrust in General

⁴ McKinney, Joseph (2007), "Battle of Buckland Mills/Buckland Races," summary report on file with Buckland Preservation Society.

⁵ Jones, Terry L. (2002), *Historical Dictionary of the Civil War*, Scarecrow Press: Lanham, MD.

⁶ Martin, Samuel J. (2000), *Kill-Cavalry: The Life of Union General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick*, Stackpole Books.

Kilpatrick's leadership for allowing Stuart and Lee to trap the division at Buckland (Merrington 1987). Indeed, the battle is all the more remarkable given Custer's and Davies' abilities as leaders to narrowly avoid much more serious losses, and the collective role played by cavalry, infantry, and artillery in the fighting, especially at locations such as the town of Buckland, the low range of hills to the west, and the open ridge at Haymarket.

Observation and Fields of Fire

Descriptions of the morning engagement in the town of Buckland make it clear that positions at the high ground on both sides of Broad Run were points of observation and gun placement. The Confederates under Stuart had placed artillery on the high ground along the west and southern banks of the stream, amidst the buildings in the town, and were thus able to catch any attempt to take the bridge or to form flank attacks. The Federals under Kilpatrick had placed artillery directly in front of Cerro Gordo, as depicted in Waud's drawing, which also illustrates the view accessible from this spot. Furthermore, they had placed firing lines along the bluffs overlooking the mill, as indicated by site 44PW1603.

Archeology completed by Berger identified the location of a Confederate artillery position on the hill at Vint Hill Road, 3,600 feet south of the turnpike. This hill gave Fitzhugh Lee a clear view of Custer's line of battle on the afternoon of the 19th, as well as a view of the town and the bridge. Corresponding to this hill, is the hill west of South Branch and immediately south of the turnpike, where Custer placed Pennington's battery and from which he could command a view of all but the wooded area on his front and right.

The two ridges, or "low range of hills," provided points of observation for both sides, even though the terrain was controlled by Fitzhugh Lee's division. This was possible due to the fact that the Warrenton turnpike crossed the range of hills, and at these crossings, Davies halted his brigade to challenge Stuart's charge by direct fire, and then once this attempt devolved into hand-to-hand combat he used the location to scan the landscape for a route of retreat over land. The Confederates, though concealed in the wooded portions of these ridges, were able to view the movements of both Federal brigades and to ensure that they remained separate by launching artillery attacks from the high ground.

Finally, the open ridge of land near the "Gainesville-Haymarket Pike," between modern Route 55 and North Fork, was the point of observation for the 1st Army Corps as they received the retreating Federal cavalry and repulsed the Confederate cavalry. From this location, the infantry were able to ascertain the movements of Davies' brigade as they fled across country and Stuart's division as they rode in from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap.

Cover and Concealment

The largest and, to both Union brigades, most surprising position of cover and concealment was the "the woods," or the wooded ridge of the low range of hills that ran north-south across the turnpike west of Vint Hill Road. The Confederates were able to move and mass the majority of one division on this wooded ridge undetected, and regiments and batteries of this force remained unseen to Davies and Custer until they were each dangerously close.

The town of Buckland itself, with its buildings, steep banks, and wooded lots, was used by both sides to conceal the positions of artillery and sharpshooters, and to cover the advance and retreat of troops across Broad Run. The hills around Buckland were crucial cover for Custer's relatively safe retreat over Broad Run; the most notable of these was the hill occupied by Pennington's battery against Fitzhugh Lee, as it provided cover for the brigade's horses and guns while the 5th and 6th Michigan held their positions near the woods against artillery and dismounted cavalry attacks.

The hills to the southwest of New Baltimore, along the Warrenton turnpike, provided concealment for at least one of the brigades (Gordon's) under Stuart's command, creating a genuine surprise attack upon the front of Davies' brigade positioned there. Chestnut Hill is mentioned as one of these hills in the reports of Stuart and Young, but this location seems too far west of New Baltimore to correspond to the accounts of Glazier, Meyer, and Emslie of the 2nd New York, and of Davies, who each describe an initial stand at or near New Baltimore and another on the low range of hills intersecting the turnpike.

The narratives of E. A. Paul and William Carter both mention a wooded belt or ridge intersecting the turnpike about two miles east of Broad Run, where pickets of the 6th Army Corps were concealed. According to S. A. Clark, these pickets intercepted and provided cover for the retreating 1st Vermont, and from their concealed position drove Wickham's Confederate brigade away from the direction of Gainesville along the turnpike.

Obstacles

The primary obstacle on the Buckland Mills Battlefield was Broad Run, which had high water and steep slopes and could only be crossed at the bridge or at one of at least three fords identified in the primary accounts. The cliffs upstream of the Buckland mill created a difficult situation for Davies in the afternoon after he had been surrounded, because there were few suitable crossings and he was being pursued closely by Stuart. Some accounts mention men dying in Broad Run because they had fallen from the steep banks and cliffs or could not swim in the deep water with their horses and equipment.

The wooded ridge west of Vint Hill Road limited the movement of Custer's and Davies' brigades, keeping them separated and largely unaware of each other's position.

Avenues of Approach

Many cavalrymen in the Battle of Buckland Mills refer to it as a "five-mile" or even "eight-mile chase," from beyond New Baltimore to Haymarket and Gainesville. The battle was characterized by fast, confusing attacks and multiple engagements at different areas of key terrain, all of which were made possible by the nexus of roads in and around Buckland. The two most important and heavily trafficked roads were the Warrenton Turnpike and the Greenwich Road, part of which followed the current course of Vint Hill Road. Other roads that were crucial to how terrain was gained and how the troops advanced and retreated were the Cerro Gordo Road, the Thoroughfare Road, the Haymarket Pike from Buckland (old Route 625), the old

Carolina Road, the Gainesville-Haymarket Pike (modern Route 55), and the Thoroughfare Gap Road (Route 600). The three fords mentioned in primary accounts all constitute avenues of approach over the battlefield's primary obstacle, Broad Run. Of these, the fords at the Buckland and Kinsley mills are also key terrain, in that they were alternately held by both sides strategically. The third ford, one mile below the bridge, provided the avenue of approach for the 7th Michigan Cavalry, who scouted towards Greenwich during the morning of October 19th to ascertain the location of Fitzhugh Lee's division.

Table 2: Defining Features of the Buckland Mills Battlefield

Battlefield Element	Location	Comment
<i>Key Terrain</i> Buckland bridge	South of the U.S. Route 29 bridge, adjacent to a remaining segment of the original Warrenton Turnpike.	Changed hands twice during heavy fighting; Fitzhugh Lee's plan depended upon capturing Kilpatrick's force west of the bridge without a crossing.
The Town of Buckland	The center of the Buckland National Historic District, fronting both sides of Broad Run at the crossroads of the U.S. Route 29 and Buckland Mill Rd.	Controlled by Confederates in the morning; by Federals from 12:00-4:00PM; thereafter by Confederates once more. This area determined access to artillery positions, the bridge, fords, and cover from fire.
Cerro Gordo	House and farm overlooking Broad Run's eastern bluffs, adjacent to and including portions of the old Thoroughfare Road (modern Cerro Gordo Road) and the old Buckland-Haymarket Pike (Route 625).	Enabled Federal attack to begin against Stuart in Buckland; shielded Custer's retreat in the afternoon; enabled Fitzhugh Lee to drive out the last remaining Federals from the town and Broad Run by 6:00PM.
The Ford at Buckland Mill	Extends from the Buckland Mill across Broad Run to the old quarry cut, giving access to the old Thoroughfare Road.	This was the second most reliable and accessible crossing of Broad Run, and switched hands twice.
The Ford at Kinsley Mill	Crosses Broad Run at Kinsley Mill to the location of a wooded path east of the stream, which is the path of historic Route 625, linking with the Buckland-Haymarket Pike.	Concealed location controlled by 1 st Vermont Cavalry; permitted the crossing of men and at least one artillery piece.
Warrenton Turnpike	U.S. 29 generally follows the course of the historic turnpike.	In addition to being the Federal axis of advance and retreat, the turnpike and its immediate surroundings comprised rolling, open ground which the Confederates progressively gained possession of throughout the day.

<p>The “low range of hills,” or “the woods”</p>	<p>One mile west of the bridge, intersecting the turnpike; two ridges, running north-south and extending one mile south of modern Route 29 and over one-half mile north of the road, for a total length of approximately 1.5 miles.</p>	<p>The ridges here were occupied by an entire Confederate division (Fitzhugh Lee’s); from this high ground Lee launched several surprise attacks on Custer and Davies. From his position on these hills, Lee succeeded in separating Davies from the bridge.</p>
<p>Open ground at the Haymarket-Gainesville Pike</p>	<p>One-half mile wide ridge of open land situated between modern Route 55 and the north fork of Broad Run, extending from Haymarket 1.5 miles west along Route 55.</p>	<p>The end point of Stuart’s charges against Davies, in which Confederate cavalry directly engaged Union cavalry and artillery for at least four hours at night; here Stuart nearly cut off and captured an entire infantry regiment by occupying a gap in their line along this open terrain.</p>
<p><u>Observation and Fields of Fire</u> The Town of Buckland</p>	<p>Specifically, the bluffs and hills on both sides of Broad Run.</p>	<p>Stuart placed artillery on the high ground along the west and southern banks of the stream, amidst the buildings in the town; Kilpatrick placed artillery in front of Cerro Gordo, as depicted in Waud’s drawing, placed firing lines along the bluffs overlooking the mill, as indicated by site 44PW1603.</p>
<p>Cerro Gordo</p>	<p>House and farm overlooking Broad Run’s eastern bluffs, adjacent to and including portions of the old Thoroughfare Road (modern Cerro Gordo Road) and the old Buckland-Haymarket Pike (Route 625).</p>	<p>Site of Federal artillery position in the morning, facing Buckland; site of Confederate artillery in the afternoon, facing the Warrenton turnpike and old road to Haymarket (Route 625).</p>
<p>The “low range of hills,” or “the woods”</p>	<p>The north-south ridges intersecting U.S. 29 one mile west of the bridge.</p>	<p>From this high ground, Fitzhugh Lee’s division had a view of both Union brigades, and kept them separate; Davies used the high open portion of these ridges get a better view of the Confederate forces on his flank and rear, and to find a suitable crossing.</p>
<p>The hill on Vint Hill Rd</p>	<p>Along Vint Hill Road 4,000 feet south of U.S. 29.</p>	<p>Confederate artillery position; gave view of Custer’s line of battle on the afternoon of the 19th, as well as a view of the town and the bridge.</p>
<p>The hill at U.S. 29 and</p>	<p>South of the turnpike, opposite the</p>	<p>Union artillery position; gave view</p>

Route 215	hairpin turn in Broad Run and east of Route 215.	of the turnpike, road from Greenwich, Buckland Farm, and the town.
Open ground at the Haymarket-Gainesville Pike	Ridge of open land extending from Haymarket 1.5 miles west along Route 55.	From here, the Federal infantry could view the movements of Davies' brigade as they fled across country and Stuart's division as they rode in from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap.
<u>Cover and Concealment</u> The "low range of hills," or "the woods"	The north-south ridges intersecting U.S. 29 one mile west of the bridge.	The Confederates were able to move and mass the majority of one division on this wooded ridge undetected, and regiments and batteries of this force remained unseen to Davies and Custer until they were each dangerously close.
The Town of Buckland	The center of the Buckland National Historic District, fronting both sides of Broad Run at the crossroads of the U.S. Route 29 and Buckland Mill Rd.	Buildings, steep banks, and wooded lots concealed artillery and sharpshooters from both sides, and covered the advance and retreat of troops across Broad Run.
The hills around New Baltimore	Southwest of New Baltimore along U.S. 29.	Gordon's brigade of North Carolina cavalry concealed itself here before charging the Union cavalry.
The woods 2 miles east of Buckland, along the turnpike	At and just beyond the intersection of U.S. 29 and the old Carolina Road.	Covered the 1 st Vermont Cavalry and concealed the 6 th Army Corps, driving back Fitzhugh Lee's advance on Gainesville.
<u>Obstacles</u> Broad Run	Unchanged except for dam to the south.	Could only be crossed at bridge and fords; Fitzhugh Lee's plan was to trap the Union west of the stream.
The "low range of hills," or "the woods"	The north-south ridges intersecting U.S. 29 one mile west of the bridge.	Limited the movement of Custer's and Davies' brigades, keeping them separated and largely unaware of each other's position.
<u>Avenues of Approach</u> Warrenton Turnpike	U.S. 29 generally follows the course of the historic turnpike.	Federal axis of approach and retreat.
Road from Auburn/Greenwich Road	Va. 215 follows part of this road.	Axis of Fitzhugh Lee's approach to Buckland and the turnpike; axis of one of his attacks.
Cerro Gordo Road	North of the Buckland bridge, this road followed the stream bank and connected with the old Thoroughfare Road.	Approach route for Pennington's battery in the morning; route of retreat for fugitives from Custer's

Old Haymarket Pike from Buckland	East of Broad Run, extending from Buckland to Haymarket following path of old Route 625; old toll road no longer in use.	and Davies' brigades. Route of retreat for portions of Custer's brigade.
Old Carolina Road	Extended north-south from Haymarket to Greenwich; no longer in use.	Route of approach of the 7 th Michigan Cavalry as it scouted towards Greenwich in the morning.
Gainesville-Haymarket Pike/Old Mountain Road	From Thoroughfare Gap to Gainesville by way of Haymarket; follows path of modern Route 55.	Route of the advance of Union infantry (1 st Army Corps); axis of Stuart's night charges against Davies.
Thoroughfare Gap Road	From Thoroughfare Gap to U.S. 29 east of New Baltimore; follows path of Va. 600.	This "unpicketed" road was the approach route for a detached party of Confederate infantry and cavalry that attacked the 2 nd New York on the turnpike east of New Baltimore.
The Ford at Buckland Mill	Extends from the Buckland Mill across Broad Run to the old quarry cut.	The second most direct crossing of Broad Run, after the bridge.
The Ford at Kinsley Mill	Crosses Broad Run at Kinsley Mill to the location of a wooded path east of the stream, which is the path of historic Route 625, linking with the Buckland-Haymarket Pike.	Crossing for the 1 st Vermont Cavalry and some of Custer's artillery.
The Ford 1 mile below the Buckland bridge	Crosses Broad Run south of South Run, linking up with modern Buckland Mill Road (then connected to the old Carolina Road); to the southeast of Buckland Farm.	Morning avenue of approach for 7 th Michigan scouting party; afternoon crossing for a portion Fitzhugh Lee's division as they pursued the Federal cavalry to Gainesville.
The "low range of hills," or "the woods"	The north-south ridges intersecting U.S. 29 one mile west of the bridge.	Axis of Fitzhugh Lee's approach to Buckland and the turnpike; axis of one of his attacks against Custer and attacks against Davies on the turnpike.

PRIMARY ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF BUCKLAND MILLS

This document contains a list of primary accounts written by officers and soldiers whose military units were engaged in the Battle of Buckland Mills along with associated actions and maneuvers during the Bristoe Campaign. Accompanying each reference is a direct transcription or descriptive summary of the account. The descriptive summaries include details regarding troop movements, locations, size, composition, engagements, and casualties, as well as information pertaining to landmarks, landscape features, and the time of day when events occurred. These excerpts and synopses are provided to highlight the details most crucial for understanding the battle and battlefield landscape, omitting excess verbiage or tangential descriptions about other engagements that may exist in the primary sources. All details come directly from the primary accounts, and supplementary facts from other sources are included as footnotes. Direct quotes appear for nearly all cited accounts as this is the primary and most effective method to illustrate the soldiers' own experiences and interpretations of the details of battle. Corrections and clarifications are offered only as necessary and are contained in the footnotes.

United States War Department [O.R.]

1890 *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.*
Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C. Series I, Volume XXIX, Chapter
XLI – “The Bristoe, Virginia, Campaign.”

1. Reports of Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, U. S. Army, commanding Army of the Potomac, of operations July 31—December 7, 1863. HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, December 6, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 10.

Excerpt (p. 10):

“On the 17th, the enemy’s cavalry appeared on my right flank with artillery and reported infantry, indicating a further attempt to out-flank my position. At the same time reports from prisoners and deserters indicated a movement on the part of the enemy. The 18th was spent in efforts to ascertain the precise position of the enemy, which resulting in the conviction he was retiring, the army was put in motion on the 19th and advanced to Gainesville. Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, in the advance, drove the enemy’s cavalry through Buckland Mills, beyond which, he advanced with one brigade as far as New Baltimore, when a division of the enemy’s cavalry came up from Auburn and endeavored to cut off his retreat. General Kilpatrick, however, extricated himself by taking a road to Hay Market, but not without considerable loss, from the superior numbers he was engaged with.”

2. Telegraph, A.A. Humphreys (US Army, Maj. Gen.; Chief of Staff) to Third Corps. Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, October 19, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part II), pp. 356

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
October 19, 1863—9 p. m.

Commanding Officer Third Corps:

Information just received indicates the probability of our meeting the enemy tomorrow morning in front of Gainesville. The Second Corps is ordered to move at 4 o'clock tomorrow morning to Gainesville, by the road from Bristoe, marked in red on the map sent you herewith. You will follow the Second Corps, beginning the march at 6 o'clock, and be prepared to take position on the left of the Second Corps. Should it find the Sixth Corps in position at Gainesville, form on its left.

General Sedgwick, followed by General Sykes, will be ordered to move to Buckland Mills at 6 o'clock tomorrow morning. Newton will remain at Hay Market. You should keep well closed on the Second Corps, and move in double column of infantry, artillery between.

Headquarters will be at Gainesville, or between that point and Buckland Mills.

Information received from General Kilpatrick indicates that both Hill's and Ewell's corps were at Warrenton to-day.

Very respectfully, &c.,

A. A. HUMPHREYS,

Major-General, and Chief of Staff."

3. Telegraph, Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart (CS Army) to Gen. Robert E. Lee (CS Army, Commanding Army of Northern Virginia), October 19, 1863. Series 1 – Volume LI/Chapter LXIII (Part II), p. 778. 1897.

"General R. E. LEE BUCKLAND, October 19

GENERAL: The enemy have advanced slowly this morning from Gainesville and are now opposite me at this place. My position is such that I think it will be necessary for them to cross either above or below me. I expect to remain here until they do one or the other, unless their movements in front of Maj. Gen. Fitz. Lee, from whom I have not heard this morning, make it necessary for me to move sooner. I would be glad if you will let me know where you can be found after to-day.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant, J. E. B. STUART, Major-General.

I ascertained last night that Kilpatrick left Sudley yesterday afternoon with 2,500 cavalry and four pieces of artillery⁷, declaring his intention to go to Warrenton and sending back everything pertaining to his command except the force with him. The impression with the soldiers seems to be that the army will not fight this side of the fortifications at Alexandria. Our skirmishers are now engaged across Broad Run, slightly.

⁷ Stuart here gives a low estimate of the strength of Kilpatrick's cavalry Division going into the Battle of Buckland Mills. By mid-1863, a typical regiment contained from 300 to 800 men, depending on how many soldiers had been removed due to disease, casualties, discharge, or detachment (Terry L. Jones, *Historical Dictionary of the Civil War*, 2002, p. 1159; Mark Grimsley, "How To Read A Civil War Battlefield," 2006, <http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/grimsley1/tour/>; The Civil War Gazette, "Interview with Civil War Historian Steven E. Woodworth on military unit sizes," 2006, <http://civilwargazette.wordpress.com>). Kilpatrick, with at least nine cavalry regiments in his Third Division, might have had anywhere between 2,700 and 7,200 men with him on October 19, 1863, with a number in the middle of this range being the most probable. He had a total of 10 pieces of artillery, not 4, as the 4th U.S. Artillery, Battery E carried 4 pieces and 107 men, and the 2nd U.S. Artillery, Battery M carried 6 pieces and 149 men (*Regimental Returns, Regular Army (Union), Entry 66 – Artillery* [M727: 13], National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.). At least three brigades (at least 3,000 men) of Union infantry were also engaged in the evening segment of the battle, defending against Stuart's continued charge of Kilpatrick's cavalry to Haymarket.

- Most respectfully, your obedient servant, J.E.B. STUART, Major-General.”
4. Telegraph, Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart (CS Army) to Gen. Robert E. Lee (CS Army, Commanding Army of Northern Virginia), October 20, 1863. Series 1 – Volume LI/Chapter LXIII (Part II), p. 778-79. 1897.

“NEW BALTIMORE, October 20, 1863—10.30 a.m.
[to General R. E. LEE]

GENERAL: There is a force of infantry advancing from Buckland on my rear. Major Mosby reported to me that a column of infantry was moving yesterday up the turnpike from Fairfax toward Centerville.

The First Corps was at Haymarket last night, and this is unmistakably a column of infantry advancing up the pike in this direction. As my supplies are entirely out and it seems impossible to get them, I am compelled to fall back to the Rappahannock to supply my men. My horses have fared tolerably well except for shoeing. I will be on the Warrenton Springs road.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. E. B. STUART, Major-General.”

5. Report⁸ of Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick, U. S. Army, commanding Third Cavalry Division. HEADQUARTERS THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION, CAVALRY CORPS, October 24, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 380-384.

Excerpt:

“At 3 o’clock on the 19th, I received orders from headquarters Cavalry Corps to move out on the Warrenton pike¹⁰ and ascertain the movements and position of the enemy.

The division moved forward in the direction of Gainesville, one brigade¹¹ on the Warrenton pike and the other by way of New Market. Both brigades soon became engaged with the enemy, who had taken up a position near Groveton. He was slowly driven back to Gainesville, and at 7 p. m. the division went into camp.

At daylight the following morning, I received orders to move forward as far as possible in the direction of Warrenton, and to throw out parties to my right and left and ascertain the movements of the enemy. The division moved at once, and he was then driven from Gainesville. I there learned that Stuart, with a large force of cavalry, had gone in the direction of Warrenton, but that a part of his force had gone toward Hay Market. A regiment was sent out to Hay Market, and one to Greenwich. Reports soon came in from both parties that the enemy had recently been at both places and gone in the direction of Buckland Mills.

⁸ This report is based on a Headquarters Letter written by General Kilpatrick on October 23 (Civil War Letters, National Archives, Washington, DC. RG 393, Entry 1593.).

⁹ This date is incorrect; it should read the 18th of October.

¹⁰ The Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike was also known as the Warrenton Turnpike.

¹¹ Stuart’s estimate of 2,500 men in Kilpatrick’s cavalry was potentially based on intelligence regarding only this first brigade.

I then moved on, driving the enemy to the opposite side of Broad Run. Here the enemy made a determined stand. He occupied a strong position on the opposite side of Broad Run¹², which could only be crossed at a bridge¹³ and a ford 1 mile below.

Having learned from scouts that no portion of the enemy was upon either flank, and that his entire force had passed to the south of Broad Run early that morning, I determined to cross the stream and ascertain, if possible, the strength and character of the enemy. After a determined effort of over two hours, General Custer had succeeded in pushing his command up to the bridge and on the hills¹⁴ to the right of the road overlooking the enemy's position. The Seventh Michigan had already crossed Broad Run at the ford, and was moving down upon the enemy's flank with a strong line of skirmishers in advance. General Davies' brigade was massed on the left of the road, under cover of the woods, ready to cross. My whole command being now in readiness to cross, I ordered General Custer to charge the bridge. The charge was successfully made, the buildings upon the opposite side were gained and held by our sharpshooters, and in a few minutes General Custer's entire brigade had crossed, and the enemy was rapidly retiring in the direction of New Baltimore.

A halt of an hour was now made, in order that I might hear from my scouting parties sent out in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap and Auburn. These having finally come in without having seen or heard anything of the enemy, I ordered General Davies to advance in the direction of New Baltimore, and, if possible, to occupy and hold it. He soon became engaged with the enemy, and had succeeded in forcing him as far as New Baltimore, when a report came in from one of my scouting parties that a column of cavalry was advancing from the direction of Auburn. Thinking that this column might be that of Brigadier-General Merritt, who I knew had been sent in the direction of Catlett's Station that morning, I sent orders for Brigadier-General Davies to halt, and sent out a portion of the Seventh Michigan to ascertain the truth of the report. Word was quickly brought back that it was a column of rebel cavalry and infantry, and that it was but a mile off and approaching rapidly.

The Seventh Michigan was at once sent out to delay the enemy as long as possible. General Custer's brigade was placed in position to receive him and Brigadier-General Davies ordered to return. The enemy's cavalry soon made its appearance, driving the Seventh Michigan in on General Custer. General Custer's skirmishers and his battery repulsed the rebel cavalry, driving it back on the infantry. He now brought forward artillery, and sent forward a strong line of infantry skirmishers, but his artillery was silenced and his skirmishers driven back.

General Davies in the meantime was slowly retiring from the direction of New Baltimore, being closely pressed by a large force of Stuart's cavalry. The enemy in front of General Custer now returned to the attack. He (the enemy) advanced two lines of infantry skirmishers, supported on the flanks by cavalry. At the same time he opened afresh with his artillery. Seven guns was the largest number seen at any one time. Before this formidable advance General Custer was forced to retire. General Davies had not yet

¹² This refers to the western or southwestern edge of Broad Run, in the town of Buckland.

¹³ This refers to the stone bridge at Buckland on the Warrenton Turnpike.

¹⁴ These hills are located in front of the house at Cerro Gordo Farm and on the bluffs at the eastern side of Broad Run, near the old mill dam, where a Union firing line has been archeologically documented (VDHR Site 44PW1603).

returned, but could be distinctly seen a short distance off slowly retiring, fighting as he came. I ordered General Custer to retire across Broad Run and take up a position.

I sent an order to General Davies to leave the main road and retire by the right of the town and cross the stream higher up; that I would send troops to cover his crossing. The enemy saw this movement on the part of General Davies, but were unable to prevent it, as General Custer's artillery swept the bridge and road over which the enemy must pass to attack him. General Davies succeeded in safely crossing the stream, but as the enemy were crossing in front of General Custer a strong force, I deemed it best not to form a junction with the two brigades.

General Custer was directed to fall back upon our infantry supports at Gainesville and General Davies to move across the country to the Hay Market road. Owing to the skill and gallantry of Generals Davies and Custer, both brigades safely reached our infantry supports at Gainesville and Hay Market, with their brigade organizations preserved, and with a loss of but 150 killed, wounded, and missing.

Brigadier-General Davies' brigade, on reaching the Gainesville and Hay Market pike, was attacked by a large force of rebel cavalry under Fitz. Lee. Notwithstanding the exhausted condition of General Davies' brigade, he did not refuse the rebels battle. He threw his brigade into position in front of our infantry supports, and maintained his position, notwithstanding the fierce attacks of the enemy, until 7 p.m., when he was ordered to fall back behind the infantry.

I enclose a list of casualties in the division since the morning of the 9th instant.

I am, captain, very respectfully,

J. KILPATRICK,

Brigadier- General of Volunteers, Commanding.

Capt. C. C. SUYDAM,

Assistant Adjutant- General.”

6. Report of Brig. Gen. Henry E. Davies, Jr., U. S. Army, commanding First Brigade. Camp near Gainesville, Va., October 21, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 384-389.

In the afternoon of the 18th, I moved out on the Gainesville road and attacked the enemy's pickets and drove them as far as Gainesville. Here we halted for the night.

On the following day, October 19, I followed General Custer's brigade to Buckland Mills, where he attacked and drove the enemy across Broad Run. At this point I was directed to take the advance, to move forward as far as New Baltimore, which point I was to hold, and then proceed as far as practicable in the direction of Warrenton.

After advancing a mile beyond Buckland Mills¹⁵ I encountered the enemy's vedettes, who fell back slowly before my skirmishers. I drove them through New Baltimore¹⁶ and occupied the hills beyond¹⁷. At New Baltimore I learned that Fitzhugh Lee's division of cavalry had turned to the right and gone off toward Thoroughfare Gap.

¹⁵ If Davies's estimates of distance are correct, this is slightly west of the second ridge of land west of Buckland, behind which Confederate mounted sentries (vedettes) were waiting to ascertain the movement of Kilpatrick's cavalry.

¹⁶ Approximately 3 miles west of Buckland on the Warrenton Turnpike, or 2 miles west of the ridge where Davies encountered Stuart's vedettes.

As I gained a position beyond New Baltimore I heard cannonading in my rear, and at the same moment was told by an officer of General Kilpatrick's staff that the enemy had appeared on our left and rear, and that I was directed to halt where I was and await further instructions. The firing in my rear growing heavier, I took the responsibility of countermarching my command, returning toward Buckland Mills, at the same time directing the Second New York Cavalry, which had the advance, to hold their ground for some time and then retire slowly, covering my rear.

Arriving within 1 mile of Buckland Mills I learned that the enemy's infantry had driven General Custer's command across Broad Run, and held the bridge and fords at the mills¹⁸. At the same time a column of infantry, coming in on my right from the direction of Auburn, threw out skirmishers and attacked my column. I sent out the Fifth New York, under Major Hammond, to hold them in check, which was successfully done.

I sent forward my wagons, artillery, and the rest of my column to the left, with instructions to cross Broad Run and make toward Hay Market, and then, with the First West Virginia Cavalry and the Second New York, attacked and drove back the rebel cavalry that were charging my rear. This done, I ordered the whole command across Broad Run, and moved through the fields and woods toward Hay Market¹⁹. I struck the pike from Gainesville, through Thoroughfare Gap, about a mile below Hay Market, outside the pickets of the First Army Corps, just in time to check Lee's cavalry²⁰, which were coming down through the Gap to cut off my brigade. I at once placed my guns²¹ in position, and rallying my command, met and drove back his attack. I must here express my acknowledgments to the general commanding the division, who personally led several charges, and directed the formation and disposition of the men. I then fell back to Gainesville and went into camp.

I take occasion to mention the following officers for the distinguished gallantry displayed by them:

Majors Hammond and White, of the Fifth New York Cavalry, at James City, Brandy Station, and New Baltimore.”

“I also desire particularly to mention Dr. Capehart, of my staff, to whose knowledge of the country, and exertions in bringing the column through, I am in a great degree indebted for the preservation of my command.

I would also refer to Lieutenant Boice, Fifth New York Cavalry, who, at the request of the general commanding division, made, while the command lay near Sudley Springs, two scouts to Thoroughfare Gap and to Aldie, obtaining much valuable information which at the time was forwarded to headquarters.

¹⁷ These hills may comprise the ridge southwest of current Route 674 in New Baltimore and east of Foster Fork Rd. This area has the highest elevation west of New Baltimore on the old Turnpike route.

¹⁸ One of these mills is certainly the Buckland Mill, at which there was a ford. The other ford might refer to a ford near the Kinsley Mill further downstream on Broad Run.

¹⁹ The locations of these movements are difficult to precisely identify. Davies might have crossed his Brigade over a ford above the Buckland Mill. The woods and fields, over which he retreated to Haymarket, on and northeast of Cerro Gordo, have not been investigated archeologically.

²⁰ According to Stuart's reports and accounts from the First Army Corps, he led this cavalry force, comprising men from Rosser's and Gordon's Brigades.

²¹ 4th U.S. Artillery, Battery E (Elder's Battery).

My loss in materiel is very slight, comprising only two army wagons, one lost on the retreat from Culpeper, and the other in falling back from Buckland near New Baltimore. The team of the first was saved. This resulted in both cases from the fact that our horse teams have been taken away and the command supplied with mules of a very inferior quality. One ambulance also had to be abandoned in falling back from New Baltimore. The wagons and ambulance were burned up, so that the enemy derived no advantage from them. A forge, belonging to the Second New York Cavalry (the team of which was shot), and which was left on the road from New Baltimore, as well as a limber-chest of Elder's battery, with ammunition, have both been brought in in safety.

I send herewith a list of killed, wounded, and missing for the period over which this report extends.

Respectfully,

H. E. DAVIES, JR.,

Capt. L. G. ESTES, Brigadier-General, Commanding.

Assistant Adjutant-General."

7. Report of Brig. Gen. George A. Custer, U. S. Army, commanding Second Brigade. HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIV., CAVALRY CORPS, October 24, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 389-392.

Sunday, the 18th instant, at 3 p.m., the entire division was ordered to move on the pike leading from Groveton to Warrenton. The First Brigade moved on the pike, the Second moved²² on a road to the left of and parallel to the pike. We soon encountered the enemy and drove him as far as Gainesville, where the entire command bivouacked for the night. The First Vermont Cavalry, under Colonel Sawyer, deserves great credit for the rapidity with which they forced the enemy to retire.

At daybreak on the morning of the 19th, my brigade took the advance and skirmished with the enemy's cavalry from Gainesville to Buckland. At the latter point I found him strongly posted upon the south bank of Broad Run. The position for his artillery was well chosen²³. After a fruitless attempt to effect a crossing in his front, I succeeded in turning his left flank²⁴ so completely as to force him from his position.

Having driven him more than a mile from the stream, I threw out my pickets and ordered my men to prepare their dinner²⁵. From the inhabitants of Buckland I learned that the forces of the enemy with whom we had been engaged were commanded by General J. E. B. Stuart in person, who, at the time of our arrival at that point, was seated at the dinner-table eating, but owing to my successful advance, he was compelled to leave his

²² In his report, Kilpatrick that the Second Brigade made this movement "by way of New Market."

²³ The high ground in the town of Buckland, specifically around the church and mill.

²⁴ Custer may have achieved this maneuver with his sharpshooters placed on the eastern bluffs of Broad Run, overlooking the Buckland Mill, his artillery placed on the hills in front of Cerro Gordo, and skirmishers placed in the woods on the northern side of the Buckland bridge.

²⁵ A portion of Custer's brigade had crossed Broad Run at a ford south of the bridge, and while he placed pickets in the town, where some of the brigade crossed the bridge. The rest of his men apparently rested in the area of Buckland Farm.

dinner untouched, a circumstance not regretted by that portion of my command into whose hands it fell²⁶.

The First Brigade took the advance at this point²⁷. I was preparing to follow when information reached me that the enemy were advancing on my left from the direction of Greenwich²⁸. I had scarcely time to place my command in position to resist an attack from that direction before the enemy's skirmishers appeared. Pennington's Battery opened upon them, while the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, under Major Kidd, was thrown forward and deployed as skirmishers. One gun of Pennington's battery, supported by the First Vermont Cavalry, was placed on my extreme left²⁹. The First Michigan Cavalry, under Major Brewer, acted as a reserve and as a support for the remaining five guns of the battery. The Fifth Michigan Cavalry, under Colonel Alger and the Seventh Michigan Cavalry, under Colonel Mann, were engaged in the woods on my right³⁰. At first I was under the impression that the skirmishers of the enemy were composed of dismounted cavalry, but later developments convinced me that it was a very superior force of infantry that now confronted me.

After completing his positions for attack the enemy advanced upon me; in doing so exposed a line of infantry more than a mile in extent³¹, and at the same time he opened a heavy fire upon me from his artillery³². Pennington's battery, aided by the Sixth Michigan Cavalry poured a destructive fire upon the enemy as he advanced, but failed to force him back. A desperate effort was made to capture my battery. Pennington continued to fire until the enemy were within 20 yards of his guns. He was then compelled to limber up and retire to the north bank of Broad Run. The other portions of the command followed. The First Michigan Cavalry was entrusted with the duty of covering the movement, a task which was gallantly performed. My command being very much exhausted, I returned to the vicinity of Gainesville, where I encamped for the night.

²⁶ This story, which took place in the mid- to late-morning at the Hunton house near the Buckland Mill, was explained many years after the war by Lt. Col. Pierce M. B. Young, commanding one of Stuart's cavalry brigades, in an autobiographical sketch published in the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1893 (John Toler, "Old Roommates' Chance Encounter at Buckland Mill," *Fauquier County Historical Society Newsletter*, 2002, Vol. 24 Issue 1, pp. 3-4).

²⁷ Early afternoon.

²⁸ Fitzhugh Lee's Division of cavalry.

²⁹ In some accounts, the extreme left of Custer's line was at Broad Run, in other accounts just on the edge of the nearby woods which comprised part of the town commons on the northern edge of Buckland Farm.

³⁰ The 5th and 7th Michigan Cavalry regiments were placed at the left of Custer's line of battle, in the woods and around the first ridge of land that intersects the Warrenton Turnpike west of Buckland (approximately ¼ mile west of current Route 215). This line of woods is clearly visible in the Alfred Waud sketch, "Buckland from Mr. Hunton's House, scene of cavalry engagement with Stuart, 19 October 1863," Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. It is the only line of woods dividing an otherwise "hilly but open and fine agricultural region," as noted by Union topographical engineers (Plate VII, *The Official Atlas of the Civil War*, Govt. Printing Office, 1891-1895). Fitzhugh Lee's deployment of dismounted cavalry, horse artillery, and infantry in these woods, concealed from detection in order to trap Kilpatrick's Division, was so strategically significant to the outcome of the battle that the ridge, woods, Greenwich Road, and nearby high ground on Buckland Farm to the east may all properly be identified as defining features that include key terrain, obstacles, cover and concealment, observation points, and avenues of approach and defeat.

³¹ Extending from Buckland Farm westward to the second ridge on the turnpike, well beyond the line of woods.

³² Confederate batteries with Fitzhugh Lee's Division were placed in at least two areas: one on a prominent hill where Louis Berger, Inc. archaeologists discovered artillery shell concentrations on a rise along Route 215 at Buckland Farm (Bedell 2006), and another in the woods atop the ridge west of Route 215, where there have been no archeological investigations to date.

Major Clark, Fifth Michigan Cavalry, was detached from his regiment with one battalion. When the command retired to the north bank of Broad Run, he, with a small portion of his battalion, became separated from the rest of the command and were captured by the enemy³³.

Computing my losses from the 9th instant, I find them to be as follows: [Killed, 9; Wounded, 43; Missing, 162].

Before closing my report I desire to make honorable mention of the highly creditable manner in which both officers and men of my command have discharged their duty during the long, arduous marches, as well as in the hard-fought engagements of the past few days. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men of Battery M, Second U. S. Artillery, for the gallantry displayed on more than one occasion.

For the untiring zeal and energy, added to the unflinching bravery displayed in transmitting and executing my orders upon the field, my acknowledgments are due to the following members of my staff: Capt. R. F. Judson, aide-de-camp; Lieut. R. Baylis, acting aide-de-camp; Lieut. William Colerick, aide-de-camp; and to Lieut. E. G. Granger, acting assistant adjutant-general.

Lieutenant Granger, while heading a charge at Brandy Station, had his horse shot in two places. Surgeon Wooster, of my staff, in addition to his professional duties, rendered me valuable assistance by aiding in transmitting my orders.

Respectfully submitted.

G. A. CUSTER,

Brigadier-General, Commanding Second Brigade.

Capt. L. G. ESTES, Assistant Adjutant-General.

8. Reports of General Robert E. Lee, C. S. Army, commanding Army of Northern Virginia. HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, October 11-23, 1863.” Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 405-411.

“RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER,
October 20, 1863.

General Stuart yesterday opposed at Buckland the advance of General Kilpatrick’s division of cavalry, while General Fitz. Lee attacked his flank and rear. The enemy was routed and pursued until he reached his infantry support at Hay Market and Gainesville.

Two hundred prisoners, with horses, arms, and equipments, and eight wagons and ambulances, were captured.

R. E. LEE.”

October 23, 1863 Report Summary:

- On October 19th, Stuart retired slowly to Warrenton, to draw the enemy.
- Fitzhugh Lee moved from Auburn and attacked Union forces near Buckland.
- When Stuart heard Lee’s guns he turned on the enemy, who offered a “stubborn resistance but eventually broke and fled in confusion.
- Stuart pursued the 1st Brigade (Davies) to Haymarket.

³³ This portion of the 5th Michigan Cavalry either could not find a suitable crossing before Lee’s forces caught up with them, or they were flanked on their retreat while trying to extricate themselves from their position in the woods.

- Fitzhugh Lee pursued the 2nd Brigade (Custer) to Gainesville.
- At Haymarket Stuart encountered a number of Federal infantry and a number were captured during the night.
- Throughout October, 2,436 prisoners were captured, including 41 officers, by the Army of Northern Virginia.

9. Reports of Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, C. S. Army, commanding Cavalry Corps. Buckland, Va., October 20, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 438-454.

“BUCKLAND, VA.,
October 20, 1863.

GENERAL: After offering some considerable resistance to the advance of the enemy at this point yesterday, in accordance with the suggestion of Major-General Lee, I retired with Hampton’s division slowly before the enemy until within 2 miles of Warrenton³⁴, in order that Major-General Lee, coming from Auburn, might have an opportunity to attack the enemy in flank and rear. The plan proved successful. The enemy followed slowly and cautiously after Hampton’s division, when, on hearing Major-General Lee’s guns on their flank, I pressed upon them vigorously in front. They at first resisted my attack stubbornly, but once broken the rout was complete. I pursued them from within 3 miles³⁵ of Warrenton to Buckland, the horses at full speed the whole distance, the enemy retreating in great confusion. Major-General Lee had attacked them in flank just below Buckland.

We captured about 200 prisoners, 8 wagons and ambulances, and arms, horses, and equipments.

The rout was the most complete that any cavalry has ever suffered during this war.

Crossing at Buckland, General Fitz. Lee pushed down the pike toward Gainesville, while I, with the few men of Gordon’s and Rosser’s brigades who could be collected after our unusually long chase, moved around to our left and pressed down toward Hay Market. Here I encountered, besides a large cavalry force, the First Army Corps, who retired a short distance beyond Hay Market on the Carolina road. I attacked their infantry pickets by moonlight and scattered them over the fields, capturing many³⁶. General Lee pressed down to within a short distance of Gainesville, where he encountered their infantry, and captured prisoners from the First Army Corps on that road also. The pursuit was continued until after dusk. The cavalry force was commanded by Kilpatrick and composed of ten regiments.

* * * * *

Our casualties were slight, about 30 in all.

Most respectfully,
J. E. B. STUART,
Major- General.
General R. E. LEE.”

³⁴ Near the intersection of modern Route 29 and Route 605.

³⁵ At New Baltimore.

³⁶ From infantry regiments such as the 7th Maryland and 143rd and 149th Pennsylvania.

HDQRS. CAVALRY CORPS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
February 13, 1864. Excerpt:

“That night I bivouacked Hampton’s division near the Little River turnpike, and on the 18th moved back to Gainesville, where I understood what the commanding general’s instructions were, and also received information of the retrograde movement of our army. Toward night I moved with Hampton’s division above Hay Market for forage and supplies, and encamped on the road.

The same night I received intelligence of an intended advance of the enemy, consisting of Kilpatrick’s division of cavalry and six pieces of artillery, with a column of infantry in rear, these having moved out from Fairfax Court-House the previous day. Our pickets were attacked just at dark, and being reported to me as driven in, gave me great concern for my own position. I moved one brigade (Young’s, which had to saddle up in a terrible rain-storm) to Hay Market to hold that point. It was found, however, that our pickets still had possession of Gainesville, and the command pressed on without difficulty toward Buckland, our rear guard being followed at a respectable distance by the enemy. I immediately communicated with Major-General Lee and directed him to watch out on my right flank. The enemy’s cavalry having, during my absence, re-crossed Bull Run in Major-General Lee’s front, he had fallen back on the 16th with his division to Bristoe, where they threatened him all day, but were repulsed by a few shots from his artillery, and now occupied a position with his entire command in the vicinity of Auburn.

Selecting advantageous positions for sharpshooters and artillery along Broad Run³⁷, I determined to delay the enemy until Major-General Lee, who had been notified to come to my support, could arrive, knowing that I could at least delay the enemy, and believing if Kilpatrick was detached, as I supposed he was, I could inflict upon him severe injury. The enemy was baffled in repeated attempts to force the passage of Broad Run. Very soon they appeared to abandon the attempt in my front while moving detachments toward my flanks³⁸.

About this time I received a dispatch from Major-General Lee stating that he was moving to my support, and suggesting that I should retire before the enemy with Hampton’s division in the direction of Warrenton, drawing the enemy after me, when he would come in from Auburn and attack them in flank and rear. I at once assented to this arrangement, and sending back word to Major-General Lee that I would be ready to turn upon the enemy at his signal gun, I retired with the division slowly before the enemy until I reached Chestnut Hill, within 2 1/2 miles of Warrenton. This plan proved highly successful. Kilpatrick followed me cautiously until I had reached the point in question, when the sound of artillery toward Buckland indicating that Major-General Lee had arrived and commenced the attack, I pressed upon them suddenly and vigorously in front, with Gordon in the center and Young and Rosser on his flanks. The enemy at first offered a stubborn resistance to my attack, but the charge was made with such impetuosity, the

³⁷ These artillery and sharpshooter positions would have been located on the western edge of Broad Run in and around the town of Buckland, most likely on the upper ground near the Buckland Mill and churchyard. Systematic archeological investigation has not yet occurred in these areas, though it is strongly recommended.

³⁸ These were detachments from Custer’s brigade, including sharpshooters placed on the eastern bluffs of Broad Run, and the 6th and 7th Michigan Cavalry regiments, who crossed Broad Run south of the bridge.

First North Carolina gallantly leading, that the enemy broke and the rout was soon complete. I pursued them from within 3 miles of Warrenton to Buckland, the horses at full speed the whole distance, their column completely disorganized, and retreating in confusion.

About 250 prisoners were captured, together with 8 wagons and ambulances, Brigadier-General Custer's headquarters baggage and official papers, with many arms, horses, and equipments, and the whole division dispersed in a manner graphically described by one of their own writers as "the deplorable spectacle of 7,000 cavalry dashing riderless, hatless, and panic-stricken" through the ranks of their infantry. Had his artillery been anywhere near the front, it would undoubtedly have fallen into our hands.

Crossing at Buckland, Major-General Lee pushed down the pike toward Gainesville, while with the few men of Gordon's and Rosser's brigades which could be collected after the chase (Young's brigade being sent round to the rear), I moved to the left and pressed down toward Hay Market. Here a cavalry force and the First Army Corps were encountered. The latter retired a short distance beyond Hay Market and I attacked their infantry pickets by moonlight, capturing a number of them and scattering them over the fields. Major-General Lee met their infantry near Gainesville and took many prisoners belonging to the First Army Corps on that road also, the pursuit being continued by both divisions until after dark.

The force opposed to us upon this occasion consisted of ten regiments of cavalry and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, and I am justified in declaring the rout of the enemy at Buckland the most signal and complete that any cavalry has suffered during the war. It is remarkable that Kilpatrick's division seemed to disappear from the field of operations for more than a month, that time being necessary, no doubt, to collect the panic-stricken fugitives.

The matter of greatest concern to me during this short and eventful campaign was the subject of forage for the horses. Operating in a country worn out in peace, but now more desolate in war, it is remarkable how the horses were able to keep up. But our brave men, actuated by a spirit which prompted them to divide the last crust with their favorite steeds, have not been wanting in the noble attributes of patient endurance as well as heroic daring. This affair terminated the campaign.

On the next day, October 20, the command leisurely followed the retrograde movement of the Army of Northern Virginia unannoyed by the enemy, whose blatant braggadocio a few days previous had threatened so much, and recrossing in to Culpeper established its pickets on the south bank of the Rappahannock.

Great credit is due to Maj. Gen. Fitz. Lee for this plan, as bold in its conception as it was brilliant and successful in its execution, administering as it did a quietus to the enemy's cavalry for the remainder of the fall, and severely chastising their favorite cavalry leader, Kilpatrick.

Colonel Owen, Third Virginia Cavalry (commanding Wickham's brigade), was conspicuous for gallantry at Buckland in command of the dismounted men, chasing on foot the enemy's cavalry over open ground. Brigadier-General Wickham was absent from his command by reason of serious injury received by the fall of his horse."

10. Report of Brig. Gen. Pierce M. B. Young, C. S. Army, commanding brigade. Headquarters Butler's Cavalry Brigade, December 8, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 457-459.

Excerpt:

“Early on the morning of the 19th the division moved for Warrenton. I received orders to cover the rear with my brigade. About 8 a. m. the enemy advanced, pursuing closely our retreat. My rear guard, consisting of one regiment fought, gradually retiring, until about 10 a.m. when I arrived at Buckland and found the division in line of battle awaiting the enemy. They soon came up and made the attack with artillery and cavalry. A spirited but brief engagement ensued, in which my brigade was not engaged.

About noon the division retired to Chestnut Hill, in front of Warrenton, where we were again drawn up for the enemy. At 3:30 p.m. he made his appearance, and according to the plan already agreed upon Maj. Gen. Fitz. Lee attacked him in flank, while General Stuart pushed him vigorously in front with General Hampton's division. The enemy was completely routed and a splendid victory achieved over the enemy's cavalry, in which I had not the pleasure to participate, as my brigade was sent round to attack in the rear³⁹. The next day we crossed the Rappahannock and went into camp. My loss from the 9th until the 20th was 3 killed and 5 wounded.

I am, major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
P. M. B. YOUNG,
Brigadier-General.
Maj. H. B. MCCLELLAN,
Assistant Adjutant-General”

11. Report of Brig. Gen. James B. Gordon, C. S. Army, commanding brigade. Headquarters North Carolina Cavalry Brigade, December 10, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 460-461.

Excerpt:

“On the 18th⁴⁰, we met the Yankee cavalry, under Kilpatrick, at Buckland Mills. After several hours' skirmishing we were ordered to fall back between New Baltimore and Warrenton, drawing slowly after us Kilpatrick's division. General Fitz. Lee came up in the meantime and attacked in flank. As his guns opened General Stuart ordered me to advance rapidly on the pike. I met the enemy posted near New Baltimore; Rosser and Young were on my flanks. The First North Carolina, in front, was ordered to charge. It moved promptly at the command, led by Major Barringer and Captain Cowles. The enemy fled in great confusion and were pursued for several miles with unrelenting fury. Captain Cowles acted with that conspicuous gallantry which always characterizes him. He captured (with a portion of the First and Second Regiments) 5 wagons and 2 ambulances.

³⁹ Young was on the right flank of Gordon, therefore placing his brigade eventually in the same woods that Fitzhugh Lee occupied in his fight with Custer's brigade.

⁴⁰ Discrepancies in dates, such as this, are common in soldier's primary accounts. Some reports, like Gordon's report here, were written weeks after battle. In other cases, long months on the march with frequent sleepless nights on horse or on picket would have led even the most detail-oriented men to lose track of the date.

The following day we recrossed the Rappahannock.

The inspector reports about 500 prisoners captured by this brigade. The killed and wounded of the enemy not known. My loss was about 125 killed, wounded, and missing⁴¹.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAS. B. GORDON,

Brigadier-General.

Maj. H. B. MCCLELLAN

Assistant Adjutant-General, Cavalry Corps”

12. Report of Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, C. S. Army, commanding Cavalry Division. Headquarters Lee’s Cavalry Division, December 7, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 462-464.

Excerpt:

Upon the 17th, the enemy’s cavalry crossed Bull Run and advanced upon Colonel Chambliss in superior forces. That officer retired with his brigade toward Bristoe. On the 19th, I moved back via Catlett’s to Auburn, from which place, by a preconcerted plan, I marched against the rear and flank of Kilpatrick at Buckland, General Stuart (in command of Hampton’s division), in accordance with the same plan, having fallen back to within 2 miles of Warrenton, in order to draw Kilpatrick on. He was easily misled, and General Stuart having attacked him in front while the attack on his flank was progressing, his command was routed and pursued until after dark, losing some 200 prisoners, several wagons and ambulances; among them, I learn, was the head-quarters wagon of General Custer. Prisoners were also taken from the First Army Corps near Gainesville, behind which Kilpatrick had taken refuge. I encamped that night at Buckland, and the next day (20th) recrossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford. I have the honor to mention as specially coming under my observation the good conduct of Brigadier-General Lomax; Col. T. H. Owen, Third Virginia Cavalry, commanding Wickham’s brigade; Col. J. R. Chambliss, Jr., commanding Lee’s brigade, and Col. T. M. Garrett, commanding Johnston’s brigade.

My thanks are due for assistance rendered by my staff officers—Majors Ferguson, Bowie, and Mason, and Lieutenants Lee and Minnigerode.

I refer to the accompanying reports from subordinate commanders for a more detailed commendation for gallantry displayed.

Among the killed were Captains Newton and Williams, of the Fourth Virginia Cavalry. The former was commanding his regiment and was killed in a charge at the head of it. He was an officer of extraordinary merit and promise, and his death is deeply felt and mourned⁴².

My loss in horses was considerable, one brigade (Wickham’s) having 107 killed in action⁴³. The enemy’s losses were very great, and I regret no account was kept of the

⁴¹ These numbers represent prisoners captured and losses by casualty throughout the campaign.

⁴² These officers were killed during the Bristoe Campaign, but not at Buckland.

⁴³ At least 9 horses in the Confederate cavalry were killed in the Battle of Buckland Mills, 6 of them from Fitzhugh Lee’s Division (see Appendix A: Casualties).

prisoners taken at various times from them. A large number of horses, saddles, bridles, pistols, and long-range guns were also secured.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,
FITZ. LEE
Major-General, Commanding.
Maj. H. B. MCCLELLAN,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Cavalry Corps.”

13. Report of Brig. Gen. Lunsford L. Lomax, C. S. Army, commanding brigade. Headquarters Lomax’s Division, December 7, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 465-466.

Excerpt:

“On the 16th, my brigade⁴⁴, with that of Colonel Chambliss, was in position at Bristoe Station, where the enemy threatened all day, but when they attempted to advance were repulsed by a few well-directed shots from Chew’s battery. This was my last engagement with the enemy during the campaign. Being in the rear at Buckland, I only arrived on the field in time to join in a rapid pursuit⁴⁵.

The casualties in the brigade were as follows: Killed, 10; wounded, 60; and missing, 45, one-half of which at least were captured at Germanna and other fords before crossing the Rapidan.

My thanks are especially due the commanders of regiments for their valuable services rendered throughout the campaign. Ever at the post of duty and danger, they gallantly led their commands into battle and set an example of heroic and cheerful endurance worthy the imitation of all.

The officers and men of Chew’s battery were ever eager for the fight, and seemed to vie with the sharpshooters as to which should have the front. They rendered valuable service on every occasion.

My staff performed their duties always with energy and faithfulness, and rendered effective service.

Very respectfully, &c.,
L. L. LOMAX
Brigadier- General, Commanding.”

14. Report of Lieut. Col. Ridgely Brown, C. S. Army, First Maryland Cavalry Battalion. October 23, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 466-467.

Excerpt:

⁴⁴ Lomax’s Brigade consisted of the 1st Maryland Battalion, 5th Virginia, 6th Virginia, and 15th Virginia Cavalry regiments.

⁴⁵ Though Lomax’s Brigade may have arrived on the battlefield only in time for the evening pursuit across Broad Run and east of Buckland, Company F of the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion notes in its Muster Rolls, “at Bristow and at Buckland it [the battalion] was under severe fire and at the latter place demonstrated with their long range guns aided by the sharpshooters from other regiments the effectiveness of this weapon for Cavalry” (*Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 26], National Archives).

“On the 18th, the brigade being in position at Bristoe to resist the enemy, my command had position on the left of the railroad, and poured a volley into the enemy’s ranks; but they retired so quickly we could not tell the effect of our fire.

In the engagement near Buckland on the 19th, we could not get up in time to do much, though my boys were as ever eager for fight, and double-quickened to the front in time to give the enemy a few farewell shots and capture a number of prisoners. My command also did its full share of picketing during the campaign. The squadron that was left on the Rapidan overtook me on the 14th.

My total loss in the campaign was 4 men killed, 11 wounded, a lieutenant and 4 men captured.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. BROWN,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding.

Capt. C. POWELL GRADY, Assistant Adjutant-General.”

15. Report of Lieut. Col. John Shac. Green, C. S. Army, Sixth Virginia Cavalry. October 23, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 467-468.

Excerpt:

“The 19th, this regiment, with the brigade, were ordered to Buckland, where, though not actively engaged, our sharpshooters captured several prisoners⁴⁶, and the evening of the 20th recrossed to the south side of the Rappahannock River at Beverly Ford.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN SHAC GREEN

Lieutenant- Colonel, Sixth Cavalry, Commanding.”

16. Report of Maj. C. R. Collins, C. S. Army, Fifteenth Virginia Cavalry. October 27, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 469-470.

Excerpt:

“On Monday, on the march to Buckland, we marched in rear with one squadron out as rear guard, but had no encounter with the enemy, nor were we engaged in the attack on Kilpatrick near Buckland.”

17. Report of Col. Thomas H. Owen, C. S. Army, Third Virginia Cavalry, commanding Wickham’s brigade. October 25, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 470-474.

Excerpt:

⁴⁶ These accounts of Brown and Green from Lomax’s Brigade indicate that the brigade arrived late on the field of battle but nonetheless captured prisoners and employed their sharpshooters to positive effect. In all likelihood, they captured Union cavalry, such as members of the 5th Michigan Cavalry, who were separated from their regiments during the retreat and crossing of Broad Run. Lomax’s prisoners might have also come from the evening pursuit and attack near Gainesville.

“Sunday, the 18th, moved to Langyher’s Mill and encamped there that day and night, leaving the Fourth Regiment still on picket at Gainesville. Late in the evening the enemy advanced in considerable force, driving in our pickets, but Captain Randolph threw out all of his sharpshooters and skirmished with the enemy until late at night, when he withdrew after everything was quiet, falling back on the pike toward Buckland, leaving a strong picket at Gainesville.

Monday morning, the 19th, I withdrew my pickets and moved about daybreak to Auburn via Bristoe and Catlett’s Stations. Having learned here through a courier that General Stuart, commanding Hampton’s division, had fallen back nearly to Warrenton before the enemy, General Fitz. Lee, with his division, determined to strike the flank of the enemy about Greenwich or Buckland, and advancing on for this purpose, the Second Regiment in front, came upon and captured the enemy’s pickets near Greenwich⁴⁷.

My command⁴⁸ being in front, I was ordered to dismount all of my sharpshooters and deploy them on the right and left of the road⁴⁹, and bring up Breathed’s battery and put it in position⁵⁰. This being done in face of shot and shell⁵¹, as soon as General Stuart heard our guns he faced about and attacked them in front, while General Lee attacked them furiously on their flank. They were soon routed and made to flee precipitately across the run near Buckland for safety.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, I pressed forward with my sharpshooters and took possession of the bridge and ford at Buckland, and forced those of the enemy who were cut off to leave the road to their right and flee across the run above the bridge and ford⁵². This they did pell-mell, in great disorder and confusion, to save themselves the best way they could; but a great many were captured, killed, and drowned, and a number of their wagons and ambulances were also captured in their flight.

General Lee, seeing that they were badly routed and demoralized, ordered me to continue my pursuit, which I did, after crossing our battery and taking a good position on the hill beyond the run⁵³ and firing several shells into the rear of their retreating column. I advanced my command at a trot until I reached within about 100 yards of them, when I ordered a charge of the Third Regiment, and then the Second, and then the First Regiments, driving the enemy back upon a reserve of infantry, capturing and killing a good many, especially infantry⁵⁴. After driving them about 3 miles, and it becoming very dark, I was ordered to withdraw, which I did with a good many prisoners, horses, equipments and arms, &c., leaving a picket behind, and encamped for the night near Buckland. Thus ended a fight which crowned our arms with the most signal cavalry victory of the war, as the enemy’s cavalry, supported by infantry, was worse routed and demoralized than I have ever known them before.

⁴⁷ Possibly advance scouts of the 7th Michigan Cavalry.

⁴⁸ The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Virginia Cavalry regiments.

⁴⁹ The Greenwich Road, or modern Route 215.

⁵⁰ This position is most likely the artillery concentration identified by Louis Berger, Inc. (Bedell 2006).

⁵¹ Fire from the 6th Michigan Cavalry and Pennington’s Battery (2nd U.S. Artillery, Battery M).

⁵² Crossing Broad Run upstream of the bridge and ford at Buckland Mill, this portion of the Union cavalry would have found steep banks on either side, and deep water from the previous day’s heavy rain.

⁵³ This hill is almost certainly the lawn around the house at Cerro Gordo.

⁵⁴ These successive charges towards Gainesville and Haymarket were made partly on the Warrenton Turnpike and partly over fields and woods, on the high ground to the south and west of the current Southern Rail, between Routes 15 and 29.

Tuesday, the 20th, I moved to Auburn, and thence to the Rappahannock River, and crossed at Beverly Ford at 9 p. m. and went into camp on Dr. Green's farm."

18. Report of Col. John R. Chambliss, Jr., C. S. Army, Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry, commanding Lee's brigade. October 24, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 474-475.

Excerpt:

"The brigade was next ordered toward Buckland, and arriving found Wickham's brigade engaged with the enemy. My sharpshooters were dismounted and thrown forward rapidly, and assisted materially in routing the enemy and capturing many prisoners. The brigade, along with the division, the ensuing day crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford after an arduous and fatiguing campaign in which men and officers generally behaved with great credit."

19. Report of Brig. Gen. Rufus Ingalls, U. S. Army, Chief Quartermaster, including operations July 25-December 2, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 227-229.

Excerpt:

"The army moved forward again on the 19th of October, and on the 22nd occupied positions as follows⁵⁵:

First Corps, at Georgetown; Second Corps, where the Warrenton Branch Railroad crosses Turkey Run; Third Corps, at Catlett's Station; Fifth Corps, at New Baltimore; Sixth Corps, at Warrenton; Cavalry Corps on flanks; Artillery Reserve, near New Baltimore⁵⁶; headquarters, near Warrenton."

20. Report of Maj. Gen. John Newton, U. S. Army, commanding First Army Corps, of skirmish at Hay Market. Headquarters, First Army Corps, November 12, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 231-232.

Excerpt:

"My command was stretched along the road⁵⁷ from Gainesville to Thoroughfare Gap, communicating by pickets on the cross-roads with the Warrenton pike⁵⁸.

Immediately upon receiving notice from General Kilpatrick of the pressure upon him, and which was reported to me to be cavalry strongly supported by infantry, I sent the First Brigade⁵⁹, First Division of this corps, commanded by W. W. Robinson, out toward the Warrenton pike, and succeeded in preserving one brigade (I think Custer's),

⁵⁵ After the Confederate victory at Buckland and subsequent crossing of Lee's Army across the Rappahannock, the Union Army set up camps and field hospitals at Warrenton and points northeast before their unsuccessful Mine Run Campaign in late November.

⁵⁶ The Artillery Reserve was probably placed on the high ground at and west of New Baltimore that Davies had occupied in the early afternoon of October 19th, just before Stuart commenced his cavalry charge.

⁵⁷ Current Route 55.

⁵⁸ These roads met 3 miles east of Buckland. This is the distance of the evening charge described in the official reports of Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry officers.

⁵⁹ The "Iron Brigade," made up of Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan infantry regiments.

which was being driven in from that road. General Kilpatrick's main body came in on the road from Thoroughfare Gap in great confusion.

My pickets allowed our cavalry to pass through them, and attempted to repel that of the enemy, but being unfortunately but necessarily posted in the open ground, they were overborne, and driven in on the road from Thoroughfare Gap⁶⁰. My command was promptly under arms to attack, and the 143rd Pennsylvania Regiment (Colonel Dana), of the Third Division, was ordered forward to support Elder's battery, which went into position and opened fire upon the enemy about 400 yards in advance of my line of battle. This was about 7:30 p.m. The enemy picketed in front of my line⁶¹ until about midnight, when they retired.

In conclusion, I have to regret that my loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to about 50, most of the latter being lost through the misconduct of an officer of the pickets, who has since been dismissed the service on that account."

21. Report of Brig. Gen. John R. Kenly, U. S. Army, commanding Third Division, of skirmish at Hay Market. Headquarters Third Division, First Army Corps, October 27, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 232-233.

"COLONEL: I have the honor to report that, on the arrival of my division at Hay Market, the evening of the 19th instant, I received orders from Maj. Gen. John Newton, commanding the corps, to cover the roads leading to Thoroughfare Gap and Leesburg⁶², and to place heavy reserves from my pickets on both these roads at a distance of at least 1 ½ miles from the village.

In pursuance of these orders, I immediately detailed and pushed forward the 7th Maryland Regiment, Col. Edwin H. Webster commanding, of the Third Brigade of my division, with instructions based upon the orders I had received from Major-General Newton. I also ordered Colonel Webster to throw a chain of sentries in front of my camp, from the Gap road to the Leesburg road. These dispositions had scarcely been made before fugitives announced that Brigadier-General Davies' brigade of cavalry was approaching and was being pursued by the enemy⁶³. I formed my division at once, and soon the rattle of musketry from the reserves on the road to the Gap showed that they were engaged. While the firing continued, a battery of horse artillery connected with the cavalry halted, unlimbered, and opened fire at a distance of some 400 yards from my line of battle⁶⁴. This cannonading, and the fire from my pickets, checked the enemy's advance, and the cavalry, with its battery, withdrew to a position in rear of my lines.

I should mention that at the time the battery halted, I received a message from Brigadier-General Davies, by a staff officer, asking for an infantry support, and that I promptly sent him the 143rd Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Edmund L. Dana commanding, of the Second Brigade of my division. In about two hours after the

⁶⁰ Specifically, Davies' cavalry brigade was driven in behind its own infantry supports, comprised of the First Army Corps at and around Haymarket.

⁶¹ These must have been the pickets left by Col. Thomas H. Owen, commanding Wickham's Brigade.

⁶² Modern Route 55 and Route 15, respectively.

⁶³ Over woods and fields along the route of the old road to Haymarket.

⁶⁴ Given the distance measurements and references to roads, this artillery position might have been on the hills west of St. Paul's Church, outside of Haymarket along Route 15.

withdrawal of the cavalry from the front, feeling uneasy about my pickets⁶⁵, I led forward the 1st Maryland Regiment, Lieut. Col. John Wilson commanding, to their support, and had scarcely gotten them in line before the enemy's cavalry made a dash down the road from the Gap, having come in from the left and got between Colonel Webster's line of pickets and the supports just brought up. A rapid firing by file, from the 1st Maryland, checked immediately the enemy's advance, and they retreated, carrying off with them a few prisoners taken from the picket line⁶⁶. Subsequent to this the night passed off without any disturbance."

22. Report of Lieut. Col. John Wilson, First Maryland Infantry, Third Brigade, of skirmish at Hay Market. Headquarters, First Maryland Volunteers, October 27, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 233-234.

"SIR: I have the honor to submit the following as a report of the engagement between the pickets of my command and the rebels on the night of Monday, October 19, 1863:

After the Maryland Brigade was withdrawn from the north side of Hay Market⁶⁷, I received orders from Col. N. T. Dushane, commanding brigade, to proceed to the support of the 7th Maryland Regiment, which was on picket in front of the town. Arriving at a point designated, I was ordered by General Kenly, commanding division, to divide my regiment, stationing one wing on each side of the road, and to throw out skirmishers toward the Gap. I immediately commenced the execution of this order, advancing the Company A as skirmishers on both sides of the road.

While so advancing, and when about 300 yards from the main body, they were fired on by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and the fire being returned the enemy fell back. Finding the enemy a considerable distance inside of the original picket line held by the 7th Maryland Regiment, I deemed it prudent to strengthen and extend my line, which I did by advancing Companies F, G, and B, extending said line from the Leesburg road on the right to the pickets of the First Division on a small stream on my left⁶⁸.

The cavalry pickets of the enemy remained in our front until about 10 o'clock p.m., when they were withdrawn."

23. Report of Col. Edwin H. Webster, Seventh Maryland Infantry, of skirmish at Hay Market. Headquarters, Seventh Maryland Volunteers, October 27, 1863. Series 1 – Volume XXIX/Chapter XLI (Part I), pp. 234-235.

⁶⁵ First Army Corps directly engaged Stuart's cavalry for at least two hours *after* the fleeing Union cavalry retired behind their lines.

⁶⁶ Casualties from the 7th Maryland Infantry, who were cut off by one of Stuart's night charges.

⁶⁷ 3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Army Corps. This Brigade had been placed north of Haymarket on the road to Leesburg but was ordered to support the pickets (7th Maryland Infantry), positioning on either side of the road to Haymarket from the Warrenton turnpike.

⁶⁸ The 3rd Division infantry's line of battle, led by the 1st and 7th Maryland, extended after 8:00 p.m. for a distance exceeding 1 mile, from modern Route 15 to the bend in the north fork of Broad Run. This line was parallel to modern Route 55 and approximately 1/3 of a mile southwest of this road, along a series of hills, and extended to meet the infantry line of the 1st Division near the cross-roads of the Warrenton turnpike and the road to Thoroughfare Gap.

“On the arrival of the division at Hay Market on the afternoon of the 19th instant, my regiment was detailed for picket duty for the division, and I was appointed division officer for the day. My instructions were to place a strong picket well advanced on the roads leading to Leesburg and Thoroughfare Gap, and a chain of pickets between these roads as to connect them. Under these instructions a force of 125 men was posted on the Leesburg road under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Phelps, with its outposts about 1 ½ miles from Hay Market; a force of 125 men, under command of Major Makechney, Company B, was posted on the Thoroughfare Gap road, with its outposts also about 1 ½ miles from Hay Market. The chain of pickets between these two roads, which ran at right angles to each other and crossing at Hay Market, was about three-fourths of a mile from that place, and were under command of Captains Cochran, Company H, and Anderson, Company I.

Just as I had concluded posting the chain about midway between the roads mentioned, I heard firing to my left, apparently near Makechney’s outpost. I immediately hastened to that point, about 1 mile distant, and found that Stuart’s rebel cavalry, which had been engaged with General Kilpatrick during the day, had succeeded in cutting off General Davies’ Brigade from the rest of the division, and was driving it in through Makechney’s pickets who were then engaged with the enemy. This was about sundown. This engagement continued until dark, when our cavalry, having fallen back, leaving my men unsupported and the enemy pressing around their left in considerable force, they were ordered to fall back on the road to Hay Market. This was done in excellent order. They were then halted and posted on the road opposite the chain of pickets and on their extreme left. Here they were again attacked about 8 p.m., after the moon had risen⁶⁹.

It appears that no pickets had been posted on the left of my line, between the road to Thoroughfare Gap and the stream, about 500 yards still farther to the left⁷⁰. The enemy, taking advantage of this gap, had passed in the dark to the left and rear, and were thus able to attack us from the front, left, and rear. I was myself with Makechney’s pickets at the time. The fire of the enemy was returned until I saw that we should soon be entirely surrounded, when I ordered the pickets to fall back on the right into an adjacent strip of woods. This was done in good order. A few of the men, before they reached the woods, were, however, captured by the enemy, who charged down the pike, and in the fields on its right and left; the enemy in considerable force having passed to my left and rear were repulsed by the 1st Maryland Regiment, Colonel Wilson, which had been ordered to my support.

In connection with Colonel Wilson, the picket line, which had been disturbed on the left, was re-established. The right of my picket line, under Captain Anderson, and the

⁶⁹ Direct engagements after sunset, such as these cavalry charges upon standing infantry and artillery were rare in the Civil War. Stuart’s and Fitzhugh Lee’s night charges were, however, only persistent executions of their successful rout of Kilpatrick’s Division beyond Buckland. Using the specifics of terrain, connecting roads, and the high waters of Broad Run to their advantage, the Confederate cavalry managed to place Union cavalry and infantry in vulnerable positions throughout the day and night of October 19th, a series of accomplishments that allowed Stuart to confidently write in his report to Robert E. Lee that, “the rout was the most complete that any cavalry has ever suffered during this war.”

⁷⁰ This gap was located on the open ground just south of the cross-roads of modern Routes 55 and 15. The gap in the picket line was open from the time Davies’ cavalry retreated behind the infantry until the 1st Maryland Infantry relieved the 7th Maryland, giving significant advantage to the Confederate cavalry in its nighttime charge, and allowing a number of prisoners to be taken from the Union infantry lines.

picket line under Lieutenant-Colonel Phelps, had not been disturbed. During the night the enemy withdrew.

My loss was 1 enlisted man killed and 5 wounded, and 1 officer and 15 men captured.”

1st Vermont Cavalry [1st VT Cavalry]

1863 *Regimental Books, First Vermont Cavalry (1861-1865)*. National Archives and Records Administration [NARA]: Washington, D.C.

24. Letter, from Colonel Edward B. Sawyer, commanding First Vermont Cavalry, to General Peter T. Washburn, Adjutant and Inspector General. Headquarters, First Vermont Cavalry, October 1863. 1st VT Regimental Book, Volume 1 of 6.
Excerpt:

“It was now dark⁷¹, and, as he presented a very formidable line of fire, we were ordered to attempt to farther advance, but to hold the woods until further orders. This kept the regiment of duty through the entire night – a cold and rainy one – and, next morning, in the hopes of relieving the men, I sent word to Genl. Custer that I would drive the enemy from Gainesville in ten minutes if permitted. His reply was, “drive them out as soon as you please.” Maj. Bennett immediately deployed his battalion, Maj. Wells supporting. The enemy threw forward a strong skirmish line as if he had at least a brigade in reserve, but, suspecting a ruse, I pushed forward the battalions rapidly. Company L, having no officer with them, seemed at first to hesitate, but upon my sending them Lieut. Clark, Co. F., they rallied and advanced gallantly. With this trifling exception, the galling fire to which we were exposed did not for a moment check us, but the men went in with hearty cheers and nobly redeemed my promise. The enemy, who had thrown his whole strength into his skirmish line, fled too rapidly to be overtaken. I lost no men and but few horses. I extract the following from General Custer’s official report of this affair: ‘The First Vermont Cavalry, under Col. Sawyer, deserves great credit for the rapidity with which they forced the enemy to retire.’

But our success did not bring us the rest I had hoped – not even time to make coffee⁷². The road⁷³ being now cleared an immediate advance of the division was ordered, with the purpose of occupying Warrenton. Near Buckland Mills, however, it was found that the enemy occupied a strong position before us, and was prepared with artillery to dispute our further progress. I was now ordered to support Pennington’s battery⁷⁴. When it was evident we would be attacked upon our left flank, Captain Pennington advanced in that direction and opened a brisk, and, as we then thought and

⁷¹ The night of October 18th, 1863, when the Union cavalry was advancing upon Stuart’s cavalry at Gainesville.

⁷² This account illustrates the tiring nature of cavalry charges in general, and the overnight advance towards Buckland in particular, which led some soldiers to write that at Buckland Mills they had been engaged all day without having rested beforehand.

⁷³ Warrenton Turnpike.

⁷⁴ Pennington’s battery was first placed in front of Cerro Gordo in the morning of the 19th, but then taken across Broad Run with Custer’s brigade in order to flank Stuart’s position in Buckland on the left so that the Confederate cavalry would retreat.

the court (?) proved, a distracting fire⁷⁵. I formed my regiment in column of squadrons upon his left, pushing it well forward, and deploying two companies of dismounted carbineers, who skirmished with the enemy until some time after the guns were withdrawn. We were exposed here to very heavy fire from the large force⁷⁶ which was brought against the guns, but from its too great elevation, escaped with slight loss. Seeing the battery safely withdrawn⁷⁷, and that I was opposed by both infantry and cavalry, in superior force, and rapidly advancing in front and upon both flanks, I ordered the regiment to be withdrawn across Broad Run, which was done in excellent order. Toward night I was ordered to watch the enemy upon our right, and immediately engaged him with skirmishers until the brigade had reached the turnpike and was in full retreat⁷⁸. While we were coming off the enemy pursued us with great vigor, charging our rear and shelling the column⁷⁹.”

“The following is a list of casualties:

Buckland Mills, October 19th, Sergeant Horace A. Ide, Co. D, wounded in shoulder; Private Dennis G. Leahy, Co. C, wounded slightly; Corporals Dennis J. Hicks and Alexander Blair, Co. M, missing.”

Moore, Frank and Edward Everett, Eds.

1863 *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events* – Volume VII. John A. Gray & Green: New York.

25. “E. A. Paul’s Narrative⁸⁰. Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, Wednesday, October 21, 1863.” *The Rebellion Record*, 1863 (Volume VII), pp. 563-564.

Excerpt:

“The recent gallant cavalry fight of General Kilpatrick’s division at Buckland’s Mills and vicinity is still the subject of conversation throughout the army. Now that all the command is in, I am able to furnish a more reliable account of that affair than the first dispatches, which were necessarily incomplete, owing to the absence of a portion of the command. The commander of the division received orders on Sunday last to move as far as possible toward Warrenton, under the supposition that nothing but cavalry would oppose his progress; and knowing that Kilpatrick had whipped Stuart alone on several well-contested fields, it was not thought worth while to advance infantry within

⁷⁵ This conveys the common impression among Kilpatrick’s Division, most of whom thought that their artillery fire and flanking sharpshooters forced Stuart out of the town, when in fact, Stuart had received word from Fitzhugh Lee to retire designedly so as to trap Kilpatrick on the Warrenton Turnpike.

⁷⁶ Fitzhugh Lee’s cavalry division, supported by infantry and artillery.

⁷⁷ Pennington’s battery was first withdrawn to a location behind the hill to the southeast of the current intersection of Routes 215 and 29; the battery was then withdrawn across Broad Run.

⁷⁸ According to this, the 1st Vermont Cavalry shielded the retreat of Custer’s brigade across Broad Run, and was therefore placed in a position south of the Buckland Bridge in order to guard this crossing while skirmishing with the advancing Confederate force that occupied the turnpike and bridge.

⁷⁹ This refers to the continued, 3 mile charge of Custer’s brigade by Fitzhugh Lee from Buckland to the Union infantry supports near the crossroads at Gainesville.

⁸⁰ E. A. Paul, a writer for the New York Times was among the earliest “embedded reporters,” traveling with Kilpatrick’s Third Division and writing descriptive first-hand battle narratives that combine both accurate detail and grandiose self-promotion for the Union cavalry.

immediate supporting distance⁸¹. Notwithstanding this division has been constantly on active duty, and the men and horses were considerably the worse for wear, the order to march was obeyed with alacrity, and the command was moving by 3:00 p.m. on Sunday. But little progress had been made from Bull Run before the enemy's pickets were encountered and driven back upon their supports at Gainesville, where two regiments were found drawn up in line of battle. Night coming on, the command encamped⁸². Early Monday morning the advance was sounded, and the enemy retired from Gainesville, fighting as they went, taking the Warrenton pike. From Gainesville General Kilpatrick took the precaution to send the First Virginia regiment⁸³, Major Farrable, to Haymarket and vicinity to guard the right flank, and the Seventh Michigan, Colonel Mann, to Greenwich and vicinity to guard the left flank⁸⁴, while the remainder of the division moved up the Warrenton pike. The enemy fled precipitately until they had crossed Broad Run, at Buckland's Mills, where Hampton's and Jones's brigades under the immediate control of Stuart, with two batteries, occupied a very strong position west of the run. The banks of Broad Run in this vicinity are very steep, and, therefore, are fordable only at a few places. Pennington's and Elder's batteries were opened with effect, compelling the enemy to move their batteries several times. After an artillery duel and skirmishing for nearly two hours, and the Commanding General having received word that there was no enemy near at hand on his right or left, under concentrated fire of the artillery a crossing was effected in force by the pike bridge. The skirmishers, not to be left behind, boldly waded the river, and notwithstanding all the obstacles to such a movement, kept up an excellent line, the whole command pushing forward under a very heavy fire. The conflict, though comparatively brief here, was sharp, the enemy contending manfully for every foot of ground, but when they did give way⁸⁵, General Davies's brigade, which had before been held in hand while Custer's had the advance, moved rapidly forward, pressing the enemy above New Baltimore. While General Custer's command was taking a nooning, a messenger came in out of breath to General Kilpatrick, with the information that a column of the enemy was threatening his left. Suitable disposition of the force was at once made to resist this unexpected danger by Major Cook, Chief of Staff and Adjutant-General Estes. No sooner had this been done than a portion of the Seventh Michigan which had been stationed on their flank was forced back by a line of rebel infantry acting as skirmishers, with a strong reserve, believed to have been at least one full division with a brigade or more of cavalry⁸⁶. The extreme danger of the command as situated was seen at a glance by General Kilpatrick, and he dispatched Lieutenant Hickey with orders to General Davies to fall back at once, as he was in danger of being cut off. General Davies had in part anticipated the order, for upon hearing firing at his rear, had fallen back to within one mile and a half of General

⁸¹ Had Union infantry been advanced to cover key terrain at Buckland, such as the high ground in the town, the bridge, turnpike, and Cerro Gordo, the battle would not have lasted all day and night nor would it have cost Kilpatrick's Division and infantry supports as many casualties and losses.

⁸² Except for those troops, such as the 1st Vermont Cavalry, that picketed throughout the night.

⁸³ 1st West Virginia Cavalry.

⁸⁴ The 7th Michigan Cavalry crossed Broad Run at a ford south of Buckland in order to scout Greenwich. Some of these men were captured by Fitzhugh Lee's advancing division in the early afternoon.

⁸⁵ At around 12:00 noon.

⁸⁶ Fitzhugh Lee's Division, covering a width more than 1 mile in extent and moving north across fields and on the Greenwich Road.

Custer's brigade, and was there awaiting orders when the messenger arrived. While this was transpiring, the Fifth Michigan, Colonel Alger, was deployed as skirmishers to so far as possible fill up the gap between the two brigades and keep back a threatened movement of the enemy to divide the command⁸⁷. A severe struggle now took place for possession of the pike – our forces trying to hold it so as to enable Davies to pass and take up a new position, while the enemy were determined that the movement should not be made. Having both infantry and cavalry, in this they were successful – General Custer, however, succeeding in getting his command in safety across Broad Run after the most desperate fighting, in which Pennington's battery (Company M, Second Artillery), as usual, took a most important part, firing with great rapidity, and making their guns a terror to all massed forces with which the enemy threatened the retiring troops, though at one time they boldly came within a very short distance of the guns, intent upon capturing them.

Once across the river, the bridge was held, though some of the men were entirely out of carbine ammunition, and resort was had to Colt's revolvers, in which the officers took a conspicuous part. The enemy, however, succeeded in effecting a crossing some distance to the left, and the brigade fell back fighting to the vicinity of Gainesville, where the troops disappeared in a belt of timber, passing through a line of Sixth corps infantry skirmishers there concealed⁸⁸, whom the enemy, not seeing, made bold to charge, and were repulsed with great loss, the officer leading the charge being among the killed.

When General Kilpatrick saw that Custer's brigade was safe across Broad Run, he directed him to fall back slowly, and fighting if pursued, and then started, accompanied by an orderly only, to join General Davies, whom he had notified previously by an aid that he was cut off, and must make his way to the pike leading from Thoroughfare Gap to Gainesville. To many not acquainted with the circumstances this might seem a foolhardy errand, having to recross Broad Run, which he did at the bridge, and to run the gauntlet of skirmishers for more than a mile; but General Kilpatrick would rather have lost his own life on that field than to lose a brigade, the fate of which then hung in the balance; and while having the utmost confidence in the ability and coolness of General Davies, he at the same time realized the fact that his own presence would do something toward encouraging the troops, particularly as some of them had been associated with him for years. Providence permitting, he succeeded in reaching the command with ten or a dozen gallant spirits, both officers and men, who, seeing the noble conduct of their General, resolved to accompany him without orders. Fortunately, as the sequel will show, Dr. Capehart, Chief Surgeon of the brigade, was familiar with that section of country, and avoiding the main road leading to Thoroughfare Gap, reached the pike a short distance above the village of Haymarket. The difficulty of this movement will be understood when it is stated that this reduced brigade was attacked in the rear by both Hampton's and Jones's brigades, and that Fitz Lee was ready to confront it on the Thoroughfare Gap road, which they expected Davies would take when cut off. When General Kilpatrick reached the command, he at once ordered the Harris Light (2nd New York) to act as rear

⁸⁷ The 5th Michigan Cavalry was sent forward along the turnpike to fill a gap between the two brigades, west of the first ridge and only line of woods that intersected that road. The regiment could not advance further than the woods, however, where Fitzhugh Lee had placed artillery and dismounted cavalry. When these forces encountered one another, a direct engagement followed, after which a portion of the 5th Michigan was cut off from Custer's brigade.

⁸⁸ Approximately 2 ½ miles west of Buckland on the Warrenton Turnpike, along the north fork of Broad Run.

guard. So hard pressed were they in rear and flank, that the choicest spirits – because the bravest, both officers and men – of the command joined the rear-guard, and nobly did they withstand the onsets of the enemy, and even mocked them – while exulting at the idea of even driving a moiety of Kilpatrick’s command – in their beast-like yelp, and hurled them back on more than one occasion by the sword alone. At one time the rear-guard and the advance of the enemy were all mixed together⁸⁹. The enemy’s advance wearing a uniform similar to that worn by our own troops, in the excitement of the moment it was not easy to distinguish one from the other. As an instance of this, I may state that a rebel urged Lieutenant Whittaker, of General Kilpatrick’s staff, to press forward. Whittaker, supposing it was some of our own men, upbraided him for wishing, as he supposed, to press past and abandon the wagons. By half-past 7:00 in the evening both brigades were in camp in Gainesville, having been engaged nearly all day in fighting a combination of infantry and cavalry, with a loss, all told, as now appears – including killed, wounded, and missing – not to exceed one hundred men, instead of three hundred or four hundred, as was first reported by stragglers⁹⁰. And instead of losing eight or nine wagons, the actual loss is only two, and one of these got mired, and the other broke down. No horses or mules were lost. In this retreat Elder’s battery took a conspicuous part, and was handled with consummate skill.”

Wittenberg, Eric J., Editor

2000 *One of Custer’s Wolverines: The Civil War Letters of Brevet Brigadier General James H. Kidd, 6th Michigan Cavalry*. Kent State University Press: Kent, Ohio.

26. Letter, from James H. Kidd, 6th Michigan Cavalry, to parents. Headquarters, Sixth Michigan Cavalry, October 26, 1863.

Excerpt:

“When you saw me last I was making coffee and had just ceased skirmishing. We had crossed ‘Broad Run’ a stream which at that time was unfordable and could be crossed only by a single bridge or by swimming. The enemy as I think I told you had given up a splendid position to our advance a position which they could have held against two times their number whereas as the sequel proved they greatly outnumbered us⁹¹. The 1st Brigade went on towards Warrenton and our brigade remained on the bank near the bridge making coffee feeding our horses at ease and unsuspecting of danger but it seems that General Stewart [sic] who was in command left his strong position to allow us across intending when we had placed sufficient distance between ourselves and the chance of retreat. While making strong show of resistance in our front to have Fitz Hugh Lee’s [sic] cavalry attack our rear. This ruse partially succeeded. An accidental circumstance interfered with in some measure with his plan. Gen. Custer was ordered by Gen. Kilpatrick to push on towards Warrenton after the 1st Brigade which passed us at Buckland Mills where we halted. Gen. Custer declined to go on until his men had had dinner they having had nothing to eat since the day before. This delay saved us. Fitz

⁸⁹ At this point, Union infantry of the 1st Army Corps were also engaged in the fight.

⁹⁰ Paul’s figure of 100 casualties is simply incorrect, as there are at least 262 documented Union casualties from the battle at Buckland.

⁹¹ The positions held by Stuart’s Division were in the town of Buckland.

Hugh Lee evidently waited for us to move on until Gen. Kilpatrick obtained some inkling of his presence upon our flank when he ordered Gen. Custer's brigade back across the run at the same time sending orders to Gen. Davis [sic] commanding the 1st Brigade to return. Gen. Custer ordered me to move 500 yards to the left and remain there while the column was passing out. At that time I am satisfied that he was entirely unaware of the presence of an enemy in our immediate neighborhood. I moved the regiment through a field⁹² till I came to a fence and intended to go on to the woods beyond the next field⁹³ but not thinking it worth while to remove the fences I commenced to form the regiment in "columns of battalions" where I was. I had found one battalion with the left flank towards the woods and was forming the other in its rear when the enemy concealed in the woods opened fire upon us. The balls whizzed through and over us strange to say injuring no one. I was astonished, and for a moment supposed they were our own men as Gen. Custer had told me that the 7th Michigan were near there but they were more to the right. A second volley satisfied me and in two minutes I had dismounted the regiment, deployed the skirmishers along the fence facing the woods and sent the horses back to our former position under cover of a hill⁹⁴. I reported to Gen. Custer who on hearing firing was as much surprised as myself he immediately placed the battery in position in our rear, by which time the rebels opened fire from a masked battery, right in front of us⁹⁵. They however directed their attention to our battery and to the rear of our battery. Five minutes after a heavy force of mounted Infantry dismounted made its appearance to the front and left and coming down upon our left flank while the 7th Mich Cavly had been driven in upon our right⁹⁶. Our battery immediately limbered up when I had informed Gen. Custer of this new danger and went for the bridge on the run, while all the mounted regiments all retired slowly. Gen. Custer ordered me to mount my men who when they received the order fell back at a walk firing as they retired and mounted and got out of the way in good order. After we had all got safely over the bridge⁹⁷ the rebels planted a battery and shelled the road while a force of cavalry which had crossed below⁹⁸ came in upon what had been our left but was then our right flank. At Haymarket we met our Infantry and was out of danger. The 1st Brigade was cut off also the 5th Michigan and made their escape by turning off to the right and swimming the stream. Col. Alger lost a whole battalion over 50 men with Major Clark, Captain Lee, and his adjutant. I lost 5 men wounded one sniping. This was a most beautiful trap for our division and same within one of succeeding. Dinner saved us. The following is a rough sketch of our position. Having escaped we came to the place where we have since been."

⁹² On Buckland Farm.

⁹³ The woods here referenced are the line of woods west of the road to Greenwich, now Route 215, where Fitzhugh Lee had concealed a portion of his division. Kidd and the 6th Michigan were moving and facing westward when he decided to form the regiments into columns just east of Route 215.

⁹⁴ A portion of Custer's brigade, with horses and artillery, was sent into a position of concealment behind, or to the northwest of, the hill at the intersection of modern Routes 29 and 215.

⁹⁵ A Confederate battery placed in the woods atop the ridge west of Route 215.

⁹⁶ The 5th Michigan, in the woods at the far right of Custer's line, was likely cut off when the 7th Michigan was driven in upon the right flank of the 6th Michigan.

⁹⁷ According to this account, most of Custer's brigade made it over the bridge at Buckland before Fitzhugh Lee took control of it.

⁹⁸ This portion of Fitzhugh Lee's command crossed at a ford south of Buckland, either at Kinsley Mill or at another ford a mile further south.

Kidd, James H.

1908 *Personal Recollections of a Cavalryman with Custer's Michigan Brigade in the Civil War*. Sentinel Printing Company: Ionia, Michigan.

27. Chapter XIV – The Battle of Buckland Mills

“BUCKLAND MILLS was, in some sort, a sequel to Brandy Station. The latter battle was a brilliant passage at arms, in which neither side obtained a decisive advantage. Kilpatrick was still pugnacious and both willing and anxious to meet Stuart again. That his mind was full of the subject was evinced by a remark he was heard to make one morning at his headquarters on the Bull Run battle ground. He was quartered in a house, his host a Virginian too old to be in the army, and who remained at home to look after the property. It was a clear day, and when the general came out on the porch, the old gentleman accosted him with a cheery:

“A fine day, general!”

“Yes, a – fine day for a fight;” was the instant reply.

In most men this would have sounded like gasconade. In Kilpatrick's case, it was not so considered. He was credited with plenty of pluck, and it was well understood that he was no sooner out of one action, than he was planning to get into another. He ran into one, a day or two later, which furnished him all the entertainment of that kind that he wanted, and more too.

Reconnaissances across Bull Run on the Gainesville road disclosed a considerable force of mounted confederates. When their pickets were driven in by the Sixth Michigan on the 15th and again by the First Michigan on the 16th strong reserves were revealed. As a matter of fact, Stuart was at Buckland Mills with Hampton's division, and Fitzhugh Lee was at or near Auburn, but a few miles away. They had their heads together and devised a trap for Kilpatrick, into which he rode with his eyes shut.

Sunday evening, October 18, the Third division moved out across Bull Run, Kilpatrick in command, Custer's brigade leading, Davies with the First brigade bringing up the rear. Stuart's cavalry was attacked and driven rapidly until dark by the First Vermont cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Addison W. Preston, acting as advance guard. Early on Monday morning, October 19, the march was resumed, the Sixth Michigan in advance.

About midway between Bull Run and Broad Run the confederate rear guard, a regiment of Young's brigade of Hampton's division, was encountered which fell back before the advance of the Sixth Michigan making but slight resistance and retreating across Broad Run, where it was found that Stuart had taken up a strong position, forming the three brigades of Gordon, Rosser and Young in line on the opposite side, as if to contest the crossing.

The stream was deep and difficult, spanned at the pike by a stone bridge⁹⁹. Its banks were wooded¹⁰⁰. Stuart stationed a piece of artillery on the high ground so as to

⁹⁹ The Buckland bridge on the Warrenton turnpike.

¹⁰⁰ The area of the town lots in Buckland was wooded, as it is today. In addition to trees marking the corners of lots, there were wooded lots around the Buckland Mill, churchyard, on the eastern banks of Broad Run, covering the

command the bridge and its approaches. A portion of the regiment was dismounted and advanced to engage the dismounted confederates across the stream. Captain George R. Maxwell of the First Michigan, whose regiment was at the time in the rear, rode up and asked permission to take a carbine and go on foot with the men of the Sixth who were in front. The permission was granted and, giving his horse into the charge of an orderly, he was in a few moments justifying his already well established reputation as a man of courage, by fighting like an enlisted man, on the skirmish line of a regiment not his own, thus voluntarily exceeding any requirements of duty.

Custer rode up with his staff and escort, and halted in the road, making a conspicuous group. Stuart's cannoneers planted a shell right in their midst, which caused a lively scattering, as they had no desire to be made targets of for that kind of artillery practice. Fortunately no one was killed.

Custer then brought up his entire command and formed a line of battle, the Sixth Michigan in the center across the pike, the Fifth Michigan on the right, the Seventh Michigan on the left, the First Michigan and First Vermont in reserve, mounted. After a somewhat stubborn resistance, Stuart apparently reluctantly withdrew, permitting Custer to cross though he could have held the position easily against ten times his number whereas, as the sequel proved, he greatly outnumbered Kilpatrick. The Seventh crossed at a ford about a mile below¹⁰¹, the other regiments at the bridge. Stuart retreated toward Warrenton. It was then about noon, perhaps a little later than that. Kilpatrick came up and ordered Custer to draw in his skirmishers¹⁰² and allow Davies to pass him and take the advance. Custer massed his command on some level ground, behind a hill, beyond the bridge, and adjacent to the stream¹⁰³. Davies crossed the bridge, passed the Michigan brigade, and took up the pursuit of Stuart. Kilpatrick, with his staff, followed along the pike in rear of Davies's brigade. As he was moving off, Kilpatrick directed Custer to follow the First brigade and bring up the rear.

This was the very thing that Stuart was waiting for. It had been arranged between him and Fitzhugh Lee that he, with his three brigades (Rosser, Young, and Gordon), was to fall back without resistance before the two brigades of the Third division, until they were drawn well away from the bridge, when Lee, who was coming up from Auburn through the woods to the left¹⁰⁴, with the brigades of Lomax, Chambliss and Wickham and Breathed's battery would swing in across the pike, cut Kilpatrick off from the bridge, and then, at the first sound of Lee's guns, Kilpatrick was to be attacked simultaneously by Stuart in front and by Lee in rear, and thoroughly whipped.

floodplain and slopes leading up to Cerro Gordo. The woods, topography, and cover of large buildings collectively made Stuart's position on the west banks of Broad Run a particularly strong one.

¹⁰¹ This ford, now under Lake Manassas, crossed Broad Run south of its South Run fork, connecting with the old Carolina Road to the west of Buckland Farm. The 7th Michigan Cavalry crossed at this point to scout towards Greenwich.

¹⁰² The advance guard of the 5th Michigan, north of the turnpike and on the high ground beyond the old Ned Distiller House, and 6th Michigan, on the turnpike and high ground near the Buckland Church.

¹⁰³ Custer's position here can be firmly identified as the high ground immediately to the north and west of the tan yard run behind the Buckland church. His reserve regiments would have occupied lots in the town and the open portion of the old Buckland town common just north of Buckland Farm.

¹⁰⁴ The line of woods, visible in Waud's drawing, that approached the Warrenton turnpike on a ridge west of town and extended south to Auburn roughly following the old Greenwich road.

It was a very pretty bit of strategy and came very near being successful. The plan was neatly frustrated by one of those apparent accidents of war which make or unmake men, according as they are favorable or unfavorable.

Custer respectfully but firmly demurred to moving until his men could have their breakfast - rather their dinner, for the forenoon was already spent. Neither men nor horses had had anything to eat since the night before, and he urged that the horses should have a feed and the men have an opportunity to make coffee before they were required to go farther¹⁰⁵.

Custer was a fighting man, through and through, but wary and wily as brave. There was in him an indescribable something - call it caution, call it sagacity, call it the real military instinct - it may have been genius - by whatever name entitled, it nearly always impelled him to do intuitively the right thing. In this case it seemed obstinacy, if not insubordination. It was characteristic of him to care studiously for the comfort of his men. And he did not believe in wasting their lives. It is more than probable that there was in his mind a suspicion of the true state of things¹⁰⁶. If so, he did not say so, even to the general commanding the division. He kept his own counsel and had his way. The delay was finally sanctioned by Kilpatrick, and the brigade remained on the bank feeding their horses and making coffee, Davies meanwhile advancing cautiously on the Warrenton road to a point within about two or three miles of Warrenton. Stuart made slight if any attempt to resist his progress.

The Gainesville-Warrenton pike, after crossing Broad Run, is bounded on both sides by cleared farm lands, fringed about one-third of a mile back by woods. From the place of Custer's halt it was not more than 500 or 600 yards to these woods. The road runs in a westerly direction and the brigade was on the south side of it.

There is very little of record from which to determine the time consumed by Custer's halt. It is a peculiar circumstance that not a single report of this battle made by a regimental commander in Custer's brigade appears in the official war records¹⁰⁷. A similar omission has been noted in the battle of Gettysburg. Custer made a report and so did Kilpatrick and Davies, but they are all deficient in details. There is no hint in any of them as to the duration of the delay. The Confederate chronicles are much more complete. From them it would appear that the stop was made about noon and that the real battle began at 3:30 in the afternoon. Memory is at fault on this point for the reason that after coffee and while the horses were feeding I lay down upon the ground and fell asleep. Before that some of the men had gone into the adjacent fields¹⁰⁸ in search of long forage. It was understood that the Seventh Michigan after crossing at the lower ford was scouting through the country toward Greenwich and there was no hint or suspicion that an enemy could approach from that direction without being discovered by this scouting party.

¹⁰⁵ At least one of regiments, the 1st Vermont had not slept the night before.

¹⁰⁶ It must be kept in mind that an entire regiment under Custer's command, the 7th Michigan, was separated from his brigade on scout duty south of Buckland Farm. In addition to providing his men an opportunity for rest, and using this time to survey the terrain, Custer may have wanted to ascertain the 7th Michigan's position and assure their safety before following the Third Division on the turnpike.

¹⁰⁷ Colonel Edward B. Sawyer of the 1st Vermont wrote an account of this battle that was never submitted to the official records (see above, *Regimental Books, First Vermont Cavalry*).

¹⁰⁸ The town commons and the northern fields of Buckland Farm.

Finally Custer was ready to move. Awakened by a staff officer I was directed to report to the general.

“Major,” said he, “take position with your regiment about 500 yards toward those woods remain there until the command is in column on the pike, then follow and bring up the rear.”

The order was given with a caution to be careful, as the Seventh Michigan had been scouting near Greenwich and might be expected to come in from that direction. Greenwich is almost due south from Buckland Mills, whereas Auburn, from which place Fitzhugh Lee was approaching, lay considerably west of south.

The movement of the two commands began simultaneously. The Fifth Michigan, Pennington's battery, the First Michigan and First Vermont, with Custer and his staff leading, were in a few moments marching briskly in column on the Warrenton pike, which was not very far away from the starting point. The Sixth Michigan meantime proceeded in column of fours toward the place designated by General Custer, close up to the woods¹⁰⁹. Nothing had been seen or heard of Davies for some time. Everything was quiet. Nothing could be heard except the tramp of the horses' feet and the rumble of the wheels of Pennington's gun carriages, growing more and more indistinct as the distance increased.

The Sixth had gone about 250 or 300 yards and was approaching a fence which divided the farm into fields, when Captain Don G. Lovell, who was riding by the side of the commanding officer of the regiment (since reporting for duty, October 12, I had been in command of the regiment), suddenly cried out:

“Major, there is a mounted man in the edge of the woods yonder,” at the same time pointing to a place directly in front and about 200 yards beyond the fence¹¹⁰.

Captain Lovell was one of the most dashing and intrepid officers in the brigade. He was always cool and never carried away with excitement under any circumstances. It is perhaps doubtful whether he could have maintained his customary imperturbability, if he had realized, at the moment, just what that lone picket portended.

A glance in the direction indicated, revealed the truth of Captain Lovell's declaration but, recalling what General Custer had said, I replied:

“The general said we might expect some mounted men of the Seventh from that direction.”

“But that vidette is a rebel,” retorted Lovell, he is dressed in gray.”

“It can't be possible,” was the insistent reply, and the column kept on moving.

Just then, the man in the woods began to ride his horse in a circle.

“Look at that,” said Lovell; “that is a rebel signal; our men don't do that.”

The truth of the inference was too evident to be disputed. Things were beginning to look suspicious, and in another instant all doubt, if any remained, was set at rest. The horseman, after circling about a time or two, brought his horse to a standstill facing in the direction from which we were approaching. There was a puff of smoke from the muzzle of his revolver or carbine, and a bullet whizzed by and buried itself in the breast of one of the horses in the first set of fours.

¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Custer's order to march 500 yards towards the woods would have placed them on the edge of the woods, which were only 1/3 of a mile west of their starting position.

¹¹⁰ At this point the 6th Michigan was approaching the current location of Route 215, before which there was most likely a fence running north to south.

"There, - it," exclaimed Lovell. "Now you know it is a rebel, don't you?"

The information was too reliable not to be convincing, and the regiment was promptly brought front into line, which had hardly been accomplished, when shots began to come from other points in the woods, and no further demonstration was needed that they were full of confederates.

The fence was close at hand, and the command to dismount to fight on foot was given. The Sixth deployed along the fence and the Spencers began to bark. The horses were sent back a short distance, under cover of a reverse slope¹¹¹. The acting adjutant was dispatched to overtake Custer and report to him that we were confronted by a large force of confederates and had been attacked. Before he had started, the confederates displayed a line of dismounted skirmishers that extended far beyond both flanks of the regiment and a swarm of them in front. A Michigan regiment, behind a fence, and armed with Spencer carbines, was a dangerous antagonist to grapple with by a direct front assault, and Fitzhugh Lee's men were not eager to advance across the open field, but hugged the woods, waiting for their friends on the right and left to get around our flanks, which there was imminent danger of their doing, before relief could come. It did not, however, take Custer long to act. Putting the Fifth Michigan in on the right of the Sixth, he brought back Pennington's battery, and stationed the First Vermont mounted to protect the left flank, holding the First Michigan mounted in reserve to support the battery and to reinforce any weak point, and proceeded to put up one of the gamiest fights against odds seen in the war. Opposed to Custer's five regiments and one battery, Fitzhugh Lee had twelve regiments of cavalry, three brigades under Lomax, Owen and Chambliss and as good a battery – Breathed's – as was in the confederate service.

Before the dispositions described in the foregoing had been completed, Breathed's battery, which had been masked in the woods to the right and front of the position occupied by the Sixth Michigan, opened fire with shell. But Pennington came into position with a rush, and unlimbering two pieces, in less time than it takes to tell it, silenced the confederate artillery, firing over the heads of the Sixth Michigan skirmishers¹¹². Fitzhugh Lee pressed forward his dismounted line, following it closely with mounted cavalry, and made a desperate effort to cut off Custer's line of retreat by the bridge. This he was unable to do. The Sixth held on to the fence until the confederates were almost to it, and until ordered by Custer to retire, when they fell back slowly, and mounting their horses, crossed the bridge leisurely, without hurry or flurry, the battery and the other regiments, except the First and Fifth Michigan, preceding it, The First Michigan brought up the rear¹¹³.

Fitzhugh Lee was completely foiled in his effort to get in Custer's rear, or to break up his flanks. Unfortunately, a portion of one battalion of the Fifth Michigan, about fifty men, under command of Major John Clark, with Captain Lee and Adjutant George Barse.

¹¹¹ They moved the horses in a northeasterly direction, under cover of an east-to-west slope that led towards the head of the tan yard drainage, South Branch.

¹¹² From a hill at the current intersection of Routes 29 and 215.

¹¹³ Specifically, Fitzhugh Lee was here attempting to flank Custer's brigade on the left, in a field on Buckland Farm, and on the right, on the turnpike itself. According to Kidd, Custer made this maneuver impossible and the 7th Michigan, 1st Vermont, and Pennington's Battery made it safely over the Buckland Bridge while the 5th and 6th Michigan engaged Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, slowly retiring until the 6th Michigan crossed, followed by the 1st and 5th Michigan, some of whom were cut off in this retreat and captured.

Being dismounted in the woods on the right, they were not able to reach their horses before being intercepted by the enemy's mounted men.

Custer, on the whole, was very fortunate and had reason to congratulate himself on escaping with so little damage. Davies did not fare so well. When Kilpatrick found that Custer was attacked, he sent orders to Davies to retreat. But the sound of firing which gave this notice to Kilpatrick was also the pre-arranged signal for Stuart, and that officer immediately turned on Davies with his entire division, and Davies though he put up a stout resistance had no alternative finally but to take to the woods on the north side of the pike and escape, "every man for himself." Fitzhugh Lee was between him and the bridge, he was hemmed in on three sides, and in order to escape, his men had to plunge in and swim their horses across Broad Run. The Fifth Michigan, except Major Clark's command, escaped in the same way¹¹⁴. The wagons, which followed Davies, including Custer's headquarters wagon containing all his papers, were captured.

At first blush, it may appear that, if the vidette who fired the first shot, thus divulging the fact of the enemy's presence, had not done so, the Sixth Michigan would have gone on and marched right into Fitzhugh Lee's arms. It is not likely, however, that such would have been the result. Captain Lovell had already seen and called attention to the picket, declaring that he was a "rebel." The obvious course, under the circumstances, before taking down the fence and advancing to the woods, would have been to deploy a skirmish line and feel of the woods instead of blundering blindly into them.

Fitzhugh Lee made a mistake in halting to dismount. He should have charged the Sixth Michigan. Had he charged at once mounted as Rosser did in the Wilderness, with his overwhelmingly superior force at the moment of his arrival he must certainly have interposed between Custer and the bridge. He allowed one regiment to detain his division until Custer could bring back his brigade, and get his regiments into position to support each other.

Major H. B. McClellan, Stuart's adjutant general, commenting in his book [*Campaigns of Stuart's Cavalry*] on this battle, says that "Custer was a hard fighter, even on a retreat." He also says:

"Fitzhugh Lee had come up from Auburn expecting to gain, unopposed, the rear of Kilpatrick's division, but he found Custer's brigade at Broad Run ready to oppose him. A fierce fight ensued."

Major McClellan also quotes Major P. P. Johnston, who commanded a section of Breathed's battery in the fight, as saying:

"My battery was hotly engaged. The battle was of the most obstinate character, Fitz. Lee exerting himself to the utmost to push the enemy, and Custer seeming to have no thought of retreating."

The battle was opened by Wickham's brigade of Virginians commanded by Colonel T. H. Owen of the Third Virginia cavalry. It was the First, Second and Third Virginia that led the advance. Pennington gave Breathed's battery much the worst of it.

The truth is that Fitz. Lee did not find Custer ready to oppose him, though it did not take him long to get ready, after he was attacked. Custer with most of his command was well on his way to follow Kilpatrick. Only one regiment was left behind, and that

¹¹⁴ One half mile west from the bridge, and upstream of the Buckland Mill, the banks of Broad Run are steep and were wooded, making this a desperate and dangerous crossing, to which there was no alternative but capture. Crossing the wagons was impossible in this situation, explaining their easy capture.

one regiment - the Sixth Michigan cavalry - was taken entirely by surprise when fired upon by the vidette, and was all that Colonel Owen had in front of him when he arrived and began the attack. It is possible that ignorance of what it was facing helped the Sixth Michigan to hold on till Custer could be notified and brought back. And again, it is possible that Custer was marching more slowly than the writer wots of; that he suspected the ruse which was being played by his old West Point instructor [Fitzhugh Lee was Custer's Instructor in West Point before the war broke out], and sent the regiment out there for the express purpose of developing the enemy, if enemy there was, making a feint of moving away so as to deceive, but keeping an ear to windward to catch the first sound of danger. It has always seemed to the writer that General Custer must have had a motive which did not appear on the surface, in giving that order. His order was to go 500 yards. Five hundred yards would have brought us to the woods. If he suspected that there might be an enemy there, no surer way to find out whether his suspicions were well founded or not could have been chosen. One thing is certain. He was back in an incredibly short space of time. It may be that he heard the sound of firing and was on his way when the adjutant found him¹¹⁵.

Fitzhugh Lee followed Custer half way to Gainesville and then withdrew. Near that place was found a line of federal infantry sent out to support the cavalry¹¹⁶, but it did not advance far enough to get into the fight.

That night, Kilpatrick invited all the officers of the division to his headquarters and made a sorry attempt at merry-making over the events of the day. There were milk-punch and music, both of very good quality, but the punch, palatable as it undeniably was, did not serve to take away the bad taste left by the affair, especially among the officers of the First brigade. Custer's men did not feel so badly. They had saved their bacon and their battery, and the wariness, prudence and pluck of their young commander had prevented a much more serious disaster than had actually happened.

It may be of interest enough to mention that Fitz. Lee told the writer, in Yorktown, in 1881, that Stuart was at fault in stopping to fight at Buckland Mills; that, under the arrangement with him (Lee) Stuart should have fallen back very rapidly, without making any resistance whatever, until he had lured Kilpatrick with his entire division some distance beyond the bridge. In that event, General Lee would have found the opportunity he was seeking. But he did not know about Custer's action in insisting on stopping there. He was much surprised when informed of the true state of things, since he had felt that Stuart was blameworthy in the matter. He had supposed that it was Stuart's resistance to the federal advance which kept Custer's brigade back until his arrival, and foiled his well planned attempt¹¹⁷."

Harris, Samuel

1897 *Personal reminiscences of Samuel Harris* (5th Michigan Cavalry Regiment). Rogerson Press: Chicago.

¹¹⁵ This paragraph points to the remarkable nature of both Fitzhugh Lee's and Custer's strategies, the former of which nearly succeeded in compromising an entire Union cavalry division and the latter of which narrowly succeeded in saving it from much greater losses.

¹¹⁶ Parts of the First and Sixth Army Corps.

¹¹⁷ Stuart's advantageous position in the town of Buckland, occupying the mill and church with his batteries and the high terraces with his sharpshooters, may have encouraged him to fight Kilpatrick here instead of immediately withdrawing as Fitzhugh Lee had planned.

28. Excerpts (regarding the nature of the Bristoe Campaign¹¹⁸):

“Another reason for our slow movements was that Gen. Lee had completely destroyed the railroad from Bristoe Station to Culpepper. Our movements were timed with thorough repair of the railroad.

This was the only way we had of getting supplies. We were fully ten days in getting back near our old camping ground.”

“Gen. Meade seemed very much alarmed about his communications with Washington. He forgot that his army was well supplied, and that Lee’s army could not carry over five days rations, and that if Lee was across his communications, he was also across Lee’s, and could cut him off from any possible retreat, and would have him between his own army and the defences of Washington. Notwithstanding these facts, Gen. Meade issued orders to retreat with all possible dispatch to Centerville. Back we went very much to the disgust of the whole army. The boys dubbed these marches as ‘Lee and Meade’s Express from Centerville to Culpepper.’”

Merrington, Marguerite, Editor

1987 *The Custer Story, The Life and Intimate Letters of General George A. Custer and His Wife Elizabeth*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

29. Letter, George Armstrong Custer to Annette Humphrey. Gainesville, VA – October 20, 1863.

“Under very distressing circumstances I turn to you and her for consolation. It is for others that I feel. Yesterday, October 19th, was the most disastrous this Division ever passed through. We moved at daylight to attack the enemy. I had the advance and drove the rebels three miles¹¹⁹. Then their entire cavalry under Generals Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee made a stand and prepared to charge my advance. They had the advantage in position. As soon as I discovered their immense superiority I sent a staff officer to Genl. Kilpatrick asking for assistance, but failed to get it, although the other brigade was 3 or 4 miles in the rear, doing nothing. I then took my battery and 4 regiments, and succeeded in turning the enemy's flank so effectively as to drive him from his position¹²⁰. I followed for about a mile, then placed my command in position¹²¹ to await the arrival of the remainder of the command. Genl. Kilpatrick soon rode up and complimented me: "Well done, Custer. You have driven them from a very strong position!" (I was aware of that,

¹¹⁸ Harris was sick with diarrhea during this campaign and missed the fighting at Buckland. His comments regarding the frequent retreats that characterized the Bristoe Campaign are useful for understanding the experience of the enlisted man during indecisive campaigning, and also highlights the sharp contrast between this style of fighting and that of his commander, Judson Kilpatrick, whose advance and loss at Buckland on the 19th produced one of the only definitive results of the entire campaign – Lee’s safe and unopposed retreat across the Rappahannock and his forming a strong position beyond the Rapidan while compromising Meade’s previously held position at Culpeper.

¹¹⁹ From Gainesville to Buckland.

¹²⁰ Stuart was positioned in the town of Buckland with Young’s, Rosser’s, and Gordon’s brigades, as well as batteries.

¹²¹ The high ground west of the Buckland church and south of the Warrenton turnpike.

myself.) All would have been well if Genl. K. had been content to let well enough alone. My scouts had informed me of heavy columns of infantry moving around on both my flanks, evidently intending to cut me off¹²². I informed Genl. K. of this and advised him to guard against it, but he did not believe me, and ordered me to halt until the last Brigade passed me, then to follow it, on the road to Warrenton. Scarcely had the first brigade passed when the enemy made a vigorous attack from the direction I had forseen, bringing both infantry and artillery against me, at the same time throwing a column between the first Brigade and mine, thus cutting me off from the main body¹²³. I held my ground until the last moment. The rebel infantry had charged my battery, nearly capturing the guns. Nothing but to retreat, which I did in good order. Now comes my trouble. Genl. K. without my knowledge, had detached Major Clark and one battalion of the 5th Michigan to skirmish in the woods. Had he given the order, as he should have done, through me, we should not now have to regret the loss of the Major and his entire battalion. Aside from this my Brigade has suffered but little in loss of men. One Genl. K's staff officers ordered my Headquarters wagons to follow the other brigade, altho I had ordered them to go to the rear. As a consequence my wagons were captured along with those of Genl. K. and those of the 1st Brigade. Among other things Captain Greene's desk with his reports and my official reports of Gettysburg and other engagements & monthly and tri-monthly reports, &c. &c. So that yesterday was not a gala day for me. My consolation is that I was not responsible, but I cannot but regret the loss of so many brave men...all the more painful that it was not necessary.”

Clark, S. A.

1897 “Buckland Mills.” *Maine Bugle*, Vol. 4, pp. 108-110.

30. S. A. Clark, First Vermont Cavalry:

“October 17 and 18, 1863, General Meade had pretty good evidence that Lee’s army was falling back, evidently to make winter quarters. The cavalry under Pleasonton was at once thrown forward to find out Lee’s direction and probable intentions. Lee had well covered his infantry movements by his cavalry under the leadership of that prince of Southern cavalry leaders, J. E. B. Stuart. A few days before this event at Brandy Station, Killpatrick [sic] and Buford had crossed sabers with Stuart, somewhat to the discomfort of Stuart. But to-day matters were somehow changed. Stuart had some 7,000 men to Killpatrick’s 3,500¹²⁴. The morning of October 19, 1863, Killpatrick was instructed to push forward on the Warrenton pike to try to develop the enemy’s position. Meade, with his army, was to follow up. The Second corps was to move on the left to protect

¹²² According to this, Custer was aware of Confederate infantry, or dismounted cavalry, moving to the south and west, presumably from the direction of Auburn.

¹²³ Wickham’s Brigade cut off the two Union cavalry brigades by occupying the wooded ridge west of Route 215.

¹²⁴ This is one of many varying accounts of the numbers of men engaged in the battle at Buckland. It roughly corresponds with numbers given by Stuart in his report to Robert E. Lee and reflects a conservative estimate of the strength of both forces. It conflicts with another Union account, referenced by both Stuart and the 5th North Carolina Regimental History, that there were 7,000 Union cavalry engaged in the battle and chase (Reports of Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, *OR* 1890: 438-454; Jacobs 1999: 11). Neither Confederate accounts deny this figure, nor do they identify the source. It most resembles the account of William R. Ray, 7th Wisconsin Infantry, who describes riderless horses being chased into the infantry supports around Haymarket and Gainesville (Herdegen and Murphy 2002: 227-28).

Killpatrick's flank¹²⁵. It seems the movements of both sides were more or less a mistake, as neither army seemed to have the information it should to make a successful move. When Killpatrick began his advance Stuart was at Buckland with Hampton's division. Fitzhugh Lee with his division was at Auburn. Stuart, with Hampton's division, fell back before Killpatrick's advance, hoping to draw him far enough so that Lee, with his division, could strike his rear, and together they expected to crush him. It was a well planned scheme, and only lacked a little of success. What that little was we shall see. General Custer having the advance, forced the passage of Broad Run, at Buckland Mills, stopping here to feed his horses. Killpatrick took Davies's Brigade and pushed on to, and beyond, New Baltimore after Stuart. Even when Killpatrick started, Fitzhugh Lee's column was in sight, loitering along the edge of the woods, waiting for Killpatrick to get a good start, so he could more effectually cut him off. Killpatrick, seeing the troopers of Lee, supposed them to be his flank protectors, as he was apprised troops would be sent for that purpose¹²⁶. Killpatrick, of course, gave no further thought to his flank, but pressed on after Stuart. Fitzhugh Lee, from his position, no doubt could not see all of Custer's brigade¹²⁷, and supposed the men he saw were just rear guard feeding their horses. Lee's and Killpatrick's suppositions were at fault, and well-nigh cost them dear, as Lee came out in sight of Buckland Mills, and he was somewhat surprised to see Custer in his path. Nothing daunted, Lee threw out a skirmish line a mile long¹²⁸, stoutly supported by mounted men, and attacked Custer at once. Custer had no alternative but fight or run, and he was not of the running kind, and at once made preparation to fight. Custer formed his line with his left resting on Broad Run, where he posted a section of Pennington's guns, supported by the First Vermont Cavalry. His right extended through a woods and along a ridge on which he placed the balance of his battery¹²⁹. Custer hardly had his men in position before Lee struck him. At the first sound of Lee's guns Stuart turned upon Davies and Killpatrick, attacking them in front and flank, forcing them back to Buckland, inflicting serious loss, and causing quite a stampede. This stampede placed Custer's right flank in a very critical position, and his line had to be quickly withdrawn to meet the new emergency. Pennington's guns kept up a raking fire until the enemy were

¹²⁵ According to Henry Meyer of the 2nd New York Cavalry, Killpatrick believed the trap at Buckland would never have worked had a force (presumably the 2nd Army Corps) sent troops to guard his left flank while pursuing Stuart to Warrenton on the turnpike (Meyer 1911: 65-69). Upon Killpatrick's orders, Custer had in fact sent the 7th Michigan to scout around Greenwich and just north of Auburn in the early afternoon, but they did not meet up with the rest of their brigade until being driven in by Fitzhugh Lee's division, making for last minute intelligence.

¹²⁶ Both James A. Kidd, commanding the 6th Michigan Cavalry, and writer E. A. Paul of the New York Times, traveling with Killpatrick's Division, admit that on two occasions during the battle they each might have mistaken Confederates for their own men, Paul writing, "The enemy's advance wearing a uniform similar to that worn by our own troops, in the excitement of the moment it was not easy to distinguish one from the other" (Moore and Everett 1863; Kidd 1908). However, Killpatrick, who in several ways attempted to excuse or downplay the defeat at Buckland, never admitted seeing men in these woods or to confusing Fitzhugh Lee's men with his own. The Confederate position here was largely concealed from view, even to Custer's brigade as they faced it at a distance of only 500 yards.

¹²⁷ A portion of Custer's command, including Pennington's Battery, was concealed behind and to the east of the low hills immediately west of the town and south of the turnpike.

¹²⁸ A skirmish line that moved forward from the direction of Auburn, swung outward on the right, from the woods west of Route 215, forming in a line a mile or more long, extending from the woods across the southern fields of Buckland Farm. Meanwhile, large reserves in Fitzhugh Lee's command were massed in the woods to approach the turnpike further west so as to cut off the two brigades.

¹²⁹ This is yet another reference to the significant wooded ridge west of Route 215.

within twenty yards of the guns on the right. They then limbered up and took the guns across the run. Custer and Pennington in person were with the left flank when the attack began.

The two guns on the left were protected by two companies of the First Vermont, and they were getting pretty well crowded when Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, taking Lieutenant Clark of Company F, who was commanding Company L at this time, made a dash into the woods to the left of the guns¹³⁰, and began such a holloaing, cheering and firing our revolvers rapidly, as to convey the impression that a heavy flanking party was on Lee's flank. The ruse worked long enough for Pennington to limber up his guns and fall back, which he did, Custer in person with the First Vermont, fighting every foot. Though pressed in flank, and nearly in their rear, they kept up with the guns, and crossed the run in fairly good shape. There was no denying Killpatrick's division was pretty well scattered, but Custer, with his men, was in no way demoralized, although pretty well squeezed. McClellan, in the "Life of Stuart," says: "Custer was a hard fighter, even in retreat, and he succeeded in saving his artillery, and recrossed Broad Run without serious disorder."

Returning to Lieutenant-Colonel Preston and the men with him: when Custer fell back with the guns, Lee's men came down the road on which we were making such a fuss, a brigade strong, paying little heed to us, as the run was said to be impassable, and they felt pretty sure of us. They were on our flank and front, and felt sure they could take us in later. It looked very much that way to Preston and myself. But we worked on the plan of "not captured until you're caught." Colonel Preston placed the men in compact form, making a bold front, and requested me to look for a crossing of the run. Good luck showed us a crossing, which was an old mill race or something of the kind¹³¹. We quickly passed over a few men, dismounting them to protect the crossing of the balance of the men, which was quickly and quietly done. It was now getting dark, and we found ourselves in a thicket of scrub pines, equally hid from view of the enemy as of our own men. By going single file, and twisting and turning, and guessing at our direction from the sound of firing, we kept moving until we came near the main pike, on which we saw troops moving by in the dusk. We could not distinguish who or what they were. Keeping our men in the shade of the woods, Colonel Preston rode forward and discovered the troops to be the Sixth Corps, just relieving Custer's men on the pike. The Sixth Corps quickly sent Stuart the other way¹³². We were not long in finding our regiment, who were somewhat surprised to see us, as they felt sure we had been captured. We were equally glad to find ourselves safe with so little loss. I think one or two men were captured. All the men with Colonel Preston that night were every inch heroes. A short time after that event, General Killpatrick called a counsel of the officers of the division at his headquarters, and explained how he was taken in by Stuart. Owing to his instructions from headquarters, he thought his flank would be protected. After

¹³⁰ The wooded area of the old town common at Buckland, extending to Broad Run between the town and Kinsley Mill.

¹³¹ The Kinsley Mill race afforded a safe and apparently concealed crossing for the Vermont Cavalry in their retreat to Gainesville.

¹³² Stuart's cavalry, in pursuit of Davies's brigade, had charged the Union cavalry upon and past its infantry supports by chasing them across the woods and fields north of the Warrenton turnpike and then cutting down through the road from Haymarket to Thoroughfare Gap (modern Route 55). After up to 4 hours of engagement with Union infantry, Stuart's cavalry retired, capturing many additional prisoners and camping at Buckland for the night.

explanations and congratulations, a lively evening was spent at Killpatrick's headquarters."

Glazier, Willard W. (2nd New York Cavalry)

1868 *The Capture, the Prison Pen, and the Escape, Giving a History of Prison Life in the South*. United States Publishing Company: New York.

31. Chapter, "Cavalry Fight at Buckland Mills," pp. 33-37.

"At daybreak Kilpatrick left Gainesville *en route* for Warrenton. Stuart's cavalry, which had picketed in our front through the night, immediately retired from before us, and, to our surprise, made no resistance to our advance. We followed him quite closely until our advance had just passed New Baltimore, when Fitz Hugh Lee, who had surprised and cut his way through a small detachment of our infantry at Thoroughfare Gap¹³³, fell upon our rear-guard at Buckland Mills, and opened upon it with a battery of flying artillery. At this signal, Stuart, who had hitherto been quietly retiring, now turned and charged us in front. General Gordon, whose command was carefully concealed until now¹³⁴, appeared on our left, and made a furious attack, which threatened to sever the two small brigades which composed Kilpatrick's division.

This was a critical situation, but "Kil" (as the general was familiarly known) seemed to comprehend it in a moment. He ordered his whole force to wheel about and to charge back on Lee's columns. This timely order, executed with masterly skill, saved his command from utter disaster. The Harris Light [2nd New York], having been in front while advancing, by this sudden evolution was thrown in the rear, and was thus compelled to meet the desperate charges of the enemy in pursuit. Reaching a little rise of ground in the road¹³⁵, we made a stand, and for some time checked the advancing Rebels, by pouring into their ranks deadly volleys from our carbines and revolvers. Stuart, who commanded in person, saw clearly that he could dislodge us only by a charge, and, ordering it, led a brigade upon us. Our men stood firmly, and were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their advancing columns.

The Capture:

At this important juncture, my faithful horse was shot under me, and our little party, outnumbered ten to one, was hurled back by the overpowering shock of the Rebels, who rode directly over me. Injured severely by the fall of my horse, and by the charging squadrons that trod upon me, I lay in the mud for some time quite insensible, and, when returning to full consciousness, found that I was being carried hastily from the scene of action by a Rebel guard. My arms had been taken from me and my pockets rifled of all their valuables, including my watch. I was borne to a spot near an old building, where I met a number of my comrades who, with me, had shared the misfortunes of the day.

¹³³ According to this account, some of Lee's command had marched as far north as Thoroughfare Gap. If this is true, they were in all likelihood detached from the rest of their division and probably took the route of current Route 600.

¹³⁴ Southwest of New Baltimore, along the southern side of Route 29.

¹³⁵ The second range of hills west of the town of Buckland, and immediately west of the line of woods depicted in Waud's drawing and described in soldier's and officer's accounts.

Here we witnessed an amusing exhibition of Rebel bravery. The woods in the vicinity were full of skulkers, and, in order to make a show of having something to do, they would make their appearance in the rear of the fighting columns and devote themselves sedulously to guarding the prisoners. Privates, corporals, and sergeants in succession had us in charge; each in his turn would call us into line, count us in an officious manner, and issue orders according to his liking, until some sneak of higher rank came along, assumed command and said in a tone of authority to the others, ‘Gentlemen, your services are much needed at the front; go and do your duty like soldiers.’ This was said with chattering teeth and anxious glances in the direction of our cavalry.

Thus we were guarded and goaded by one coward after another – each styling himself ‘Assistant Deputy Provost Marshal’ – until evening, when we were marched to the county seat [Warrenton jail] and lodged.”

Glazier, Willard W. (2nd New York Cavalry)

1875 *Battles for the Union*. Dustin, Gilman and Co.: Hartford, CT.

32. Chapter XXXIV: New Baltimore.

“Bristoe virtually ended the campaign of 1863, but another battle known sometimes as the “Buckland Races” occurred soon after, which was the closing action of the year and which vitally affected my career as a soldier. The strange vicissitudes of that day and the dark chapter it opened in my life, affecting all my future, are events which will be recounted in another chapter.”

“In the closing engagement of the campaign of 1863, near New Baltimore, General Kilpatrick suffered his first defeat¹³⁶.

Overwhelmed by superior numbers, after a sharp struggle he was obliged to retire to Haymarket, leaving the attacking cavalry of Stuart in undisputed possession of the field.

After the Confederate defeat at Bristoe, where the confident advance of Lee’s army had been suddenly checked and his legions hurled backward in retreat, the rear of the retiring army was covered by Stuart’s cavalry, which fell slowly towards Warrenton. The Union force followed in that direction in pursuit and thus gave Lee an opportunity for a flank attack at Buckland. On the night of the eighteenth of October, Kilpatrick’s division, consisting of the brigades of Custer and Davies, bivouacked near Gainesville, posting their pickets along Cedar Run.

We reached Gainesville at about dark, having skirmished all day with the enemy’s cavalry, who had sharply disputed our advance, from the time we left Sudley Church in the morning until we bivouacked at nightfall. The firing was kept up until a late hour, the crack of carbines and pistols breaking the stillness of the night air along the Warrenton turnpike, and lighting the darkness with fitful flashes. During the night, our regiment was

¹³⁶ It is interesting to note that for Glazier, the significance of the Battle of Buckland Mills is two-fold, as the day of his capture at Buckland and subsequent imprisonment, and as Kilpatrick’s first defeat.

drawn up in column of squadrons, ready for action at a moment's notice, and we were ordered to "Stand to horse"¹³⁷.

A little after dawn the next morning the order to advance was given, and breaking camp, we were soon *en route* for Warrenton. Stuart's cavalry, in our immediate front, retired slowly before us, skirmishing as they fell back. The Harris Light, marching in column of platoons, led the van. Just after we had passed New Baltimore, on the Warrenton pike, we were startled by a sudden thunder of artillery which shook the air, and to our dismay we discovered that Fitzhugh Lee was making a furious attack on our rear-guard at Buckland Mills. A storm of shot and shell from the enemy's batteries swept our ranks¹³⁸, and at the same instant Stuart, in our front, wheeled about and charged the small brigades of Kilpatrick with wild fury. The onset was terrible and we were taken completely by surprise. Lee and his cavalry had been sent by a circuitous route with the design of falling upon our rear, and having come upon a small detachment of Union infantry at Thoroughfare Gap, he had cut his way through their lines and advanced by an unpicketed road¹³⁹ upon our troops. Here by a preconcerted movement with Stuart, he begun the attack. Almost at the same moment, General Gordon, in command of a third division of cavalry, emerged from the woods on our left, and made an attack on the Union flank with determined fury¹⁴⁰. A less skillful commander than Kilpatrick, would have been overwhelmed by a crisis so unlooked-for and portentous. Surrounded on all sides by the swarming hordes of the enemy, and assaulted in front, flank and rear, by a force greatly outnumbering our own, certain destruction seemed to await us. It was a moment in which decisive action was imperative to save the command from utter annihilation. But Kilpatrick, with the genius of a master mind, rose to the exigencies of the hour, and led his men out of the trap about to spring upon them and seal their fate. Though unable to turn defeat into victory in the face of such terrible odds, he yet managed to extricate himself and them from the difficult environments of his situation. Quickly his plans were formed, and the order 'Platoons right about wheel!' rung down the column. It was followed in an instant afterwards by the command, 'gallop! march!' and at the head of his small brigades, he made a desperate charge upon the cavalry and artillery of Fitzhugh Lee, arrayed in line of battle along the banks of Broad Run. Our boys obeyed the voice of their chief, with unflinching determination, as their desperate onset proved: but the three hundred slain left on the field¹⁴¹, showed at what a cost the charge was made. It was a bloody alternative, but the command was saved and their road to escape made clear.

¹³⁷ This provides another account of the restless nature of this campaign and exhausted condition of the men by the time of the final battle at Buckland.

¹³⁸ Given that Davies had around 2,500 men in his command, in columns of four this brigade would have stretched for about a mile along the turnpike, placing the rear of the force closer to the Greenwich Road and the advancing right flank of Fitzhugh Lee's division.

¹³⁹ Almost certainly current Route 600, by which a segment of Stuart's (not Lee's) command traveled to Thoroughfare Gap in order to flank and prevent the Federal cavalry retreat across Broad Run to its infantry supports at Haymarket.

¹⁴⁰ In actuality this flanking attack was led Colonel John Chambliss, commanding W.H.F. Lee's Brigade, positioned in the woods on the west of Fitzhugh Lee's advancing division.

¹⁴¹ This estimate of deaths is too large, though it may refer to men who had been knocked from their horses in the strong charges and flanking attacks to which Davies' Brigade was certainly exposed. Of the 300 to 400 casualties that can be documented in this battle, over 200 were prisoners, and perhaps as few as 30 men were killed in action (see Appendix A).

When we were in pursuit of the retreating foe, the Harris Light Cavalry, had the advance, but by a sudden evolution of the regiment during the fight, we were thrown in the rear and compelled to defend ourselves as best we could from an attack on the flank. Reaching a slight elevation in the road¹⁴², we made a stand and succeeded in holding the enemy in check for some time, by the deadly volleys from our carbines and pistols. Stuart, who was commanding the Confederate force in person, ordered an assault on our position and charged upon us amid wild yells with an entire division. A furious hand-to-hand conflict ensued which made the battle field a scene of confusion and distress. Numbers, it is said, were drowned in Broad Run while endeavoring to effect their escape¹⁴³. At this crisis of affairs, a fatal bullet pierced my horse¹⁴⁴ and we fell to the ground, trampled by the charging squadrons of the foe. For some time I lay in the mud, lost to all consciousness, while the roar of battle surged around me unheeded. Meantime, our brave troops, overpowered in the unequal contest, were forced to fall back, leaving their wounded and dead on the field. How long I lay insensible under the feet of the trampling horsemen, I do not know, but when I awoke to consciousness, I found myself in the hands of the Rebel guard who were hastily carrying me from the scene of action. Thus began the first chapter in the record of my long captivity. On the night of that fatal day of October nineteenth, we slept in Warrenton jail and at daybreak the next morning started for Culpepper.” “...active operations were suspended for the remainder of the year.”

Meyer, Henry Coddington (2nd New York Cavalry)

1911 *Civil War experiences under Bayard, Gregg, Kilpatrick, Custer, Raulston, and Newberry, 1862, 1863, 1864*. Putnam: New York.

33. Excerpts (pp. 63; 65-69):

“I was present with him at all the engagements the division took part in during that period; the most important of which that I recall was on the retreat from Culpeper, and later at Buckland’s Mills near Warrenton, about October 20th.”

“On October 19th occurred the engagement at Buckland’s Mills, near Warrenton. In this Kilpatrick’s command was defeated. In the advance toward Warrenton there was an interval of about two miles between General Davies’s brigade, which had the advance, and General Custer’s. We had been driving the enemy during the morning toward Warrenton, and had halted to feed when a force of the enemy came unexpectedly in between Custer’s and Davies’s brigades, overwhelmed Custer’s command, and drove it back across Broad Run; and by taking possession of the bridge and the Warrenton pike, had cut off General Davies’s command, which was then vigorously attacked by Hampton’s force, which Davies had been pushing toward Warrenton up to this time.

Kilpatrick, when he found Custer was thus attacked, had sent one or two staff-officers to Davies with orders for him to fall back and make a junction with Custer. These apparently were unable to reach him, and Kilpatrick, when he found that Custer

¹⁴² The hills to the west of Route 215, along the turnpike.

¹⁴³ These attempts to cross were made upstream of the Buckland Mill, where the banks of Broad Run are steep and where its water was deep.

¹⁴⁴ At least 9 horses were killed in the battle, according to regimental and personal records.

could not hold his position, became very anxious that word should be gotten to Davies of the real situation and the danger that his brigade might be cut off and a large portion of them captured. As he crossed the bridge with the rear of Custer's command he turned to me, as I was riding near him, no staff-officer being at the moment about, and remarked: 'Meyer, somebody must get to Davies and let him know that Custer has been driven across Broad Run and that the enemy have got this bridge.' On turning my horse to go back, he called out: 'Tell him to make his way the best he can to Haymarket where he will find General Newton's corps [1st Army Corps].'

I was unable to return across the bridge, as the enemy had the other end of it and were moving up the stream so as to intercept Davies¹⁴⁵, whom they knew was being driven back on them. Riding until beyond their line I saw some of Custer's men, who had been cut off, come out of the woods at that point and cross the stream to escape, when I took advantage of the confusion to cross to the west side, trusting I would not be noticed and that the woods at that point would screen me from observation. Being familiar with the country I made my way around their flank and rear, having the sound of Davies's firing to direct me to his whereabouts¹⁴⁶. I soon reached him and found him hard pressed. When I reported the situation, his men were rallied for another charge, which was led by Captain J. F. B. Mitchell, so as to gain time to permit a withdrawal, as directed. We then galloped across the country, the forces opposing following on our flanks, until we crossed Broad Run farther up towards Haymarket. Davies's artillery had meanwhile been conducted away in safety under the guidance of Doctor Capehart, of the First West Virginia Cavalry, who knew the country well. The brigade was thus saved from serious loss; indeed, none other than the casualties in fighting. Custer's and Davies's brigades formed a junction when they reached the First Corps commanded by General Newton, and the enemy withdrew.

General Kilpatrick was quite chagrined that evening over the surprise his command had been subjected to and the defeat it met, and claimed that he never would have separated Davies's and Custer's brigades and given the enemy a chance to get in between them by means of the road from Auburn through the woods, had he not supposed that this road was being looked after by some one else, whose name I do not now recall.

Custer's command, which was feeding when attacked, made a gallant fight under very great disadvantages. The remarkable accurate firing by Pennington's battery, however, checked the enemy's advance and Custer's personal efforts saved his brigade from much greater losses. Stuart, the Confederate commander, in his report, claimed that it was 'the greatest rout that any cavalry had suffered during the war,' and the Richmond papers described the fight as the 'Buckland Races.' This I think is an exaggerated statement. Of course we were defeated, but as soon as Custer got across the stream his men were rallied and as fit to take the offensive as they were in the morning. Davies's brigade fought gallantly to resist Hampton's assaults, which began as soon as the firing on Custer in the rear was heard. It was only after I gave Davies the information that Custer had been driven across Broad Run and that the enemy had the bridge and were in

¹⁴⁵ The Confederates had once more gained possession of the bridge and fords at Buckland, making the trap nearly complete for Davies' brigade.

¹⁴⁶ Meyer could only have crossed Broad Run upstream of its hair-pin turn, taking the old road in front of Cerro Gordo to a point northwest of the first bend in the stream and beyond current Route 683.

his rear, moving towards Haymarket to intercept him, that he started his command on the gallop across the country to that village. When he had made a junction with Custer, both brigades were ready to take the offensive; at any rate the enemy withdrew.

An amusing incident that occurred after Custer's men had gotten over Broad Run and were being rallied was told me, to the effect that an Irishman rode up to Kilpatrick, who was riding his horse called 'Spot,' a speckled roan with a white rump, saying: 'I say, "Kil," stop here, and the boys will rally round you, so they will.' This the General did, resulting as the Irishman had predicted."

Emslie, William H.

1863 Letter from Dismounted Camp to Father - October 25, 1863. *Letters of William H. Emslie, Co. G, 2nd N.Y. Cavalry*. Library, Morrisville State College of Agriculture and Technology: Morrisville, NY. Online collection: http://library.morrisville.edu/local_history/sites/letters/emsлие6.html.

34. Dismounted Camp (2nd NY Cavalry) – October 25, 1863
"Father,

I have just got off the dismounted camp coming down here the cars ran off the track and hurt fifty or more bad. Shinn Rush [?] was with me but he is all right but I am pretty sore all over but will soon be well. eight cars out of twelve smashed up fine. since I wrote to you I have been in the fight at Culpepper Brandy Station and when the army was falling back we was skermishing every day last week we attacked them near bull Run. G Company was out skermished and we drove to Gainesville that day and next morning we attacked them and drive them to Buckland Mills and fought about four hours and they fell back and we after them until we got to New Baltimore and the first thing we knew we were surrounded by infantry and cavalry¹⁴⁷. we fought in good order and then it came every man for him self. my horse played out and got down. the rebels was rite on to me and i had to leave him but i see them shoot one of the first Virginia¹⁴⁸ and heard them yell no Quarters you Yankee sons of bitch. I fired at the one on the left hand side and the ___ out of his saddle and the other one but after me I guess I run about that time I had a big open field to run across a foot¹⁴⁹ and the rebels close behind. I just got in the woods a citizen¹⁵⁰ got in my way I shot him in the shoulder and ran on until I met a niger. I hit the nig over the head with the carrabine and mounted that is all that saved me for the rebels was about twenty yards, no reenlisting for me. send me five dollars for I have nothing but what is on my back no more.

William H. Emslie"

Boudrye (Beaudry), Louis Napoleon

1868 *Historic records of the Fifth New York cavalry, First Ira Harris guard: its organization, marches, raids, scouts, engagements and general services, during the rebellion of 1861-1865. Also interesting accounts of prison life and of the*

¹⁴⁷ This describes the rear and flanking attacks upon Davies' cavalry between New Baltimore and Buckland, just to the west of the woods where Fitzhugh Lee's dismounted force was concealed.

¹⁴⁸ 1st West Virginia Cavalry.

¹⁴⁹ The fields to the north of the Warrenton Turnpike and west of the town of Buckland.

¹⁵⁰ A citizen of Buckland.

secret service. Complete lists of its officers and men. By Rev. Louis N. Boudrye, chaplain. J. Munsell: Albany, NY.

35. p. 83:

“October 19th. The Rebel army having spent its time in tearing up and destroying the rail road, refusing to attack, Gen. Meade ordered a general advance. Kilpatrick marched through Groveton and Gainesville, meeting the enemy in overwhelming force at Buckland Mills. Had it not been for great skill and daring his entire command would have been annihilated. As it was, he narrowly escaped, saving all his guns, but leaving some of his men in the enemy’s hands.

Before our advancing army, Gen. Lee gradually retreated, receiving a terrible shock at Rappahannock Station, which sent the remains of his army across the Rappahannock. It is quite singular to remark how these great armies have been swinging like huge pendulums during the present season. In June they swung from the Rappahannock, Va., to the Susquehanna, Penn.; then back to the Rapidan; afterward almost to the Potomac, then back to the Rapidan again. It is encouraging to notice that the swing of the Rebel army toward the north, shortens at every move, giving indications of its waning power.”

Eighteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry Regiment Publication Committee [18th PA Cavalry]
1900 *History of the Eighteenth regiment of cavalry, Pennsylvania volunteers (163d regiment of the line) 1862-1865.* Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co.: NY.

36. Record of events:

- “Oct. 10. Picket and guard trains about Culpeper, Hartwood Church and along the Rapidan.
- Oct. 10. Have fight at James City, Va. Army of the Potomac begins falling back toward Washington.
- Oct. 11. Move through Culpeper C. H. and Brandy Station to the east side of the Rappahannock River and bivouac near the same about dark. After passing through Culpeper the 18th became involved in heavy skirmishing, mounted, which continued till Brandy Station was reached; here the regiment was called from the skirmish line and quietly formed on the left of the division which was massing, mounted, to charge through the enemy, who had completely surrounded it. In the charge which ensued the regiment lost Major H. B. Van Voorhis, who was badly wounded and fell into the enemy’s hands. Lieuts. James R. Weaver, S. H. Tresonthick and Harry Wilson and 32 men were captured, and a number killed and wounded, in all about 50 men.
- Oct. 12. Picketing and reckoning losses of yesterday.
- Oct. 13. Move to Buckland Mills during the night.
- Oct. 14. Fall back to Bull Run, skirmishing mounted. Capt. Enos J. Pennypacker captured.
- Oct. 15-17. Scouting and picketing about Bull Run in the direction of Aldie.

- Oct. 18. Move through Gum Spring and Braddock Cross Roads to Groveton.
- Oct. 19. Move to Bucklands Mills, meet the enemy and drive him back to New Baltimore, when we find he has also appeared in our rear and is endeavoring to cut us off from the main line. We countermarch, cut our way through after severe fighting and heavy loss of men¹⁵¹. Capt. John Britton wounded. Fight mounted.
- Oct. 20. Have a fight at New Baltimore.
- Oct 21-31. Camped near Haymarket and Gainesville.”

The 18th PA’s “List of Engagements” lists the following:

- Oct. 14, 1863 – Buckland Mills, Va.
- Oct. 19, 1863 – Gainesville, Va.
- Oct. 20, 1863 – New Baltimore, Va.

Herdegen, Lance J. and Sherry Murphy, Eds.

2002 *Four years with the Iron Brigade: the Civil War journals of William R. Ray, Co. F, Seventh Wisconsin Infantry*. Da Capo Press: Cambridge, MA.

37. William R. Ray journal, October 19, 1863 (p. 227-28):

“And stormy till about 10 A.M., when it cleared off. The sun come out warm and twas a pleasant afternoon. We got the same orders this morning as yesterday morning. But we fulfilled them this time. A little after daylight we marched taking the Warrenton Pike, come to Haymarket, we come by Gainesville and the old Battlefield. We got here. By the roadside see many graves, one with the head out. We camped near Haymarket. Most of our Regt. went out on picket, out on the Warrenton Pike. Here we can hear fighting twixt our & the Rebel cavalry. 25 of us were posted as a reserve, I with them. The Picket line was soon formed. Fighting continued all the time, sometimes very fierce, some artillery firing and lots of small arms¹⁵².

A man comes down the road post haste. Our sentinel that was posted on the road stops him. He wants to know where our corps headquarters are. Sentinel tell him. He orders his orderly to go tell Gen. [John] Newton that our cavalry is hard pushed & one Brigade cut off. So he goes off. We still hear hard fighting, it being only 1 ½ [mile] away. Our cavalry falling back, takes position near us on a hill¹⁵³. Some wounded goes by. Good many riderless horses, their riders, many of them being dismounted as skirmishing. Our cavalry falls back, leaving us outside. The firing nears us. Zip the shell goes over our heads, bang two or three burst right amongst us. Several fall without bursting. Wounded one man.

We ordered out, leave in a great hurry, evry man for himself. We get into the road going to camp. The major of the Picket line tries to form us as skirmishers but he couldn’t do much. The Boys was too much excited. At last the rebel come to here. Ball

¹⁵¹ By this account, the 18th Pennsylvania Cavalry was among the regiments in Davies’ Brigade that had to force a dangerous crossing over Broad Run before moving across the countryside to Haymarket.

¹⁵² Ray’s account reveals the role played by Union infantry in the Battle of Buckland Mills as it progressed into the evening and as Union cavalry were pushed towards Haymarket and Gainesville by Stuart and Lee.

¹⁵³ The high ground to the southeast of Haymarket and south of current Route 55.

whiz all around us. The Major orders double quick and starts himself. He being mounted, of course he outrun us. We soon see the regt which we made to join, which were forming line of Battle. The whole is aroused. We heard the reb charge on our cavalry or our cavalry charge on them. I couldn't tell which. But I know they [had] us fellows nearly surrounded once. But when they saw our Infantry forming they give back. So I guess most of them got in. All of our Co did. But many the balls that whizzed by my ears & heels. Our cavalry fell clear back and the Rebs didn't choose to tackle us when formed in line of Battle. After we got rightly formed we lay down till about 2 P.M.¹⁵⁴ when we fell back to the other side of the town and bivouacked, taking a strong position, I suppose as rear guard. I thought we would fall back to Centerville.

I guess the rebs rather worsted us today. They having Infantry to support cavalry is what done it. And our cavalry was been fighting them all day without any infantry to support them and they were pretty well exhausted. Well, we bivouacked one third of the Regt under arms all the time and the others to sleep with their cartridge boxes on and guns by their side."

Webb, Nathan B.

1864 *Diary of N. B. Webb, First Maine Cavalry (Co. D.), March 19, 1862 through May 31, 1864.* Photocopy of the original held at Urbana Free Library: Urbana, IL.

38. Thursday, October 22, 1863 (p. 255):

"Yesterday Kilpatrick was a little too fast with his division and got into trouble. He lost 400 men and 2 pieces of artillery¹⁵⁵."

"From rear to front along the Pike were encamped the Infantry."

Lee, Robert E., Jr.

1863 Letter, Robert E. Lee, Jr. to Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee (Mother), Headquarters, W. H. F. Lee's Brigade¹⁵⁶, near Beverly's Ford, October 21, 1863. *Lee Family Papers, 1824-1918.* Mss1 L51 c481-497. Virginia Historical Society: Richmond.

39. Text:

"Head Quarters, Lee's Brigade

Oct. 21st 1863

Near Beverly's Ford

My Dear Mother,

It has been quite an age since you have heard from me; & though I am very tired & sleepy I'll not neglect this opportunity, as we move off in the morning, of letting you

¹⁵⁴ This time, in the early afternoon, conflicts with every other account of the engagements near Haymarket, and is impossible given the accounts of the cavalry. Otherwise, this account corresponds with all other accounts.

¹⁵⁵ Webb, in the 1st Maine Cavalry, was not present in the fight at Buckland but his account of total casualties is fairly accurate. However, this is the only account to state that there were any artillery pieces captured.

¹⁵⁶ Robert E. Lee, Jr., son of General Robert E. Lee, was Lieutenant Ordnance Officer on the staff of his brother William Henry Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade, commanded by John R. Chambliss, Jr. in the Battle of Buckland Mills.

know that I am well & in good health. We have had a long & tiresome trip but our men stood it very cheerfully & the Cavalry covered them (?) with glory. I did'nt [sic] get to Kinloch but Gen. (?) joined us at Warrenton. He was just from front & left them all very well all the country the other side of Warrenton - along the R. R. & east of it is a perfect desert, not a dwelling but that is torn all to pieces, not a piece of fencing or any signs of civilization except one or two families, principally free negroes.

We met separately & collectively the three Yankee Divisions of Cavalry, Buford's Regulars, Gregg's & Kilpatrick's & whipt them every time.

The last fight was near Buckland on the Warrenton & Alexandria Turnpike; when Genl. Stuart retreated designedly before them towards Warrenton & Our Division under Genl. Fitz Lee came up perpendicular to the Pike & cut their column in two. The surprise was complete & we ran them as far as we could see them. Captured half of their ambulances, one wagon loaded with ammuniton, and one loaded with medical stores & 300 prisoners¹⁵⁷.

I took dinner with Pa to day & found him & all his staff all very well. He told me that you had at last taken a house in Richmond. I am glad to hear it & hope you & your daughters will establish yourselves comfortably this winter. I'll try and come & see you when every thing is quiet.

Our Brigade is going across the Rapahannock [sic] to morrow to guard a working party who are pulling up the railroad now & hauling it to the rear; We cross on a pontoon bridge at Rapahannock's Ford. I expect a very disagreeable time for besides the Yankee Cavalry being in that direction it looks very much like a rainy spell was coming on which is almost (?).

Remember me to all my friends & give my best love to my sisters & believe me your loving son.

R. E. Lee, Jr."

Garnett, Theodore Stanford

1871 *War Sketches of T. S. Garnett*, from Papers of the Garnett Family [Mss 38-45-b, Hall Shelf 104], Special Collections, University of Virginia: Charlottesville.

40. Text:

Researcher's Note: T. S. Garnett enlisted as a private in the 9th Virginia Cavalry, Company F at the start of the war. He rose through the ranks and became Lieutenant Aide-de-Camp to General J. E. B. Stuart by January of 1864. Garnett lived long after the war and he was often invited to universities and social clubs throughout Virginia and the southern states, where he recounted war narratives. A bound volume of law school notes, taken before the war when he was a student, includes Garnett's "Continuation of War Sketches," dated 1 June 1871.

Garnett begins immediately with:

"I will not undertake to give any account of the campaign alluded to above (Bristoe). A rapid glance at the movement of our cavalry will suffice."

¹⁵⁷ This number, referring only to casualties by capture, is a reasonable assessment, though McClellan's estimate of 250 prisoners is more accurate (Appendix A; McClellan 1993 [1885]).

Garnett then describes conflicts at Stevensburg, Brandy Station, and the advance towards Manassas (October 1863), through Auburn, and the return movement of Confederate cavalry to the Rapidan River:

“On the return, Gen. Stuart had the opportunity to settle some old score with Gen. Kilpatrick. Leaving FitzLee’s Division in Prince William Co., and falling back before Kilpatrick, he drew the enemy on towards Buckland. Halting a few miles south of Buckland¹⁵⁸, he assumed the offensive, and sending word to FitzLee to come up with all speed on Kilpatrick’s flank, he charged his front with such spirit and vigor as to throw him into confusion. Then, pressing on, he was greeted by the sound of FitzLee’s guns and the cheers of his men as they dashed upon the retreating Yankees. The result was that the whole of Kilpatrick’s Division was routed and he himself narrowly escaped capture by leaping his horse over a garden fence in the town of Buckland. The return to the line of the Rapidan River was then leisurely effected, and the end of the month (October) saw our whole army back in its place.”

McClellan, Henry Brainerd

1993 *The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J.E.B. Stuart*. Blue & Gray Press: Secaucus, NJ. Originally published 1885.

41. Excerpt (pp. 393-97):

[Note: Maj. H. B. McClellan was Assistant Adjutant General to J.E.B. Stuart during 1863 and 1864.]

“The advance of Lee’s army ended with the fight at Bristoe Station, but Stuart continued to follow the withdrawing lines of the enemy, and had frequent collisions with their cavalry during the next three days, on Bull Run, at Manassas, Groveton, and Frying Pan Church. The result of these movements was that, on the night of the 18th, Stuart, with Hampton’s division, was in position at Buckland, opposing Kilpatrick’s cavalry and a large infantry support, which had been advanced from Fairfax Court House. Fitz Lee’s division was within supporting distance at Auburn, and had orders to move to Buckland. Early on the 19th the enemy attempted to force the passage of Broad Run at Buckland, but were repulsed in every attempt¹⁵⁹. The morning was wearing away in the contest when Stuart received word from Fitz Lee that he was in motion to join him, and suggesting that Stuart should retire in Kilpatrick’s front, drawing him on toward Warrenton, while he would attempt to interpose his division between Kilpatrick and Broad Run. If caught in this trap, Kilpatrick would be likely to suffer. Stuart at once adopted the suggestion and notified Lee that he would turn upon Kilpatrick at the sound of the first gun. Halting Custer’s brigade at Broad Run, to guard his left flank and rear, Kilpatrick followed Stuart with caution as far as Chestnut Ridge, about three miles from Warrenton¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁸ Southwest of Buckland, on the Warrenton turnpike.

¹⁵⁹ These were attempts by Custer’s brigade and Pennington’s battery, placed at Cerro Gordo, to take the bridge at Buckland and remove Stuart’s cavalry and batteries from their positions in the town.

¹⁶⁰ Stuart’s division halted near the intersection of Routes 29 and 605.

Meantime Fitz Lee had come up from Auburn, expecting to gain, unopposed, the rear of Kilpatrick's entire division; but he found Custer's brigade at Broad Run ready to oppose him¹⁶¹. A fierce fight ensued. Major P. P. Johnston, of the Stuart Horse Artillery, now a resident of Lexington, Ky., who commanded at Buckland a section of Breathed's battery, and who was severely wounded in this engagement, makes to me in substance the following statement:

My battery was hotly engaged when Fitz Lee attacked Custer's brigade at Buckland Mills. The battle was of the most obstinate character, Fitz Lee exerting himself to the utmost to push the enemy, and Custer seeming to have no thought of retiring. Suddenly a cloud of dust arose on the road toward Warrenton, and as suddenly everything in our front gave way¹⁶². The mounted cavalry was ordered forward, and I saw no more of the enemy, although following as closely as my wounded condition would permit.

The first sound of Fitz Lee's guns roused Stuart from his self-imposed inaction. Instantly Hampton's division was faced about and hurled upon Davies' brigade. Gordon's brigade, led by the 1st North Carolina, took the road, and Young and Rosser charged on either flank. The attack was sudden and impetuous, and although the enemy made resistance, their lines were soon broken and routed. Now commenced the race for Buckland. Routed in front, and admonished by the artillery firing that an enemy had gained their rear, Kilpatrick's men ran in a manner worthy of the occasion. For nearly five miles the chase was continued without a pause¹⁶³. Naturally the crowd of fugitives, among whom all order was cast aside, made faster time than did the pursuing brigades. Colonel Young, who had led his brigade through the woods on the right of the road in the endeavor to reach the enemy's flank, was not able to get near enough to them to strike a blow, although he moved with all the speed that the nature of the ground permitted¹⁶⁴. Of course the stampede of Davies' brigade placed Custer in a critical position, and necessitated his precipitate withdrawal from Fitz Lee's front. But Custer was a hard fighter even in a retreat, and he succeeded in saving his artillery, and in recrossing Broad Run without any serious disorder. Some of the fugitives from Davies' brigade crossed at Buckland with Custer; the remainder, now cut off from that ford, continued their flight toward Haymarket.

In the rout of Davies' brigade Stuart captured two hundred and fifty prisoners, and eight wagons and ambulances, among them General Custer's headquarters' wagon, baggage, and papers. Fitz Lee now pushed down the pike toward Gainesville, while Stuart moved on the left toward Haymarket. On both roads the pursuit was continued until the lines of the 1st army corps were encountered. General Custer in his report makes no mention of the stampede of Davies' brigade. General Kilpatrick has even attempted to

¹⁶¹ Custer's brigade, according to James Kidd, was not yet in line of battle or ready for an attack, but quickly fell into line along the turnpike and in the fields of Buckland Farm upon detecting the advance of Lee's cavalry and upon receiving fire from dismounted men concealed in the woods west of current Route 215.

¹⁶² The cloud of dust described by Confederate artilleryman P. P. Johnston signaled the climax of the engagement between Lee and Custer, and could have come from a number of sources, such as fire from Pennington's battery, or the sudden retreat of Custer's regiments towards the Buckland bridge.

¹⁶³ From immediately west of New Baltimore to Broad Run.

¹⁶⁴ According to McClellan, Young took the right flank of Gordon in the Confederate charge upon Davies, placing Rosser on the left flank.

deny it altogether. But there are hundreds of eye-witnesses on either side yet living who can bear testimony to the substantial accuracy of this narrative.

On the night of the 19th Stuart bivouacked at Buckland. On the next day he marched through Warrenton on his way to rejoin Lee's army, which had again taken up the line of the Rapidan. His loss in killed and wounded during these operations was 408. The loss in missing is not stated, but was small. Major G. M. Ryals, provost-marshal of the cavalry, reports 1,370 prisoners captured from the enemy during these days. The losses of the Federal cavalry were 390 killed and wounded, and 885 captured or missing."

Blackford, William Willis

1993 *War Years with J.E.B. Stuart*. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge. Originally published 1945.

42. Excerpt:

[Note: Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. Blackford was Adjutant to General J.E.B. Stuart.]

"The withdrawal of the enemy from Culpeper County having been effected by General Lee's maneuver, he advanced no farther than Warrenton, but Stuart with his cavalry followed them up, with frequent collisions with their cavalry as far as Bull Run. We then turn back and on the 19th of October we inflicted a severe blow on their cavalry which was called ever after the "Buckland Races," Stuart was falling back with Hampton's division, on the road which led through Buckland, before Kilpatrick's division, while Fitz Lee's division was within supporting distance on our left towards Auburn. Fitz Lee suggested that Stuart should withdraw past Buckland and that he would attack Kilpatrick in flank, and at the first gun Hampton should wheel and attack him in front, and Stuart at once acceded to the arrangement. A mile and a half from Buckland the road crosses a low range of hills¹⁶⁵, and behind these Stuart placed Hampton and then awaited the sound of Lee's guns. It was a broad, straight turnpike road, and as far as the eye could reach their column of splendidly equipped cavalry came marching on with flags fluttering and arms glittering in the bright autumn sunshine. Hampton's division was formed in two columns, each heading at a gap in the ridge, and all before them was smooth, firm ground.

We waited with breathless impatience the boom of Fitz Lee's cannon. Not seeing us, the enemy was just ascending the little rise behind which we were, not two hundred yards distant, when rapid firing of cannon in Lee's direction announced his attack, and at the same moment our two columns were let loose, and at them we went.

Attacked in front and flank, they did not wait for us to get halfway to them before they broke, and then it was a race like a fox chase for five miles¹⁶⁶. Next to that after the

¹⁶⁵ The eastern portion of this range of hills was wooded, the western portion being open ground. The two ridges feature prominently in nearly every soldier's account of the battlefield, and served as key terrain, cover, and observation points during the battle.

¹⁶⁶ According to this account, the cavalry charge began at or east of New Baltimore, not west of New Baltimore as so many other accounts describe the events. Using reports of casualties as guides, many of which read, "captured (or wounded) in action at New Baltimore," a significant portion of fighting must have occurred at and immediately east of New Baltimore.

Lancers near Cold Harbor in the seven days around Richmond, this was the most exciting sport I ever had. They were well mounted and the country being so open, we only got two hundred and fifty prisoners and eight or ten ambulances. Among the latter was one containing Custer's baggage and correspondence. Some of the letters to fair, but frail, friend of Custer's were published in the Richmond papers and afforded some spicy reading, though the most spicy parts did not appear. We chased them back upon their infantry supports and captured some of these in the confusion of the entry into their camp.”

Toler, John

2002 “Old Roommates’ Chance Encounter at Buckland Mill,” *Fauquier County Historical Society Newsletter*, Vol. 24 Issue 1, pp. 3-4.

43. Account of Brig. Gen. Pierce M. B. Young, *Atlanta Constitution* 1893 Excerpt:

“It happened at Buckland Mills, ten miles north of Warrenton.

My brigade was marching in the rear next to the enemy. It was a little after dawn, and the enemy had attacked us from the rear. I drove him back, and was just moving up when one of General Stuart’s aides dashed up and said the General sent us to say that a regiment had been sent up to relieve me; and that I must come immediately at the Hunton house¹⁶⁷, which was near the mill.

When I entered the house, General Stuart was at breakfast and two beautiful girls were attending him. They were the two misses Hunton. He presented me, and they invited me to breakfast.

Stuart finished and left me telling me not to be long, as we were forming on the other side of the creek¹⁶⁸ and the enemy might catch me.

When I was about through, a shell exploded over the house, and my courier called out: ‘They are coming sir, we must hurry or be cut off from the bridge.’

I left the young ladies and the breakfast with my regrets, saying I would return, mounted my horse, and rushed for the bridge just in time to get over safely.

We retired slowly toward Warrenton, sending FitzLee’s Division down the creek. We set a trap for our Federal friends, and they walked into it.

As soon as we left the mill¹⁶⁹, Custer’s command came up. Custer himself rode up, and politely asked the ladies to have breakfast prepared. They told him that breakfast was on the table, a Confederate general had just left it.

He inquired about all that had been there. The ladies told him that General Stuart and myself had just left, but that I had not finished my meal and it was still on the table.

Custer replied, ‘Very well, ladies, Young and I are friends. I will take his breakfast.’

So he took it and enjoyed it. He chatted on gaily, telling the young ladies of our former intimacy, and when he had finished, he said: ‘Now young ladies be so good as to have something prepared for dinner, as I am likely to be about here till after dinner.’”

¹⁶⁷ Cerro Gordo.

¹⁶⁸ The west banks of Broad Run, among the houses and buildings of Buckland.

¹⁶⁹ One of Stuart’s positions in the town before noon.

“We attacked in front and flank at a charge and as the boys say, we wiped him up. And as Custer passed, he stopped a moment at the gate saying, ‘Ladies, give Young my compliments, and tell him I took his breakfast. He can take my dinner, and please give him this picture of myself, and tell him to send me his.’”

McDonald, William N.

1907 *A history of the Laurel brigade, originally the Ashby cavalry of the Army of northern Virginia and Chew’s battery, by the late Captain William N. McDonald, ordnance officer of the brigade; ed. by Bushrod C. Washington.* Sun Job Printing Office: Baltimore, MD.

44. Excerpt (pp. 201-203):

[Note: Captain William N. McDonald was Ordnance Officer of Jones’ Virginia Cavalry Brigade, later Rosser’s Brigade, and also known as the Laurel Brigade.]

“Early on the 19th Hampton’s Division, to which Rosser’s brigade then belonged, was engaged in preventing Kilpatrick’s division from crossing Broad Run at Buckland, on the Warrenton turnpike.

At the same time Fitz Lee was retiring with his division on a line parallel to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. At the suggestion of Fitz Lee, Stuart, who was in command of Hampton’s division, withdrew before Kilpatrick for the purpose of enticing him to follow upon the turnpike, so that Fitz Lee could fall upon his rear.

Kilpatrick fell into the ruse, but with his usual caution left Custer’s brigade to hold the ford, while he with the rest of his division followed Stuart within three miles of Warrenton. Here the sound of Lee’s guns reached Stuart, and he turned upon the Federals. After some resistance they broke and fled down the turnpike, hotly pursued five miles.

Custer held the ford at Buckland against Fitz Lee, until most of Kilpatrick’s men escaped through the woods, and then withdrew with his artillery.

The Federal loss was about 250 prisoners and a few wagons and ambulances. The pluck of Custer and the fast riding of Kilpatrick had prevented a much more serious disaster.

This incident has always been known by the cavalry as the ‘Buckland Races,’ it being more of a chase than a fight.

General Stuart, in his official report of it says: ‘The force opposed to us upon this occasion consisted of ten regiments of cavalry and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, and I am justified in declaring the rout of the enemy at Buckland the most signal and complete that any cavalry has suffered during the war. It is remarkable that Kilpatrick’s division seemed to disappear from the field of operations for more than a month, that time being necessary, no doubt, to collect the panic-stricken fugitives.’

After their experience at Buckland, the Federal cavalry followed the Confederates in their withdrawal at a respectful distance, and the old positions on the Rappahannock and Rapidan were resumed.”

Anthony, Whit.

N.d. Cavalry Fight at Bucklands, Virginia, October 19, 1863. Typescript in the Smith Papers, Southern Historical Association, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

45. [Note: Whit. H. Anthony was Captain of Company B, 1st North Carolina Cavalry.]

“The 9th of October, 1863, Gen. R. E. Lee began his flank movement to drive Meade's army out of Culpepper. This was successfully done; but in the unfortunate battle at Bristoe Station, October 14th, Lee was badly worsted, and he in turn had to retire his Infantry. This forced on General Stuart the hard and dangerous task of protecting Lee's rear from the pursuit of Meade. For several days the calvary [sic] of the two armies maneuvered and fought over the noted plains of Manassas Junction, Broad Run and Frying Pan Church. At last on the 19th of October Stuart found himself sorely pressed by both Infantry and Calvary of Meade, and he laid his plans to take a little revenge on the Federals for having caught him napping at Auburn Mills a few days before, when he allowed himself to be entrapped between two of Meade's retreating columns and had to cut his way out. This was done by the First North Carolina Calvary of Gordon's Brigade with a loss of nearly one hundred men and officers, including Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Ruffin, then in command. This is noted here because of the severe blow they inflicted on the First North Carolina already greatly reduced from the terrible losses at Gettysburg, and the late campaign: and because on this regiment now fell almost the sole risk of carrying out Stuart's hazardous plan and also because justice to the veteran troopers who made the charge and saved Stuart demands a truthful statement, which is herein given by an eye-witness who had the honor to command the third troop from the head of the charging column. This affair occurred at dawn on the 17th of October, 1863. Early on the night before Stuart was well aware that he was completely surrounded by the enemy, just like him, at once determined to “get out or die.” He knew the First North Carolina and sent word to Gordon "for God's sake take the First North Carolina and cut through." This Regiment was at once wheeled into column of four and to reach the enemy had to pass over a ditch and a high rail fence. Shortly after the head of the column reached the field in which were the enemy, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Ruffin, who was leading was mortally wounded, which created a little confusion. Seeing this Major Rufus Barringer, who had rejoined his command the evening before and who had not yet reported for duty, having been wounded at Brandy Station, at once rushed to the front and with only a walking cane for a weapon gallantly led the charge through the enemies lines and actually captured the whole of the 126th New York Infantry. The First North Carolina Calvary did not break, nor was it ever known to do so. The writer has now in his possession a letter from Gen. W. H. F. Lee who says that in the A. N. V. it was considered an honor to belong to this command. The number of efficient mounted men did not exceed two hundred, under Major Rufus Barringer, the next in command. The Federal Calvary was in full force, numbering six thousand, in close pursuit of Stuart, with a large infantry support sent up from Fairfax, where Meade had his main army. Stuart had less than half that number consisting of parts of two divisions, Hampton's and Fitz Lee's; but these two divisions were quite separated and apparently both retreated; and on diverging roads.

Stuart was with Hampton on the Warrenton Turnpike, while Fitz Lee was on the Federal left - seemingly following the old line towards Auburn and Cotlett [sic] Station.

On the night of the 18th Stuart and Hampton took position on the south bank of Broad Run, and on the morning of the 19th related every attempt of the Federals to cross. At last, Stuart began to retire and was slowly and cautiously followed by Kilpatrick, with the bulk of the Federal calvary, while Custer was left to watch Fitz Lee; the Federal Infantry occupying a point¹⁷⁰ to support either in case of emergency. Stuart feigned to resist every attack in his rear and retired with dogged obstinacy until he reached Chestnut Hill, three miles in front of Warrenton, a strong position, which he held to await Fitz Lee's movement. The latter had been instructed to hold his ground until he felt sure Kilpatrick was several miles off his support, and then at a given signal of a cannon, Hampton was to turn on Kilpatrick and Lee was to attack Custer, simultaneously.

As often happened in the army, the men would sometimes lie down to rest and the mounted men were often told to do so, in order to relieve their horses, even in the presence of the enemy. The rest here had grown wearisome. All thought Stuart was only waiting to hear of Fitz Lee's safe escape. The middle of the afternoon was passing when a single gun was heard for to the Federal rear. In an instant a dozen bugles sounded the call "to saddle" and in a moment more every man was in line. The Brigade of Gordon was this day in front and the "Old First" was in the lead and occupied the road on Pike. Of course, now, all understood the game, and that the shock would largely fall on this small regiment standing square in front of the Federals across an intervening plain, only a few hundred yards off, well drawn un in splendid array. Brigadier General Gordon was a nervous excitable man, but he had the courage and readiness of a born soldier. He had hastily gotten his orders what to do, and what was wanted. He dashed up in person to the front of the First, and then said with a calm air that inspired confidence and success, "Major Barringer, charge these Yankees and break them." In turn Barringer ordered the line to form into column suited to the road and to the Federal front. He and his chief bugler then took position at the head of the column. Meantime with the ease of trained veterans, the Georgians and South Carolinians¹⁷¹ stretched out on one side of the road and on our North Carolina flank, and the Virginians¹⁷² on the other; the rest of the North Carolinians all forming in close column under Gordon, to immediately follow the "First" and act as emergencies might require.

The Federal front was held by Davis' Brigade well supported in his immediate rear and flank, and confident in the strength of Custer and the infantry near Broad Run. When Barringer gave the order to "Charge" the horses started off (as is usual in a well made mounted charge) at only a full steady trot, so as to see that we were exactly in place, and well in hand and with sabres only. After going some fifty yards, the order was "to gallop" and after probably a hundred further, the chief bugler "Little Henry Litaller" bore slightly to one side and facing the regiment sounded the "Bugle Charge," which stirred men and horses to the deadly shock. This call was answered all through the lines; but it was the North Carolinians that led the way, as they had the open road, while the

¹⁷⁰ Haymarket and Gainesville.

¹⁷¹ Young's Brigade.

¹⁷² Rosser's Brigade.

flanks encountered fences, forests, rock walls, ditches, etc¹⁷³. And it was the "first" that kept "tip to tip" and threw itself with irresistible [sic] force and fury against the solid ranks of Davis' Brigade and "broke them." The Federals were also "In Column" and stood undismayed, as the Confederates at full speed threw themselves squarely upon them, with sabre in hand, but instead of meeting the shock with a counter-charge, the Federals resorted to the pistol and carbine, and fired too quick, nearly every shot passing over the Confederates. The main Yankee front was instantly scattered and fled, but firing as they retreated. Not so with Davis's rear and flank. They all broke and ran for life. The idea of a "rear attack" seems to have seized every man of them and they not only broke and fled but took to the woods and fields in all directions, and without an attempt to reform save only the front squadron¹⁷⁴ which manfully held the road and for miles alternately reformed, coolly delivered a fire and again retreated.

Meantime the Confederate supports on either flank and far to the rear had all come up and pushed right ahead under Stuart, Hampton, Young and others, until they struck Custer, who finding himself assailed alike in front, flank and rear, had no alternate but to order a retreat. His wagon train fell into a panic and a total rout ensued extending several miles¹⁷⁵ and far into the night, Gordon kept his other regiments close up and well in hand but it was the First North Carolina that did nearly all the fighting and really won the day. The wonder has been how less than two hundred troopers could accomplish such results. Of course, when the Federals were once broken and their forces fairly scattered, all of Stuart's men did good service in capturing prisoners, flanking detached parties of the enemy, and in gathering up spoil. In the pursuit of Davis' Brigade alone "two hundred and fifty prisoners were taken, eight wagons and ambulances taken, with Custer's head quarters wagon, baggage and papers."

The Federals have tried to cover up and conceal the full extent of this defeat and stampede. Custer makes no special mention of it in his report while Maj. H. B. McClellan in his life of Stuart says that "Genl. Kilpatrick even attempted to deny it altogether." But Maj. McClellan well adds, that "hundreds of eye-witnesses, yet living can bear substantial testimony to the narrative here given." But even Maj. McClellan, though on the staff of Stuart, fails to give the particulars of the charge made by the "First North Carolina" and seeks to divide the honors with Young and Rosser, who he says "charged on either side." Nor is it believed that any full and accurate account of the part taken by the First North Carolina has heretofore been published; and for this reason a few further details are here had to show how the work was done, with such little loss to the victors, and with such disaster to the defeated. For it remains to be stated that the Confederate loss did not exceed a dozen¹⁷⁶.

In Calvary all depends upon celerity of movements and force of action. In this instance the "First North Carolina" was known as the best drilled and the best disciplined regiment in the Confederate service. In special orders Stuart called it a "pattern for others."

¹⁷³ The flanking brigades in this charge encountered many obstacles from the farms, residences, and woods adjacent to the turnpike between New Baltimore and Buckland.

¹⁷⁴ The 2nd New York Cavalry. While the rest of his brigade crossed Broad Run and marched over land to Haymarket, Davies' ordered the 2nd New York and 1st West Virginia to form the last counter-attack on the turnpike.

¹⁷⁵ The entire length of this running battle, from west of New Baltimore to Haymarket and Gainesville, was 8 miles.

¹⁷⁶ The 1st North Carolina suffered at least 6 casualties – two killed in action and four wounded (Appendix A).

When Maj. Barringer got his orders to “break those Yankees,” every man under him knew what he had to do, and all went at it with one heart and mind. The blow was struck before Davis could possibly arrange to meet it, and every "Tar Heel" knew that success lay in sticking close together and pushing every advantage. When the Federals were once started back the Confederates all followed the lead of the North Carolinians, and the latter again and again dashed into the very ranks of the flying enemy. What added greatly to the force and fury of the onset was the tremendous force of the chargers ridden by Barringer and his front file. His own splendid steed (Black Shot) twice led him into the rear of the Yankees, but so complete was the panic that he escaped unhurt, but at the end of two miles, however, in passing through a small hamlet a fourth charge threw both horse and rider square up against an old building¹⁷⁷ and so disabled the Commander, when Capt. W. H. H. Cowles of Company A instantly dashed to the front, and led the charge right on. And thus those veteran troopers kept up the charge until the lines of the Infantry were encountered.

Of all the regular mounted charges of the war this was probably the most complete in its success the most daring and continuous the onset and the most glorious in its results.

A singular circumstance may be stated in excuse and extenuation of the Federals; scarcely any troop and least of all Calvary, can stand the surprise of a simultaneous rear and front attack, and this is just what Stuart and Fitz Lee gave Davis.

(Signed)

Whit. H. Anthony

Late Capt. Co. B. 1st North Carolina Cavalry.”

Jacobs, Lee, Comp.

1999 *The Gray Riders: Stories from the Confederate Cavalry*. Burd Street Press: Shippenburg, PA.

46. “Buckland Races,” Regt. History 5th N.C. Cavalry (pp. 10-11):

“Jeb [sic] Stuart at once notified General Fitz Lee, now near Auburn, of the enemy’s advance and to come to his support. To delay Kilpatrick for Lee’s arrival, Hampton’s Division, dismounted, fought him fiercely along Broad Run, the 5th N.C. Cavalry doing its part manfully. Lee soon answered that he was coming and suggested that Stuart fall back, as if in moderate retreat, toward Warrenton, to draw Kilpatrick on so that he could get full in Kilpatrick’s rear, and, when that was effected, he would fire signal guns of artillery. Stuart readily and quickly assented, and we slowly began that memorable retreat, so puzzling to our men, along the turnpike via New Baltimore towards Warrenton. We kept going backwards, just enough resistance being made to keep Kilpatrick from suspecting Stuart’s purpose.

Kilpatrick grew bolder and actually boasted to citizens on the road, that he would “catch Stuart before he got to Warrenton.” We (?) back faster and the men along our line asked wonderingly what General Stuart could mean by retreating so and almost no fighting. Jeb Stuart knew and that was enough. He must keep his own secret now. He

¹⁷⁷ This happened in the town of Buckland, where in the morning houses had presented concealment and points of observation to both sides, but had also become obstacle for both sides by the afternoon.

was listening intently as we neared Chester Hill [sic], only two and a half miles from Warrenton, and only a small line of our skirmishers fighting and falling back behind our retreating column. Suddenly, there was one loud “boom” after another of artillery toward Buckland, which told Stuart that Lee was in their rear. Immediately, we wheeled, under Stuart’s orders, and astonished the enemy with a ferocious attack. Gordon’s brigade, including the 5th North Carolina Cavalry, anxious for the fray, was in the center on the pike, and Young and Rosser on their flanks, about 2600 troopers in all. They (the Yankees) fought stubbornly at first but nothing could resist the impetuous charges of the 5th and others and those boasting columns broke in confusion. They soon learned that Lee was in their rear and their rout become complete. For miles and miles, back through New Baltimore and on to Buckland and across Broad Run to Hay Market, we pursued them relentlessly and almost resistlessly, ‘the horses at full speed the whole distance.’ We captured hundreds of prisoners and eight wagons, including General George Armstrong Custer’s headquarters wagon with all his personal effects and official papers, and one of their writers at the time described it as ‘the deplorable spectacle of 7,000 Union Cavalry dashing riderless, hatless and panic-stricken through the ranks of their infantry.’”

Carter, William R. (Ed. By Walbrook D. Swank)

1998 *Sabres, Saddles, and Spurs: The War Diary of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Carter, CSA*. Burd Street Press: Shippenburg, PA.

47. Excerpt:

[Note: Lt. Col. William R. Carter served in the 3rd Virginia Cavalry.]

“Oct. 19: Heavy rain this morning & we moved out before day by Bristow and Catletts. Marching to Auburn, we found the O. & A. R.R. entirely destroyed from Cub run back to Rappahannock Station. At Auburn we turned off towards Buckland to strike Kilpatrick in the flank & rear as he was pursuing Gen. Stuart down the pike towards Warrenton. We soon captured the picket¹⁷⁸ on the road to Greenwich and pressed on; but came upon a heavy force of the enemy stationed on the hills around Buckland. Dismounting our sharpshooters, we advanced, driving back the enemy & finally getting possession of the pike at Buckland. As soon as Gen. Stuart heard our guns, he faced about pressed the enemy from the direction of Warrenton. Kilpatrick was unprepared for this & consequently was considerably demoralized. But a force of Infantry & artillery, which he had as a support, held the position around Buckland until the greater portion of his command had retreated by. We pursued them across Broad Run & charged them twice, the 3rd Regiment being in front; captured a number of prisoners – mostly Infantry – but coming upon the advance of the first army corps posted across the road in the woods, we were compelled to retire, having several horses killed & men wounded. Many of the enemy’s cavalry being cut off from the bridge & ford at Buckland, attempted to cross the Broad Run at a mill higher up the stream & some of them with their horses were drowned & a number killed & captured. This was quite a successful affair & particularly gratifying, as the braggart Kilpatrick was completely outgeneraled & badly defeated. Putting out pickets, we returned across Broad Run & encamped at Buckland. Our loss in

¹⁷⁸ This included a portion of the 7th Michigan Cavalry.

the Brigade was 2 killed & 13 wounded. Loss in the 3rd Regiment by name: Corporal R. Moore & priv. J. Townes co. A; priv. E.B. Hubbard co. D; priv. W.P. Dupuy co. K, all wounded.”

“Oct. 20: I consider this the hardest campaign we have ever been engaged in; consequently men & horses were both very much exhausted. It has been a very brilliant campaign for the cavalry, as they took most of the prisoners captured.”

Nanzig, Thomas P., Ed.

2007 *The Civil War Memoirs of a Virginia Cavalryman: Lt. Robert T. Hubard, Jr.* The University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa.

48. Excerpt from Chapter 9, “To Gain Kilpatrick’s Rear at Buckland”:
[Note: Lt. Robert T. Hubard, Jr. served in the 3rd Virginia Cavalry.]

“Encamping the first night [October 15] on the Plains, next day early we commenced retiring [and] went, our division, toward Bristoe to the road leading from Warrenton and went into camp. Next morning early, passed Bristoe and after halting to feed, struck road from Warrenton to Catlett’s, turned up towards Warrenton and then suddenly turned off towards Buckland, a small village.

I now learnt that Hampton’s Division had been followed up rapidly by Kilpatrick’s Division towards Warrenton and that Fitz Lee had suggested a plan of attack which Stuart had accepted. The former was to gain Kilpatrick’s rear at Buckland, secure the bridge across the stream at that place and then both parties to attack simultaneously.

Fitz Lee, getting in range, charged the pickets¹⁷⁹, etc., and we advanced beautifully till in 1000 yards of the bridge when a fire from 2 rifle pieces was opened on us from *across* [emphasis in the original document] the bridge. This was unexpected and caused some delay as we had to shell these guns¹⁸⁰ off before we could get the bridge. Finally, a beautiful charge was made by the whole division, (part mounted, part on foot), and Hampton, driving [George A.] Custer’s Brigade back.

Meanwhile, we got the brigade before it could cross but not till the others had gotten over, (many of them fording up the stream). Custer¹⁸¹ took across the fields and got across the stream a mile or so above, followed closely by Hampton’s Division. We crossed at Buckland and pressed the enemy back vigorously till we came up with the infantry brigade, (which had been at the bridge, or a portion of it when the fight commenced), finding that a heavy force was just beyond and Meade evidently advancing again, we retired to Buckland and went into camp again a little beyond.

We captured two guns and four or five wagons in this fight and some forty prisoners. Our loss in killed and wounded was not over one hundred, I guess.”

Neese, George M.

1911 *Three years in the Confederate horse artillery.* Neale Publishing Company: New York.

¹⁷⁹ This refers to the advance regiments of Custer’s brigade, most notably the 6th Michigan.

¹⁸⁰ Pennington’s battery and the 1st Vermont Cavalry in support.

¹⁸¹ Actually this was Davies, as Custer had already crossed, presumably at the bridge.

49. Excerpt, Chapter XVII – Bristoe Station:
[Note: Neese served in Chew’s Virginia Battery.]

“October 19 – Rained fast this morning until ten o’clock, and the remainder of the day was clear and pleasant. Early this morning we moved back toward Warrenton, unpursued by the enemy; we fell back to Auburn Mills on Silver Run five miles east of Warrenton, where we halted and fed our horses.

After we were at Auburn Mills about two hours we heard cannon firing in the direction of Bull Run Mountain; I afterwards learned that the cannon we heard were General Stuart’s guns. As quick as we heard General Stuart’s opening gun we were ordered to move in the direction of its foreboding boom, and when we arrived within about a mile of Buckland we encountered the enemy, with cavalry and artillery posted right on the road¹⁸². Soon after we opened fire the crash of small arms from our cavalry ran along our line, to which the Yankees responded with promptness, and in a moment after we opened fire the fight was in full bloom, carbines and pistols answering each other all over the field, and bullets zipping and whizzing in every direction; now and then the odious din of the fray was interspersed with the deep boom of cannon. Our cavalry fought valiantly and the enemy did not long withstand the vigorous and determined attack of Fitzhugh Lee’s veterans, but soon began to waver, and at last broke away in full retreat, with our cavalry in hot pursuit. We followed them, and by dusk this evening we had driven them back to their infantry, when we abandoned the chase.

The main fight was near Buckland. General Stuart drew the Yankees after him, then General Fitzhugh Lee came in on their left flank, and as soon as General Stuart heard our guns in the rear of the column of Yanks that was following him he turned and pressed them toward Fitzhugh Lee’s column. General Fitzhugh Lee is a gallant, doughty, and fearless commander, ever careful and always ready to meet the foe and measure swords.

We are camped to-night on the Warrenton and Alexandria pike eleven miles below Warrenton.”

¹⁸² Chew’s battery, traveling with Fitzhugh Lee’s division, was near or on the Greenwich Road about 1 mile south of the Warrenton turnpike, approaching high ground on Buckland Farm on which archeological investigations have yielded evidence of an artillery position (Bedell 2006).

APPENDIX A

Casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills

Listed below, by regiment, are casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills, as noted in primary and secondary regimental records and histories. The date of each casualty is taken directly from the sources, and may differ from October 19, 1863 in the same way that many of the firsthand battle narratives, including official reports, have incorrect dates. The Buckland Mills Battlefield extended from New Baltimore in the west to Gainesville and Haymarket in the east and due to the wide area covered and the long duration of fighting, there were soldiers wounded, captured, and/or killed in each of these places, not just the town of Buckland. Some accounts provide extra details regarding the soldier and his casualty; these notes are included here along with references to the source. In a few instances, a single soldier is listed more than once because he was wounded in two different areas of the battlefield, or wounded in one area and captured at another. These multiple listings are presented in order to understand the nature of fighting in each part of the battlefield. In calculated totals, these men ought not to be counted twice. This list of casualties reflects research done to date, and therefore establishes only a *minimum* number of documented casualties. Further investigations of hospital and prison records will likely uncover more casualties in this battle. Specifically, more study must be devoted to the Union infantry regiments, of the 1st and 6th Army Corps, engaged near Haymarket and Gainesville, as well as the Confederate regiments, whose records are more incomplete and less centrally compiled than Union regimental records. Field Hospital records for Union troops do not specify where and when men were wounded, but the lists of injuries may represent additional casualties from this battle that cannot yet be confirmed. Hospital records for each regiment are included in Appendix B.

1ST OHIO CAVALRY

(Headquarters Guard, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
C	Kochler, J.L.		killed	Gainesville	10/19/1863	died 23 October 63 from wounds received at Gainesville	Reg. Book [NARA]

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 1

2ND NEW YORK CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Conklin, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
A	Davy, George	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
A	Southard, L.H.	Capt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Taylor, Alonzo B.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List

							[NARA]
B	Binder, Alexander	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Smith, James B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Roth, Fred	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Greenman, John S.	Sgt.	missing	New Baltimore	10/19/1863	Captured in action at New Baltimore	Casualty List [NARA]
C	Bryant, Martin C.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Carmody, Cornelius	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Jones, Samuel	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Ashwell, Samuel	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Cleasby, Horace N.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	supposed killed	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
C	Mosier, Philetus	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Summers, Sylvester W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Torry, Adolphus	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Webb, Charles J.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Wright, Henry W.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Butler, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Munsell, Merritt	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Sweezey, Moses	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
E	Darby, George L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
E	Fish, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
E	Henderson, David	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
E	Loudon, Andrew	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
F	Van Buren, Willis	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	missing since action at Buckland Mills Oct 19th, 1863	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
G	Jones, Gottlieb	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Plaffert, Peter	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863	admitted to	Casualty List

						field hospital for "injury of spine" on 10/24	[NARA]
G	Carter, John	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Levering, Charles	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Lauterback, Herman H.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Rubenhurst, Fred	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Schneegans, Francis	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Hoff, Charles E.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Hawkins, Wellington	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Swarner, Jacob	Bugler	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Glazier, W.W.	Lt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Shanks, Jacob	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Brown, Edward	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Thomas, G.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Keen, W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Colville, William	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Hale, G.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
I	Ricard, L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
J	Shields, Thomas F.	1st Sgt.	killed	New Baltimore	10/19/1863	killed in action	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
J	Burch	Cpl.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
J	Arnold, W.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
J	Foreman, R.L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
J	Strain, J.W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
K	Hopper, John A.	Sgt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
K	Rix, Henry A.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
K	Wall, Benedict L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

K	Campbell, Robert	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
K	Graves, Edward	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Hall	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Gowan	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Brownley	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Colwell	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Bennett, E.H.	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Wallace, J.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Vernon, L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Hadley	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Durgen	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	McCarthy	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Cowgill, Hiram	Saddler	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Glazier, S.	1st Lt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

Captured: 58

Wounded: 6

Killed: 2

Sub-Total: 66

5TH NEW YORK CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Wynn, James	Sgt.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Borst, E.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Price, E.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Welsh, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Borst, E.	Pvt.	missing	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Price, E.	Sgt.	missing	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Welsh, James	Pvt.	missing	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

C	Farley, C.J.	Capt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	McGinley, James	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Scriptor, E.E.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
D	Sawyers, R.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
E	Jackson, Andrew	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
F	McMillen, Donald	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
F	Nieman, William H.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
F	Moore, T.B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
F	Earle, Hiram H.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
F	Brown, Ira	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
H	Westcott, J.	Saddler	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Westcott, J.	Saddler	wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
H	Miller, D.B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Tardy, A.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Harvey, F.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Tardy, A.	Pvt.	missing	Haymarket	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
L	Harvey, F.	Pvt.	missing	Haymarket	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Neil, Arthur	Saddler	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Brown, C.J.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Moore, Franklin	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Reg. Book [NARA]
	Folger, Abraham	Pvt.	missing	Gainesville	10/17/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

Captured: 15

Wounded: 6

Wounded & Captured: 1

Sub-Total: 22

18TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
E	Lyons, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/14/1863	captured; returned to regiment 12/1/1864	Casualty List [NARA]
F	Britton, John	Capt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	gun shot	Casualty List [NARA]; 18th PA (1900)
H	Lang, Fred A.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863	captured on picket on the Gum Spring Rd between Bull Run battlefield and Aldie	Casualty List [NARA]
H	Raymond, John	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863	captured on picket on the Gum Spring Rd between Bull Run battlefield and Aldie; died at Andersonville, GA 6/8/1864 of scro.; gr. 1719	Casualty List [NARA]
I	Jacoby, William	Ambulance Driver	missing	Buckland	10/18/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
M	Pennypacker, Enos J.	Capt.	missing	Buckland	10/14/1863	captured in action; rejoined regiment 10/31/1865	Casualty List [NARA]; 18th PA (1900)

Captured: 5

Wounded: 1

Sub-Total: 6

1ST WEST VIRGINIA CAVALRY (also known as 1st Virginia Cavalry, U.S. Volunteers)
(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
B	Stickle, Stephen		wounded	Brandy Station and Buckland*			Casualty List [NARA]
C	Weaver, Melvin H.		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
F	Jones, William Y.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured at Buckland	Casualty List [NARA]
F	Smith, Joseph B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured at	Casualty

						Buckland	List [NARA]
F	Genety, Francis	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured at Buckland	Casualty List [NARA]
G	Hollenback, William		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
G	Likens, James		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	McFarland, Alex		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Petitt, Jerry		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Weihi, Julius		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Estep, Francis		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Estep, John		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Swicard, Henry		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
L	Law, Henry		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
M	Zepperich, Albert	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	near New Baltimore	Casualty List [NARA]
M	Robert, Frederick		killed	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
M	Bretzler, Charles		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
M	Schweiber, George		missing	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
N	Carter, Ruben		killed	Brandy Station and Buckland			Casualty List [NARA]
	Quinn, John	Capt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Rock, N.W.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Ray, John	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List

							[NARA]
	Smith, J.S.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Blake, Christian	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Smith, G.O.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Ivy, William	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	G., Alexander	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Jones	Capt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hattfield, Isaac	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Sleigh, Robert	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Nolin, John	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Muthback, John	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

* In one of the 1st West Virginia Cavalry casualty lists for October 1863, some casualties are listed as having taken place at “Brandy Station and Buckland,” with no date or more specific location identified.

Captured (listed only at Buckland): 15

Wounded (listed only at Buckland): 2

Sub-Total: 17

1ST MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
	Allen, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Belcher, Charles	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Brown, D.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Clelland, John E.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Daniels, A.A.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Drevendorf, William	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

	Faneroock, John C.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Herrington, Morey	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Huff, William	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Maynard, D.G.	Ajt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Miller, Renhart	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Miller, W.H.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Morrott, Oliver	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Post, Henry	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Reynolds, S.H.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Shaw, W.C.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Skillinger, Lemuel	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Vaughn, Charles	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

Captured: 9

Wounded: 8

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 18

5TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Wolverton, John S.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	died while a prisoner at Andersonville 8/27/1864	Reg. Book [NARA]
B	Bigelow, Edwin B.	1st Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner Oct 19, 1863 at Buckland Mills; discharged Aug 1864 to enable him to muster as Captain in 1st U.S. Colored Artillery	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Beckwith, William G.	Capt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Brink, Simeon L.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
B	Eastwood, S. L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Reg. Book [NARA]
B	Frisbie, James E.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Finch, William B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Harris, Frederick	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List

							[NARA]
B	Hood, George W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Kenzel, George	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Ostrander, Harrison L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Smith, Philo W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Shultz, Charles	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Thayer, Ely	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Vanberg, Charles	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Wilson, Amon	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
B	Markham, Darius A.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
C	Smith, William	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Reg. Book [NARA]
D	Gardner, John M.	Bugler	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Stuart, William V.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner Oct 19, 1863 at Buckland Mills; died at Andersonville Aug. 1864	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Chapman, Edward	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Kidd (1908)
E	Chapman, Gilbert	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Reg. Book [NARA]
E	Abbott, Charles M.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	died in prison 7/13/1864	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Benton, George M.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Bates, Elijah L.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Crippin, George F.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List

							[NARA]
E	Denton, William A.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	died in prison August 1864	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Parks, Ira A.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Roloff, John	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	died in prison 4/27/1864	Casualty List [NARA]
E	Kirkham, Hezekiah	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
G	Parker, William S.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
G	Lyon, Aaron D.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	died of ansarca at Andersonville, Ga. 7/21/1864	Casualty List [NARA]
G	Anderson, Gabriel	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner	Casualty List [NARA]
G	McChusen, J. B.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Kidd (1908)
K	Higley, Curtis	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Sanderson, Levi	Pvt.	wounded	Brandy Station	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	McCormick, William J.	Pvt.	wounded	Brandy Station	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Clark, John E.	Maj.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Lee, Edward M.	Capt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured at Buckland Mills Oct 19, 1863	Casualty List [NARA]
	Barse, George R.	1st Lt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	escaped 5/14/1864	Casualty List [NARA]
	Eastbrook, Leonard	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Chapman, Ediom	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Jones, Schuyler	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Godfrey, George C.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

	Chapman, Loren D.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Field, Ward	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Fairbanks, J.K.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hammond, John K.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Handy, Daniel	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	discharged Feb 28, 1864 by reason of gun shot wound at Buckland	Casualty List [NARA]
	Herman, Thomas C.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	McPherson, Samuel B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hart, Hannibal	Sgt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	shell in arm	Casualty List [NARA]
	Chambers, J.R.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Wheeler, William M.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Decker, George S.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Ogden, Orvil	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Newberry, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Eastman, C.	Blacksmith	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Frick, W.B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hawley, David	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

Captured: 52

Wounded: 5

Killed: 3

Sub-Total: 60

6TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
	Briggs, George	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Bryant, George	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Chipman, H.H.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Deane, Frederick	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
C	Dixon, William G.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	died 11/10/1863 at Washington Hospital of wounds received at Buckland Mills	Kidd (1908)
	Goodale, George T.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hays, Chauncey	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hirst, Henry	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hobart, H.V.	Sgt. Maj.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Hulit, James	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	McKee, R.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Myers, Charles S.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Rice, Allen	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Shafer, Joseph	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Smith, Simon	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Smoke, H.B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Sprague, John T.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Van Dyke, John F.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Van Lieux, Cornelius	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Yomans, Lewis H.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Zerlaut, Joseph N.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	bullet wound just above knee; shot passed upwards coming out hip;	Casualty List [NARA]; Zerlaut family history, Internet

						Lincoln visited Zerlaut in hospital	
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Captured: 18

Wounded: 1

Killed: 2

Sub-Total: 21

7TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Anthony, Henry L.	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
A	Wisner, Zepiriah	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
A	Cook, Edwin D.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	captured at Buckland; escaped 10/8/1864	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
A	Pierce, Sidney P.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	missing in action at Buckland Mills; died at Richmond 2/11/1864	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
A	Alexander, Samuel	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner at Buckland Mills; died in Richmond hospital 12/3/1863	Casualty List; Reg. Book [NARA]
A	Lang, Edward S.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died of disease at Annapolis, 6/19/1864	Isham (1893)
C	Case, Silas D.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Richmond, 3/4/1864	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
D	Hale, Samuel B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Andersonville 8/14/1864; gr. 4674	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
G	Bennett, Irwin	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Andersonville	Isham (1893)
H	Stuart, John	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died in prison at Belle Isle, VA 3/9/1864	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
I	Filbern, Owen	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Kidd (1908)
M	Hawkins, Alphonzo	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Annapolis 5/10/1864	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
M	Austin, Francis	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Richmond, 1/9/1864	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)

M	Hall, William	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	aka William Hull	Kidd (1908)
M	Quirk, John	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; died at Richmond 11/16/1863	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
M	Durham, Emery	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	transferred to 1st Michigan; taken prisoner; died at Richmond 2/17/1864	Casualty List [NARA]; Isham (1893)
	Fox, C.J.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Carson, James	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Knapp, V.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Jackson, J.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Sprague, Asa	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Law, E.L.	Sgt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Black, William	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Skimmerhorn, J.	Bugler	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Crowman, William	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Armstrong, W.W.	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Wilson, R.S.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Nelty, Andrew	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Meyer, John	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Jenning, R.B.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Vancliek		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Reg. Book [NARA]
	Briggs, George R.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Reagan, G.W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]
	Briggs, George G.	Adj.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; escaped two days afterward by running the Rebel guard	Isham (1893)
	Holmes, Roswell H.	2nd Lt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	taken prisoner; escaped two days afterward by running the Rebel guard	Isham (1893)

Captured: 23
 Wounded: 9
 Killed: 3
Sub-Total: 35

1ST VERMONT CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
C	Leahy, Dennis G.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/20/1863	wounded slightly	Casualty List [NARA]; O.R.
D	Ide, Horace Knight	Sgt.	wounded	Buckland	10/20/1863	wounded in the shoulder	Casualty List [NARA]; O.R.
M	Hicks, Henry J.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/20/1863		Casualty List [NARA]; O.R.
M	Blair (Blo), Alexander	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/20/1863		Casualty List [NARA]; O.R.
	Ray, Frank	Capt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Casualty List [NARA]

Captured: 2
 Wounded: 3
Sub-Total: 5

2ND UNITED STATES ARTILLERY, BATTERY M (Pennington)

(First Brigade Horse Artillery, attached to Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
M	Agner, J.R.		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	Buckland's Mill; under heavy artillery fire for two hours	NARA M727:13
M	McCann, Hyman N.		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	Buckland's Mill; under heavy artillery fire for two hours	NARA M727:13

Wounded: 2
Sub-Total: 2

4TH UNITED STATES ARTILLERY, BATTERY E (Elder)

(First Brigade Horse Artillery, attached to Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
E	Bond, William	Pvt.	missing	Gainesville	10/19/1863	engagement at Buckland Mills	NARA M727:29

Captured: 1
Sub-Total: 1

7TH MARYLAND INFANTRY

(Third Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
	Boyer, Lawson		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13
	Shuber, Lewis		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13
	Sauntman, William		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13
	Hyder, Jesse		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13

Wounded: 4

Sub-Total: 4

11TH PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY

(Second Brigade, Second Division, First Army Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
	Moser, Joseph		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13

Wounded: 1

Sub-Total: 1

143RD PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
	Dilley, Avery		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863		Field Hospital Register Volume 13
	Davenport, Elijah		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863		Field Hospital Register Volume 13

Wounded: 2

Sub-Total: 2

149RD PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps, Army of the Potomac)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
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	Smail, Jonas T.		wounded	Haymarket	10/19/1863	wounded in action near Haymarket	Field Hospital Register Volume 13
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Wounded: 1
Sub-Total: 1

7TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
K	Basye, Nathan John	3rd Lt.	horse killed	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Armstrong (1992)
F	Parsons, William Lehman	Pvt.	horse killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Armstrong (1992)

Horse killed: 2

11TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
B	Harness, William Henry	Capt.	charged/resigned		10/20/1863	neglect of duty in charges at Jack's Shop and Haymarket	Armstrong (1989)
B	Newhouse, Thomas M.	Pvt.	horse killed		10/19/1863		Armstrong (1989)

Resigned/Discharged: 1
Horse killed: 1

12TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
H	Arehart, Casper H.	Sgt.	wounded	New Baltimore	10/19/1863	roan horse appraised at \$750, killed in action at New Baltimore, 10/19/1863	Frye (1988)
H	Holsinger, Martin F.	Cpl.	killed	New Baltimore	10/19/1863	mortally wounded in action near New Baltimore 10/19/1863, died from wound 11/11/1863	Frye (1988)

						wounded in left leg near New Baltimore, 10/19/1863; left at hospital in Warrenton; POW at Warrenton, 10/21/1863	
H	Perry, Thomas J.	Sgt.	wounded	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Frye (1988)
H	Saufley, William McK.	Pvt.	wounded	New Baltimore	10/19/1863	survived war; died 1909	Frye (1988)
I	Haskins, William A.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		McDonald (1907)
I	Warwicks, John	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		McDonald (1907)
I	Mitchell, J. Shipp	Pvt.	AWOL/deserted		10/20/1863	muster rolls report him AWOL since 10/20/1863	Frye (1988)

Deserted: 1

Wounded: 5

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 6 (does not include desertion, discharge, or horses killed)

1ST NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
E	Edwards, Rial T.	Bugler	wounded		10/20/1863	wounded in right thigh and furloughed for 40 days	Manarin (1968)
F	Blackwelder, Nelson Tobias	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Manarin (1968)
I	Merritt, Benejah C.	Sgt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		family account; contradicts Manarin (1968)
I	Merritt, Timothy W.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded in right thigh and admitted to hospital in Richmond, where he was furloughed for 40 days	Manarin (1968)
I	Grady, William G.	2nd Lt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Manarin (1968)
K	Totherow, Silas	Pvt.	wounded	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Manarin (1968); Company Muster Rolls [NARA]

Wounded: 4
 Killed: 2
 Sub-Total: 6

2ND NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
A	Saunders, John M.	Pvt.	wounded		10/19/1863	admitted to hospital at Richmond, Va. with a gunshot wound of the left side on October 19, 1863 and furloughed for 30 days Nov 6, 1863	Manarin (1968)
K	Tilley, John	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	died of wounds 10/24/1863 Gordonsville	Manarin (1968)

Wounded: 1
 Killed: 1
 Sub-Total: 2

5TH NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
D	Martin, William W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded and taken prisoner	Manarin (1968)

Captured: 1
 Sub-Total: 1

9TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(W.H.F. Lee's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

Co.	Name	Rank	Casualty	Place	Date	Notes	Source
D	Douling, Thomas W.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Krick (1982)
E	Holliday, W.J.		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded three times at Buckland	Krick (1982)
E	Jerrell, Robert Henry		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	lost a finger	Krick (1982)
H	Cullen, John A.	Lt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	gunshot in both thighs	Brig. Gen. R.L.T. Beale (1865)
I	Hudson, James S.		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded in elbow; retired to Invalid Corps on 9/1/64 due to that wound	Krick (1982)

Wounded: 4

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 5

1ST VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
B	Thatcher, David M.	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	WIA near Buckland Mills 10/19/1863; died of wounds 10/20/1863; buried in Tuscarora Presbyterian Church Cemetery Berkeley Co, West Virginia	Library of VA
C	McGovern, Thomas	Pvt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	Rockbridge Dragoons; died of wounded pelvis 12/7/1863 Gordonsville Hospital	Library of VA
K	Dorsey, Gustavus Warfield	Capt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded in hip	Driver (1991)

Wounded: 1

Killed: 2

Sub-Total: 3

2ND VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Hurt, David L.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/16/1863		Driver and Howard (1995)
B	Robertson, John Patterson	2nd Lt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	lost arm	Driver and Howard (1995)
B	Robertson, John Patterson	2nd Lt.	horse killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Driver and Howard (1995)
E	Eubank, Thomas B.	Pvt.	horse killed	Buckland	10/18/1863		Driver and Howard (1995)
G	Lansdown, William A.	Blacksmith	horse killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Driver and Howard (1995)
I	Franklin, Thomas Cook	Pvt.	horse killed	Buckland	10/18/1863		Driver and Howard (1995)
K	Anderson, David M.	Pvt.	wounded			WIA October 1863; in Charlottesville hospital 10/23-12/14/63	Driver and Howard (1995)
K	Rogers, John	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Driver and

	Thornton						Howard (1995)
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Horse killed: 4

Wounded: 4

Sub-Total: 4 (the loss of horses in not included in calculation of casualties)

3RD VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
A	Thom, R.	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		NARA M861:62
A	Toyner, J.E.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		NARA M861:62
A	Moore, Robert	Cpl.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863		Nanzig (1989)
A	Townes, James E.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	gunshot to right thigh, flesh wound; hospitalized	Nanzig (1989)
B	Phillips, George W.	Pvt.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	POW 11/63-3/64; no date of exchange; detained 4/64 by Secretary of War; died 5/9/1864, Matthews Co., VA; KIA "by Negro soldiers"	Nanzig (1989)
B	Phillips, Gilbert M.	Cpl.	missing	Buckland	10/19/1863	deserted at Williamsburg	Nanzig (1989)
C	Moore, Robert		wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	shot in left hip	Nanzig (1989)
D	Hubbard, Edwin Binford	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	absent - wounded since Oct. 1863; left arm and thigh, shell wound, "carbine lost unavoidably"; hospital, 10/63-8/64	Confederate muster rolls; Nanzig (1989)
E	Oliver, Joseph T.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	shot in left calf and developed gangrene; survived	Nanzig (1989)
G	Nickols, Benjamin Franklin	Pvt.	horse killed	Buckland	10/19/1863		Nanzig (1989)
K	DuPuy, William Purnell	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	gunshot to head, fleshwound	Nanzig (1989)

Horses killed: 1

Captured: 2

Wounded: 8

Sub-Total: 10

4TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
D	Corbin, William B.	Pvt.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	wounded in foot	Stiles (1985)
E	Werth, John	Cpl.	horse killed	Gainesville	10/19/1863		Stiles (1985)
F	Harris, Thomas M.	Sgt.	killed	Buckland	10/19/1863	died of wounds 11/1/1863 Gordonsville Hospital	Library of VA

Horses killed: 1

Wounded: 1

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 2

1ST STUART HORSE ARTILLERY

(Beckham's Battalion Artillery, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

<i>Co.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Casualty</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
Breathed	Johnston, P.P.	Maj.	wounded	Buckland	10/19/1863	moved to Lexington, KY after the war	McClellan (1885)
	Burke, Martin Richard	Bugler	wounded and captured	Buckland	10/17/1863	surgery performed by Surgeon William Murray at Lynchburg #1	Moore (1985)
	Muth, A.		killed	New Baltimore	10/19/1863		Moore (1985)

Wounded & Captured: 1

Wounded: 1

Killed: 1

Sub-Total: 3

AGGREGATES

<i>Casualty/Loss</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Confederate</i>	<i>Combined</i>
Captured	198	3	201
Wounded	51	29	80
Wounded & Captured	1	1	2
Killed	12	9	21
Discharged		1	1
Deserted		1	1
Horses Killed		9	9
TOTAL	262	53	315

APPENDIX B

National Archives Military Records of Regiments Engaged in the Battle of Buckland Mills

This document refers to primary records at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) of only those regiments engaged in the Battle of Buckland Mills, Virginia (October 19, 1863). Specifically, this text presents officers' and soldiers' notes regarding their regiments' actions, experiences, and composition during the Battle of Buckland Mills and the accompanying operations of the Bristoe Campaign (October-November, 1863). Each regiment, Union and Confederate, recorded monthly operations differently, and with varying levels of detail. The amount and quality of detail depends on a variety of factors, including the disposition of the responsible staff officers, the intensity of fighting, and the preservation of records, as a regiment's papers were sometimes captured by enemy forces, damaged, or lost during and after the war.

Officers in each regiment submitted notes and reports to superior and commanding officers who in turn submitted these papers to their particular war department. On some occasions, military information from these documents was published by newspapers shortly after an engagement. This was often true of generals' official reports. After the war, from 1880 to 1901, the United States War Department published *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. The O.R. Series, as they are often cited, contains an extensive collection of officer reports and statistics, covering the entire period of war, and forming the basis for most secondary battle narratives. However, with the exception of generals' reports and soldiers' personal letters or diaries, regimental information recorded in the field did not consist of battle narratives, but instead comprised an assortment of tables, lists (of equipment, casualties, letters, and more), communications between troops, and brief notes regarding troop movement and location. These types of military records were usually not published even after the war, and at most were cited by regimental historians many years later in published secondary accounts. In the early twentieth century, NARA compiled the surviving Union and Confederate records in the War Department and from former Confederate States for curatorial and research purposes.

This Appendix contains only unpublished primary source information from regimental records at the National Archives, including documents in the following series:

Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments) [M594]

Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units [M861]

Regimental Books and Papers (Union) [RG92/94]

Regimental Returns, Regular Army (Union), Entry 66 – Artillery [M727]

Field Hospital Registers (Union) [RG94]

Regimental Books and Papers of Union forces contain "Descriptive Lists," detailed lists of all men who served in a regiment, including data about their age, place of residence or birth, date of enlistment, and any notes on their death, wounds, capture, hospitalization, resignation, promotion or discharge. This Appendix does not include full Descriptive Lists, which have not been transcribed or published, and are incomplete for certain regiments due to the loss of some regimental books at the National Archives. The order of regiments below follows the organization of each army during the Bristoe Campaign (OR 1890: 216-226; 400-404).

1ST OHIO CAVALRY

(Headquarters Guard, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 140]

Company A, Muster Roll, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Catlett’s Station

Record of Events:

“This Co. (A) with Co. C, composing the Squadron attached for duty to Gen. J. Kilpatrick’s Hd. Qrs. Third Cav. Div. Cavalry Corps, Army Potomac, since June 27, 1863.

The following list of Ordnance and ordnance stores has been lost in the various actions in which the Co. has been engaged since that time:

15 Colts Army Revolvers; 14 Cavalry Sabers; 14 Saber belts & plates; 14 Saber knots; 14 set Horse Equip. Complete; 14 Pistol Cart’g. boxes; 14 Pistol Holsters.

Copyist: Feaster.”

Company C*, Muster Roll, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Camp at Catlett’s Station, Va.

Record of Events:

“Officers & Comp. assigned to duty at Genl. Kilpatrick’s Hd. Qrs. since date of June 25, 1863. Copyist: Sargent.”

* Only Companies A and C of the 1st Ohio were attached to Kilpatrick’s Cavalry.

II. *Regimental Books and Papers (Union)* [RG92/94]

1st Ohio Cavalry Regimental Book, Company C:

"J. L. Kochler - died 23 October 63 from wounds received at Gainesville."

III. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Volume 605 – Gainesville Hospital Records]

1st Ohio Cavalry, Company C:

John Riolher (?) - G.S. wound in bowels admitted 27 October

William Davis - G.S. wound, amputated leg admitted 27 October

John Burns - G.S. in left arm admitted 27 October

2ND NEW YORK CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 108]

Company G, Muster Roll, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va.

Record of Events:

(The entire regiment was engaged; only Co. G’s records contain information.)

“was engaged at Gainesville Oct. 18th and at New Baltimore on the 19th”

II. *Regimental Books and Papers (Union)* [RG92/94]

2nd New York Cavalry Regimental Books*, Vol. 4 of 8:

Letter of Lieut. Col. Harhaus to Brig. Gen. John T. Sprague, 22 October 1863, excerpts:

“The Reg’t. has suffered greatly in the last engagements.”

“P.S. We acknowledge the receipt of one of your orders requesting that the Muster Rolls for July & August of certain Cos. which were missing to be forwarded. Said letter was rec’d. while on the march and the acting Sgt. Major who carried it being missing since the engagement near Warrenton on Monday the last. We have no means to ascertain the letters of these Cos. in question, and respectfully request that a copy be furnished to enable us to comply with your demands.”

*Appendix A includes information on all casualties described in the Regimental Books and additional sources.

III. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

2nd New York Cavalry:

Southard, L.H. (Capt. Co. A); intermittent fever; admitted 10/17; sent to Hosp. 10/22
Jettlop, James (Cpl. Co. G); contusions; admitted 10/17; sent to Hosp. 10/22
Cornweld, Cornelius (Cpl. Co. C); G.S. wound in left knee admitted 10/17; Hosp. 10/22
Sthestel (?), William (Pvt. Co. F); contusions; admitted 10/23; Hosp. 10/24
Vahew, Frank (Pvt. Co. I); injury of spine; admitted 10/23; Hosp. 10/24
Plaffert, Peter (Pvt. Co. G); injury of spine; admitted 10/24; Hosp. 10/24
+ four other men, admitted in November 1863 for illnesses

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 10

5TH NEW YORK CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 109]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – near Haymarket, Va., no other details

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

5th New York Cavalry:

Arthur, Niel (Pvt. Co. A); G.S. wound in right hip; admitted 10/17; Hosp. 10/22
Wynn, James (Pvt. Co. A); wound in spine; admitted 10/17; Hosp. 10/25
Nieman (Pvt. Co. L); contusion of leg with injury; admitted 10/28
Conlin, William (Pvt. Co. F); contusions; admitted 10/28
Nutting, Michael (Pvt. Co. C); contusions; admitted 10/28

Russell, William (Pvt. Co. L); contusion of shoulder; admitted 10/28
Toursand, Samuel (Cpl. Co. L); contusion of back; admitted 10/28
McMulty, O. (Pvt. Co. C); contusions; admitted 10/28
McDonald, Edward (Pvt. Co. C); intermittent fever; admitted 10/25
Hayton, Albert (Pvt. Co. G); fracture of leg; admitted 10/31
McMullen, Peter (Pvt. Co. L); contusion; admitted 10/23
+ four other men, admitted in November 1863 for illnesses

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 5

18TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY

(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 166]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va.

Field & Staff: “engaged the enemy at Buckland Mills Oct. 14 and 19, 1863”

Co. A: engaged the enemy at Buckland Mills Oct. 14 and 19, 1863

Co. B: engaged the enemy at Buckland Mills Oct. 14 and 19, 1863

Co. C: no information

Co. D: no information

Co. E: “in action at Buckland Mills 10/17/63 & 10/19/63”

Co. F: no information

Co. G: “in action at Buckland Mills Oct 19th”

Co. H: the enemy at Buckland Mills Oct. 14 and 19, 1863

Co. I: no information

Co. K: “in battle at Buckland Mills Oct. 18, 1863 and Oct. 19, 1863”

Co. L: “14 Oct. the company skirmished at Broad Run one man missing. At Hay Market the company was present, fell back near Gainesville Station and remained there until the 31st.”

Co. M: no information

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

18th Pennsylvania Cavalry:

Darling, W. B. (Maj.); chronic diarrhea; admitted 10/21; returned 10/22

Hess, William B. (Pvt. Co. E); contusion; admitted 10/17

McGhumpy, Wm. H. (Pvt. Co. C); sprained wrist and contusion of head; admitted 10/23

Webster, Wm. H. (Pvt. Co. G); dislocated shoulder; admitted 10/23

Pulley, John (Pvt. Co. F); fractured ribs right side; admitted 10/23

Wright, E. J. (Sgt. Co. C); dislocations of clavicle; admitted 10/23

Childs, William E. (Pvt. Co. F); contusions of right side; admitted 10/23

Throp, David (Cpl. Co. G); injury of spine; admitted 10/23

Fritz, David F. (Pvt. Co. K); sprained ankles; admitted 10/23

Noble, Amons (Pvt. Co. E); fractured ribs; admitted 10/23
Moore, John (Pvt. Co. F); contusion of side; admitted 10/23
Saltamdin, Garrison (Pvt. Co. D); sprained ankle; admitted 10/23
Greenant, Jacob (Pvt. Co. E); contusion of side; admitted 10/23
Rush, Isaac (Pvt. Co. A); contusion; admitted 11/7

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 1

1ST WEST VIRGINIA CAVALRY (also known as 1st Virginia Cavalry, U.S. Volunteers)
(First Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 194]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va., no details except for the following:

Co. D: near Fort Scott
Co. F: near Bristoe, Va., “Oct. 19th engaged the enemy spiritedly at Buckland, Va.”
Co. G: Gainesville, Va., “On the 19th at Buckland Mills had a very brisk engagement”
Co. K: Martinsburg, Va.
Co. N: “engaged with the enemy at or near New Baltimore and Buckland’s Mills, Oct 19th, 1863”

II. *Regimental Books and Papers (Union)* [RG92/94]

1st West Virginia Cavalry Regimental Books, Vol. 1 of 3:

Remarks for the month of October, 1863:

19th – “Skirmish near New Baltimore. Albert Zepperich missing in action. Josh Breshlin horse give out near Long Bridge; lost in action near New Baltimore in action: 4 rifle and cartridge boxes, 1 revolver & holster, 1 sabre belt and Plate.”

Morning Reports, Company M – October 1863:

“4 men missing in action between Oct 7 and Oct 24 (Gainesville)”

III. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

1st West Virginia Cavalry:

Michal, John A. (Cpl. Co. E); G.S. wound in left groin; admitted 10/27
+ 11 men admitted for illnesses

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 2

1ST MICHIGAN CAVALRY
(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 83]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va.

Field & Staff: “Oct. 10 was engaged at James City, 11th at Culpepper [sic] and Brandy Station, 17th at Groveton, 19th at Buckland Mills.”

Co. A: no information

Co. B: “Oct. 10 James City, Oct. 11 Brandy Station, Oct. 17 Groveton, Oct. 19 Bucklands [sic] Mills”

Co. C: “Oct. 10 James City, Oct. 11 Brandy Station, Oct. 17/18 Groveton, Oct. 19 Buckland Mills”

Co. D: no information

Co. E: no information

Co. F: “Oct. 10 in action at James City, Va.; Oct. 11 in action Culpepper, Brandy Station and all along the rout to Rappahannock Station; Oct. 14 on picket at Bull Run; Oct. 16-17; Oct. 18 Skirmish near Gainesville; Oct. 19 in battle of Bucktown [sic] Mills, Va.”

Co. G: no information

Co. H: “was in the severe engagement of 13 October at Brandy Station and skirmished every day for several days and fought the Rebels at Buckland Mills on 19, since which have lain idle except moving from Gainesville to Gainesville.”

Co. I: “[October] 11th retreated back to the Rappahannock and had a heavy fight at Brandy Station, then fell back as far as Bull Run and did picket duty until the 19th when it advanced and was in action nearly all day at Buckland Mills.”

Co. K: “Buckland [October] 19”

Co. L: “Buckland [October] 19/63”

Co. M: no information

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

1st Michigan Cavalry:

5 men listed for October and November 1863, all admitted for illnesses.

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 3

5TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 83]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – no details except for the following:

Co. C: “James City Oct. 10-1863. Brandy Station Oct. 11-63. Buckland Mills Oct. 19-63. Morton’s Ford Nov 22/23-63. Near Richmond in Kilpatrick Raid March 2-1864. Todds Tavern in Wilderness May 6/7-64.”

Co. H: “participated in the engagement near Buckland Mills, Oct. 19”

Co. K: “Oct. 19 at Buckland Mills”

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

5th Michigan Cavalry:

12 men listed for October and November 1863, all admitted for illnesses.

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 3

6TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 84]

Company Muster Rolls, Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va. except for Companies J, K, F and M
No other details.

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

6th Michigan Cavalry:

21 men listed for October-November, 1863, 2 of wounds received in November, the rest admitted for illnesses.

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 5

7TH MICHIGAN CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 84]

Company Muster Rolls, Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va., no details except for the following:

Co. B: “18th marched to Gainesville, 19th marched to Buckland and retreated back to Gainesville, 31st marched to Bristoe.”

II. *Regimental Books and Papers (Union)* [RG92/94]

7th Michigan Cavalry Regimental Books, Vol. 5 of 6:

Remarks for the month of October, 1863:

19th – “Marched from near Gainesville through and beyond Greenwich. Co. D, skirmishers. Attacked in rear and [made] camp at Gainesville.”

20th – “Yesterday Baldwin’s horse died. [Co.] C. Reynolds gone to hospital & sent his horse, saddle and sabers to Company. Yesterday one man (Samuel Hale) with horse & equipments, saber, revolver and carbine (missing in action).”

III. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

7th Michigan Cavalry:

Wyson, H. (Pvt. Co. C); G.S. wound in head; admitted 10/17

Robins, E. J. (Pvt. Co. H); G.S. wound left side flesh wound; admitted 10/25

+ 20 men admitted for illnesses

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 4

1ST VERMONT CAVALRY

(Second Brigade, Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Volunteer Union Military Units (State Regiments)* [M594: 191]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Gainesville, Va.

Regimental Return: “At 6 o’clock in the morning of the 14th marched to Buckland Mills, this regiment being the rear guard. From Buckland Mills to Gainesville, thence to Sudley Church on the Bull Run battlefield where it remained until 5 o’clock until 15th when it crossed the Stone Bridge and bivouacked about a mile north of Bull Run Creek.

Remained at this place until about 12 on the 16th when the division re-crossed Bull Run Creek and this regiment picketed in the vicinity of Groveton. The division remained in the vicinity of Sudley Church during the 17th. On the 18th at 5pm it moved out in the direction of Gainesville, this regt. having the advance in the left and the 2nd N.Y. Cavalry the right. The enemy pickets were soon encountered and driven into Gainesville where we [camped] at dark. This regiment picketed the front during the night and early on the morning of the 19th attacked and drove the enemy from the town. Supported by Pennington’s Battery and skirmished during the day, driving the enemy to Bucklands Mills and returned to Gainesville at night. Sergt. H.A. Ide Co. D was wounded at Buckland Mills in shoulder severely, and Pvt. Dennis G. Sheahy Co. C wounded slightly. Remained at Gainesville until the 21st when this Regiment proceeded to Groveton and picketed that vicinity until the 23rd when this Regt. was relieved and returned to Gainesville where it remains at date (Oct. 31).”

Co. A: Warrenton, Va.

Co. B: camp near Gainesville, Va.

Co. D: “Oct. 19 – had a fight at Buckland Mills in which Sergt. Ide was wounded.”

Co. E: “13th [Oct.] to Bealeton and to near Buckland Mills; 14th to Sudley Church; On picket until 18th when we skirmished up to Gainesville; 19th moved to Buckland Mills and were engaged through the day, falling back with the column to Gainesville; since in camp and on picket near Gainesville.”

II. *Regimental Books and Papers (Union)* [RG92/94]

1st Vermont Cavalry Regimental Books*, Vol. 1 of 6:

Letter from Head Quarters (Groveton), 1st Vermont, to Lieut. Ely Granger, 25 October 1863

Excerpts:

“Report of October 18th, Gain: one enlisted man from missing in action, and one do. from deserting.

Loss: Captains W.M. Beeman and C.A. Adams, and 2nd Lt. H.A. Hyde, missing in action. Major Josiah Hall captured by guerillas. One enlisted man killed in action, and twenty-four enlisted men missing in action.

Total gain: two enlisted men.

Total loss: four commissioned officers and twenty-six enlisted men.”

*This Regimental book also contains the report of Col. Edward B. Sawyer, commanding 1st Vermont Cavalry. This report was left out of the official records of the war and is included in the “Primary Sources” section of this report.

III. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

1st Vermont Cavalry:

17 men listed for October-November, 1863, 2 of wounds received in November, the rest admitted for illnesses.

“Wounded during the week, Gainesville, Va. – Oct. 24th” [RG94 Entry 602]: 1

2ND UNITED STATES ARTILLERY, BATTERY M (Pennington)

(First Brigade Horse Artillery, attached to Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. *Regimental Returns, Regular Army (Union), Entry 66 – Artillery* [M727: 13]

Report, October 1863 – Post/Station: Bristoe Station, Va.

Excerpts:

19th – “Bucklands Mill [sic] – engaged the enemy, was under heavy artillery fire for two hours. J.R. Agner, H. McCann wounded; fell back to encampment near Gainesville.”

“Hyman N. McCann – Private, Battery M wounded 10/20/63 near Buckland, Va.”

Officers:

1 Captain: George L. Hartsuff

2 1st Lieutenants: Robert Clarke; Carl A. Woodruff

1 2nd Lieutenant: Will. Egan

Enlisted Men:

4 Sgts.

4 Cpls.

2 Buglers

1 Artificer

132 Privates

Aggregate: 147 (Aggregate on Last Return: 149)
Loss: 2 dropped (William Archer and Florence Sullivan)
Wounded: 1 [conflicts with battery report quoted above, which identifies 2 wounded]
Recruits requested: 26
Horses: 198
Pieces of Artillery: 6

4TH UNITED STATES ARTILLERY, BATTERY E (Elder)

(First Brigade Horse Artillery, attached to Third Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac)

I. Regimental Returns, Regular Army (Union), Entry 66 – Artillery [M727: 29]

Report, October 1863 – Post/Station: Bristoe Station, Va.

Excerpts:

13th – “encamped at night near Buckland Mills”

18th – “marched to Gainesville”

19th – “Engaged the enemy near Buckland Mills. Encamped at night near Haymarket.

Distance marched: 10 miles. Loss: 1 man missing. Remained on picket duty until 31st.”

Gain:

John Turity, Farrier, by transfer 10/6/1863 at Culpeper

Hugh Doughert, Private, from desertion 10/22/1863 at Gainesville

Loss:

W. Anderson, Private, by discharge 10/7/1863 at Gainesville

Thos. Bond* (or Baud), Private, MIA 10/19/1863 at Gainesville

*In the Casualty List for the 4th U.S., Battery E, this name appears as “William Bond”

Officers:

1 Captain: Joseph C. Clark

3 1st Lieutenants: Tanaught; Cushing; Edward Field

1 2nd Lieutenant: Torence Reilly

Enlisted Men:

4 Sgts.

4 Cpls.

1 Musician

1 Farrier/Blacksmith

2 Artificers

90 Privates

Aggregate: 107 (Aggregate on Last Return: 107)

Gain: 1 by transfer; 1 from desertion [2 total]

Loss: 1 by order (dis. enl.); 1 m.i.a. [2 total]

Horses: 137 serviceable
 26 unserviceable
 3 lost in action

Pieces of Artillery: 4

II. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

4th U.S. Battery, Company E (these do not clearly represent battle casualties and may instead relate to disease):

Swarts, Francis – no date of admittance

Yarnold, Henry – admitted Oct. 22 (1863)

UNION INFANTRY

I. *Field Hospital Registers (Union)* [RG94, Entry Field Hospital Register 544 – Cavalry, Army of the Potomac, Register 599]

Tamt, Henry (Pvt. Co. B), 7th Wisconsin; G.S. wound left knee; admitted 10/24

Coffey, K. J. (Sgt. Co. K), 4th Vermont; G.S. wound left leg; admitted 10/24

Eiche, Christian (Pvt. Co. C), 14th Connecticut; burned foot; admitted 10/24

COBB'S (GEORGIA) LEGION CAVALRY

(Butler's/Young's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 19]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 11 companies and 91 officers in Cobb's Legion, none of whom are listed as casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills. There is no list of enlisted men.

PHILLIPS (GEORGIA) LEGION CAVALRY

(Butler's/Young's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 19]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 7 companies and 39 officers in Phillips Legion, none of whom are listed as casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills. There is no list of enlisted men.

JEFF DAVIS (MISSISSIPPI) LEGION CAVALRY

(Butler's/Young's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 28]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Stevensburg, Va., no details except for the following:
Co. F: “[at] New Baltimore accompanied the army in the advance towards Manassas in October.”

The returns list 10 companies and 64 officers in the Jeff Davis Legion, none of whom are listed as casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills. There is no list of enlisted men.

1ST SOUTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Butler’s/Young’s Brigade, Hampton’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 43]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – near Stephensburg, Va.

Co. A: “Engaged the enemy at Buckland [Oct. 19th] threw them back on their infantry. No loss in the company.”

Co. B: no note of Oct. 19th, but the company reports no loss in the Oct. 17th engagement

Co. C: “we pursued them retreating to Buckland where we again met and fought them and completely routed them. Since then nothing of interest.”

Co. F: no losses

Co. K: “engaged the enemy at Buckland and routed them”

The returns list 10 companies and 62 officers in the 1st South Carolina Cavalry, none of whom are listed as casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills. There is no list of enlisted men.

2ND SOUTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Butler’s/Young’s Brigade, Hampton’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 43]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Stephensburg, no further details

The returns list 10 companies and 71 officers in the 2nd South Carolina Cavalry, none of whom are listed as casualties in the Battle of Buckland Mills. There is no list of enlisted men.

7TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones’/Rosser’s Brigade, Hampton’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 74 officers in the 7th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

11TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 70 officers in the 11th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

12TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – no details except for the following:

Co. C: Spottsylvania C. H., “on the 19[th] had a sharp fight with the enemy & drove them from New Baltimore to Gainesville (whole Cavalry Corps) capturing some 300 prisoners then fell back across the Rappahannock.”

Co. H: Gaines Cross Roads, “Oct. 19 our squadron being in advance of Genl. Gordon's Brigade participated in the charge near New Baltimore which resulted in the complete rout of Kilpatrick's Division. My Co. had in their charge four men wounded.”

The returns list 10 companies and 63 officers in the 12th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

12th Virginia Cavalry Company Strengths, Nov.-Dec. 1863 Muster:

A = 38

B = 70

C = 43

D = 59

E = 36

F = 27

G = 43

H = 56

I = 52

K = 74

TOTAL = 498

35TH BATTALION VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Jones'/Rosser's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 63]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 6 companies and 32 officers in the 35th Virginia Battalion. There is no list of enlisted men.

1ST NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 37]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Culpeper County, Va.

Field & Staff: "On the 19th the Regt. charged Custer's Michigan Brigade at full speed seven miles capturing more of the enemy than it had men in the fight, several wagons, one loaded with medical supplies, two ambulances etc."

Co. A: "next at Manassas with no loss, then at Buckland on the morning of the 19th supporting Battery no loss on the evening of the same day in charge against enemy's Cavalry near New Baltimore driving them some eight miles, killing, wounding quite a number with no loss in the company, then by series of marches to present camp."

Co. C: "including the grand rout of Kilpatrick's Yankee Cavalry between Warrenton & Hay Market since 9th Oct. 1863 27 prisoners & 5 horses"

Co. D: "had a fight Oct. 10 near Madison C.H. 11th in the fight at Brandy Station, at Auburn 14 at Manassas Junction on the 15th and at New Baltimore on the 19th and came back on the south side of the Rappahannock and rested"

Co. G: "at New Baltimore on the 19th Oct."

Co. K: "the company was actively engaged near New Baltimore Silas Totherow wounded."

The returns list 10 companies and 86 officers in the 1st North Carolina Cavalry. William G. Grady, 2nd Lieut. Company I is listed as killed October 19, 1863. There is no list of enlisted men.

2ND NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 37]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863.

4TH NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 37]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – near Brandy Station, Va.

Co. A: “was engaged at Manassas had 3 horses killed New Baltimore, Buckland & near Gainesville”

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe in any further detail this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863.

5TH NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY

(Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 37]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Culpepper C. H., Va.

Co. A: “On 12th [Oct.] marched to Warrington [sic] a distance of 28 miles on the 14th engaged the enemy at Auburn, following Manassas Junction. After numerous skirmishes fell back to New Baltimore. We engaged them there and drove them back eight miles. We captured many prisoners, wagons, horses, etc. We then went into camp near

Culpepper Court House Oct. 21st where we now are. –McKella, Capt. Co. A.”

Co. B: “Oct. 15 engaged the enemy at Manassas Junction. Oct. 17 made a reconnaissance around Centerville. Oct. 18 marched during the day from near Aldie to Gainesville. Oct. 19 engaged the enemy at Buckland. Oct. 20 marched from Buckland across Hazel River. Oct. 21 went into camp near Culpepper C. House. Oct. 31 still in camp near Culpepper C. House.”

Co. C: “Company was on the 23rd Sept. at Jack's Shop and lost five men in prisoners in an engagement with the enemy. Lt. J. Hines was severely wounded and also captured. Company was also on the last trip about Warrenton, only one man slightly wounded from four engagements with the enemy; are now in camp near Culpeper recruiting.”

Co. F: “Skirmished with the enemy from Robinson's River to Manassas; one man killed, two wounded, and two captured. Returned and took up camp near Culpeper Oct. 22, 1863.”

Co. G: “we proceeded to Manassas & had an engagement on the 15th from there to Buckland and engaged them again on the 19th with no casualties to the Company.”

Co. H: “12 [Oct.] moved on to Warrenton, 13 to Auburn was dismounted all night on the road engaged the enemy at daylight, one man mortally wounded; march on to Manassas Junction reaching that point next day dismounted as skirmishers until after dark; 15 started on a reconnaissance with Genl. Stuart; returned to Gainesville on the 16th; 17 [date is incorrect or refers to the beginning of this strategic move rather than its final execution] charged the enemy from 2 miles north of Warrenton near Gainesville, no casualties, the event up to date.”

Co. I: “On the 10th in the fight at Manassas Plains, and again in the severe fight at Little Baltimore [sic] on the 19th. One the 20th re-crossed the Rappahannock, since been in camp in the neighborhood of Rixeyville. –N. P. Rankin, Capt. Co. I”

9TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(W.H.F. Lee’s Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment’s location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 76 officers in the 9th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

10TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(W.H.F. Lee’s Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment’s location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 65 officers in the 10th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

13TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(W.H.F. Lee’s Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 63]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – near Culpeper C. H., Va.

Co. G: “the 18th Oct. at Buckland without any casualty”

Co. H: “fought at Buckland without any loss”

Co. I: “[at] Buckland without any loss”

The returns list 10 companies and 72 officers in the 13th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

1ST MARYLAND BATTALION CAVALRY (1st Maryland Cavalry Regiment)

(Lomax’s Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee’s Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 26]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863

Co. A: "On 14th [Oct.] marched to Bristow Station; 15th to Bull Run and engaged the enemy losing 2 horses; on the 16th on picket at Manassas; 17th march to Bristow, 18; fought the enemy Buckland 19th; re-crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford, 24th and 25th on picket at Waterloo Bridge, 28th moved camp near Brandy Station."

Co. B: "19th marched to New Baltimore and fought them in the afternoon, drove them several miles night coming on we were obliged to give up the pursuit and encamped until next morning. 20th crossed the Rappahannock at night and then encamped. 21st marched to a farm and encamped. 25th picketed on the Rappahannock and returned to camp on the 28th where we remained until 1st of November."

Co. F: "At Brandy on the evening of the same day (Oct. 11th) wearied with its first severe fight and by a skirmish of eight miles on foot it again caught up with the enemy and helped to flog him on that thrice renowned field of Cavalry fighting at Auburn at Bull Run, at Bristow and at Buckland it [the battalion] was under severe fire and at the latter place demonstrated with their long range guns aided by the sharpshooters from other regiments the effectiveness of this weapon for Cavalry."

The returns list 8 companies and 40 officers in the 1st Maryland Battalion. There is no list of enlisted men.

5TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Lomax's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 70 officers in the 5th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

6TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Lomax's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 94 officers in the 6th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

15TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Lomax's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 63]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 57 officers in the 15th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

1ST VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns list various camp locations for each company of the 1st Virginia Cavalry at the end of October 1863, but do not describe the regiment's activities (Bristoe Campaign) in that month. The returns list 12 companies and 97 officers in the 1st Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

2ND VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns list various camp locations (principally, Montpelier, VA) for each company of the 2nd Virginia Cavalry at the end of October 1863, but do not describe the regiment's activities (Bristoe Campaign) in that month. The returns list 10 companies and 97 officers in the 2nd Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

3RD VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Company Muster Rolls, Sept.-Oct. 1863 – Welford's Farm

Co. A: engaged enemy at Manassas Oct. 15; "from thence we marched to Buckland where we again engaged the enemy on the 19th, at which Corp. R. Thom & Pvt. J.E. Toyner were wounded, from thence to Culpeper Co."

Co. E: "we then moved back towards Bristoe Station & thence across towards Buckland where we were engaged with the enemy & routed them, driving them back upon their infantry support. We remained there for the night & the next day re-crossed the Rappahannock."

Co. H: "at Buckland we had a desperate engagement of several hours, completely demoralizing Kilpatrick's Div. Cav."

The returns list 10 companies and 107 officers in the 3rd Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

4TH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

(Wickham's Brigade, Fitzhugh Lee's Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia)

I. *Compiled Records: Service of Confederate Military Units* [M861: 62]

Monthly Regimental Returns do not describe this regiment's location or activities (Bristoe Campaign) in October 1863. The returns list 10 companies and 86 officers in the 4th Virginia Cavalry. There is no list of enlisted men.

APPENDIX C – Roster of Military Units

This list represents a minimum number of troops engaged in the Battle of Buckland Mills, based on research to date. There may have been additional Union and Confederate infantry regiments, but documentation regarding their involvement in this engagement has not yet been discovered. Some of the commanders listed had been killed earlier in the campaign; for other regiments, where no commander is listed, records were not clear as to the names of officers during this battle.

Army of the Potomac, October 10, 1863 (organization of forces during Bristoe Campaign) *Regiments engaged in military actions during Battle of Buckland Mills:*

Cavalry Corps – Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasonton

Third Division – Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick

Headquarters Guard – 1st Ohio Cavalry, Companies A and C – Capt. Noah Jones

First Brigade – Brig. Gen. Henry E. Davies, Jr.

2nd New York Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Otto Harhaus

5th New York Cavalry, Maj. John Hammond

18th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Maj. Harvey B. Van Vorhis

1st West Virginia Cavalry, Maj. Charles E. Capehart

Second Brigade – Brig. Gen. George A. Custer

1st Michigan Cavalry, Col. Charles H. Town

5th Michigan Cavalry, Col. Russell A. Alger

6th Michigan Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Henry E. Thompson

7th Michigan Cavalry, Col. William D. Mann

1st Vermont Cavalry, Col. Edward B. Sawyer

First Brigade Horse Artillery – Capt. James M. Robertson

2nd United States, Battery M, Lieut. Alexander C.M. Pennington, Jr.

4th United States, Battery E, Capt. Samuel Elder

First Army Corps – Maj. Gen. John Newton

First Division – Brig. Gen. Lysander Cutler

First Brigade[†] – Col. William W. Robinson

19th Indiana Infantry, Col. Samuel J. Williams

24th Michigan Infantry, Col. Henry A. Morrow

1st New York Sharpshooters (battalion), Capt. Joseph S. Arnold

2nd Wisconsin Infantry, Lieut. Col. John Mansfield

6th Wisconsin Infantry, Col. Edward S. Bragg

7th Wisconsin Infantry, Maj. Mark Finnicum

Third Division – Brig. Gen. John Kenly

Second Brigade[‡] – Col. Langhorne Wister

143rd Pennsylvania Infantry, Col. Edmund L. Dana

[†] Received and helped preserve Custer's 2nd Brig. on Warrenton Turnpike near Gainesville and Haymarket on the night of Oct. 19, 1863, as they were being pursued by Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry.

[‡] At around 7:30pm, supported Elder's Battery and Davies' 1st Brig. as they came fleeing towards Haymarket from the direction of the Thoroughfare Gap Rd. in a state of disorder and confusion.

149th Pennsylvania Infantry, Lieut. Col. Walton Dwight
150th Pennsylvania Infantry, Capt. Horatio Bell
Third Brigade[§] - Col. Nathan T. Dushane
1st Maryland Infantry, Lieut. Col. John W. Wilson
4th Maryland Infantry, Col. Richard N. Bowerman
7th Maryland Infantry, Col. Edwin H. Webster
8th Maryland Infantry, Col. Andrew W. Denison

Army of Northern Virginia, September 30, 1863
(organization of forces during Bristoe Campaign)
Regiments engaged in military actions during Battle of Buckland Mills:

Cavalry Corps – Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart
Hampton's Division – Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart
Butler's/Young's Brigade – Brig. Gen. Pierce Manning Butler Young
Cobb's (Georgia) Legion
Phillips (Georgia) Legion, Lieut. Col. W. G. Delony
Jeff Davis (Mississippi) Legion, Lieut. Col. J. F. Waring
1st South Carolina Cavalry, Col. J. L. Black
2nd South Carolina Cavalry, Lieut. Col. T. J. Lipscomb
Jones'/Rosser's Brigade – Brig. Gen. Thomas Lafayette Rosser
7th Virginia Cavalry, Col. R. H. Dulany
11th Virginia Cavalry, Col. O. R. Funsten
12th Virginia Cavalry, Col. A. W. Harman
35th Battalion Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. E. V. White
Gordon's Brigade – Brig. Gen. James B. Gordon
1st North Carolina Cavalry
2nd North Carolina Cavalry
4th North Carolina Cavalry
5th North Carolina Cavalry
Fitzhugh Lee's Division – Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee
W.H.F. Lee's Brigade – Col. John R. Chambliss, Jr.
9th Virginia Cavalry, Col. Richard Lee Tuberville Beale
10th Virginia Cavalry, Col. J. Lucius Davis
13th Virginia Cavalry
Lomax's Brigade – Brig. Gen. Lindsay Lunsford Lomax
1st Maryland Battalion Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Ridgely Brown
5th Virginia Cavalry
6th Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. John Shackelford Green
15th Virginia Cavalry, Maj. C. R. Collins
Wickham's Brigade – Col. Thomas H. Owen

[§] Formed picket line at Haymarket by 6:00pm, covering roads to Thoroughfare Gap and Leesburg. Stuart's cavalry engaged their pickets while charging Kilpatrick's cavalry; Dushane's Brig. sent skirmishers out to cover the woods and fields and finally repulsed Stuart's cavalry by 10pm. Losses: 1 killed, 5 wounded, and 16 captured from 7th Md.

1st Virginia Cavalry, Col. R. W. Carter
2nd Virginia Cavalry, Col. Thomas Taylor Munford
3rd Virginia Cavalry
4th Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. W. H. Payne

Beckham's Battalion Artillery – Maj. R. F. Beckham

Breathed's (Virginia) Battery [Stuart Horse Artillery, 1st Battery], Capt. J. Breathed
Chew's (Virginia) Battery [Ashby Horse Artillery], Capt. R. P. Chew
Griffin's (Maryland) Battery [2nd MD Artillery Co.], Capt. W. H. Griffin
Hart's (South Carolina) Battery [Washington Light Artillery], Capt. James F. Hart
McGregor's (Virginia) Battery [Stuart Horse Artillery, 2nd Btry.], Capt. W. M. McGregor
Moorman's (Virginia) Battery [Lynchburg Horse Artillery], Capt. M. N. Moorman

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