

## Footnotes for *Our War*

*Abbreviations: DC – Dartmouth College (Rauner Special Collections Library); HSCC – Historical Society of Cheshire County; LOC – Library of Congress; MP – Mike Pride collection; NARA – National Archives and Record Administration (Washington, D.C.); NHHS – New Hampshire Historical Society; NHSA – New Hampshire State Archives and Records Management; PHS – Peterborough Historical Society; UNH – University of New Hampshire (Milne Special Collections and Archives); USAMHI – U.S. Army Military History Institute (Carlisle Barracks, Pa.).*

## A journey of discovery

Page xi: As George Towle: George F. Towle diary, July 3-4, 1861, NHHS.

xi: Of the thousands: Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 481-83; *Dollar Weekly Mirror*, Manchester, April 27, 1861; Clarke: *Manchester: A brief record*, 339; Boylston: *Amherst in the Great Civil Conflict*, 8-9. Jackson: *History of Littleton*, Vol. I, 428; Robinson: *Pittsfield, N.H. in the Great Rebellion*, 16-17.

xii: The war turned: Oscar D. Robinson diary, Sept. 14-15, 1862, DC; Samuel Duncan and Julia Jones letters, NHHS.

xii: In his inaugural: Berry inaugural address, *Exeter News-Letter*, June 10, 1861.

xii: The ultimate: Service and casualty records vary widely. The best single accounting is in Ayling: *Register*, which is the source for most such figures in this book.

xii: Before 1863: One excellent discussion of the bounty competition is Thomas R. Kemp's comparison of Newport and Claremont in "Community and War: The Civil War

Experience of Two New Hampshire Towns,” in Marias A. Vinovskis (ed.): *Toward a Social History of the Civil War*.

xiv: George Towle: Towle diary, Introduction, May 28 and July 15, 1861, NHHS.

## **April 15, 1861**

### **The first volunteer**

5: Edward E. Sturtevant: The main source of this portrait of Sturtevant is his prewar letters and papers, especially his letters to his family in Keene, MP. Accounts of him also appear in Lyford’s *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 481-83, *McFarland’s Sixty Years in Concord*, 70, and Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 25 (background) and many subsequent references.

5: Sturtevant had: Sturtevant to George W. Sturtevant (Dear Friends, meaning family), Aug. 7, 1843, Aug. 15, 1847, March 26, 1848, Jan. 2, 1848, Concord.

6: A letter home: Sturtevant to family, Concord, March 16, 1844.

6: Of the scores: Sturtevant to family, Concord, Nov. 7, 1847, and Richmond, Aug. 10 and Sept. 7, 1851.

7: Perhaps this: Sturtevant to family, Manchester, June 24 and July 9, 1854.

7: Back in Concord: Sturtevant to family, Concord, May 5, 1855.

7: About this time: Sturtevant case log book, MP; Sturtevant to family, Concord, Dec. 30, 1856, and Jan. 19, 1858; a petition signed by twenty-one residents to the Concord Board of Health complained that the summer and fall air were “so impregnated with the smell and stench coming from the said slaughter house that our health & that of our families has been endangered thereby,” Oct. 12, 1857; Sturtevant to family, City Marshal’s Office, Concord, Jan. 1, 1860.

8: Amos Hadley: Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 67-68 (Hadley himself wrote a detailed account of the start of the war for Lyford's history).

8: The next day: Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 485; *The Granite Monthly*, "New Hampshire Necrology," Vol. XXIII, 1897, gives an account of Joseph W. Robinson's telegraph business on page 367.

8: Sturtevant walked: Lyford: *History*, Vol. I, 69 (Hadley account).

9: The crusade: "Citizens' Meeting," *New Hampshire Patriot*, April 24, 1861; J.H. Thompson to My Dear Son, Plymouth April 19, 1861, and C.B. Thompson to My Dear Son, April 18, Plymouth, copies given by Clinton S. Cabot, Thompson's great-grandson, to manuscript collection, Manassas National Battlefield Park.

9: In response: Lyford: *History of Concord* (Hadley account), 70-72; *Independent Democrat*, April 16, 23 and 30, 1861.

9: As unifying: *Democratic Standard*, May 4, 1861.

10: At the South: Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 485.

10: On a night: Sturtevant to family, Concord, Feb. 18, 1849.

## **June 6, 1861**

### **'Our true position'**

11: The war began: *Independent Democrat*, March 14, 1861; more men initially came forward – 2,004 in the first two weeks after Lincoln's initial call, according to Stephen G. Abbott's brief history of the First New Hampshire Volunteers in Ayling: *Register* – but 1,826 men were reported in the ranks in May 1861, after the First and Second regiments formed.

11: The occasion: Lyford: *History of Concord*, 45, 287-88, 1108-10; *Independent Democrat*, June 13, 1861.

11: The inaugural: *New Hampshire Patriot*, May 29, 1861 (on preparations for Election Day); *Independent Democrat*, June 13.

12: Berry had never: Robinson: "Nathaniel Springer Berry," *Granite Monthly*, 392; Collins: "Hebron's Gov. Nathaniel S. Berry"; *New Hampshire Patriot*, Jan. 2, 1861; vote percentage from ourcampaigns.com.

12: Berry opened: Berry inaugural address, *Exeter News-Letter*, June 10, 1861.

13: Berry, an old: *Ibid.*

## **June 21, 1861**

### **Common ground**

13: As the First: John L. Dufief to Stephen G. Abbott, Darnestown, Md., June 19, 1861, and Stephen G. Abbott to John L. Dufief, Poolesville, Md, June 21, 1861, both published in Waite: *New Hampshire in the Rebellion*, 74-78.

13: The man Dufief: Batchellor: "Rev. Stephen Gano Abbott" (eulogy, 1900).

13: When Dufief's: "Departure of the First Regiment," *New Hampshire Patriot*, May 29, 1861; Edward E. Sturtevant to *Independent Democrat*, Conrad's Ferry, Montgomery County, Md., June 24 (published July 4); Col. Mason E. Tappan to George Stark, brigadier general, New Hampshire Militia, Poolesville, Md. June 16, in Nathaniel Berry executive papers, NHSA.

14: Pants or no: Dufief to Abbott, Waite: *New Hampshire*, 74-75.

14: On June 21: Abbott to Dufief, Waite: *New Hampshire*, 76-77.

15: He dismissed: *Ibid.*

## June 26, 1861

### One life

15: Perhaps naïveté: “A Citizen of Alexandria”: *Luther C. Ladd, The First Martyr that Fell a Sacrifice to His Country, in the City of Baltimore, on the 19th of April, 1861, While Bravely Defending the Flag of His Nation* (etc.). P.B. Cogswell, Concord, N.H., 1862; Clara Farnum to Abner F. Durgin, Concord, N.H., June 30, 1861, Durgin papers, courtesy of Marcy Fuller.

16: Walker’s ancestors: Bouton: *The History of Concord*, 390; *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 26, 1861; Moore: “Charles W. Walker,” *The Freemasons’ Monthly Magazine*, Boston, 1861.

16: In 1861: Clara Farnum to Abner F. Durgin, June 30, 1861; Walker information and regimental history from Ayling: *Register*.

16: The regiment: *Patriot*, June 26, 1861; Charles A. Mace to *Independent Democrat*, Washington, D.C., July 4 (published July 11).

17: Soon after: William H. Prescott to Dear Mother, Washington D.C., June 25, 1861 (published in *Independent Democrat*, July 4); Thomas B. Leaver to Dear Mother, Washington, D.C., June 24, NHHS.

17: The city’s: *Patriot*, July 3, 1861; *Independent Democrat*, July 4.

17: The pallbearers: Ibid. *Patriot*, July 3.

18: The church had: Chase (printer): Bouton: *The History of Concord*, 561; Lyford: *History of Concord*, 291-92; Chase: “First Annual Report of the New Hampshire Anti-slavery

Society”; *Patriot*, July 3, 1861; *Independent Democrat*, July 4; Clara Farnum to Abner F. Durgin, June 30, 1861.

18: Before long: Moore: “Charles W. Walker”; *Patriot*, July 3, 1861; Farnum to Durgin, June 30.

## **July 4, 1861**

### **The loyal opposition**

18: On a glorious: *New Hampshire Patriot*, Aug. 7. 1861; Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. 2, 1120-21.

19: Now, nearly: Henry P. Rolfe to His Excellency N.D. Berry, Concord, July 4, 1861, Berry executive files, NHSA.

19: Not every: Waite: *New Hampshire in the Rebellion*, 100.

19: It was another: *Ibid.*, 95-97; Rolfe to Berry, July 4, 1861.

20: He wanted: *Ibid.*

## **July 21, 1861**

### **To battle**

20: The Second: The chief sources for this chapter are the scores of letters written by the soldiers of the Second New Hampshire and either kept by their families or published in newspapers. Because it was the first major battle of the war and the regiment was nearly 1,000 men strong, primary sources greatly exceed those for any other battle in which a New Hampshire regiment was involved.

20: When marching: Thomas B. Leaver to Dear Mother, Camp Sullivan (Washington, D.C.), July 6, 1861, NHHS; Fiske: "At the Battle," *New England Magazine*, 155. Captain Edward Cuttle was a character in Dickens's *Dombey and Son*, first published as a newspaper serial during the 1840s.

21: The soldiers: Martin A. Haynes to Cornelia Lane, Camp Constitution, Portsmouth, N.H., May 10, 1861 (reprinted in Haynes: *A Minor War History*, 5); Head: *Report of the Adjutant-General, 1866*, Vol. 2, 421; John S. Godfrey to brother Horace, Washington, July 26, 1861, NHHS.

21: The Second: Haynes: *History* (1865), 14; "Corporal Trim" to *Independent Democrat*, In Camp four miles from Centreville, twelve miles from Manassas Junction, July 18, 1861 (published July 25); Anonymous Second New Hampshire private to friend Willie, Camp Sullivan, Washington, July 24, Frederick Wilder Cross collection, copy in Manassas Battlefield National Park archive.

22: At Bailey's: Ai B. Thompson to Father, Fairfax Court House, July 17, 1861, copies given by Clinton S. Cabot, Thompson's great-grandson, to Manassas Battlefield National Park archive; Haynes: *History* (1865), 15-16; Godfrey to brother Horace, July 26, NHHS; Henry E. Parker to Mary Parker, Fairfax Court House, July 17, courtesy of Larry Brown.

22: Entering Fairfax: Haynes: *History* (1865), 15-16; Thompson to Father, July 17, 1861; "Norman" to John C. Clark, *Weekly Dollar Mirror* (Manchester), Fairfax Court House, July 17 (published July 27); John H. Burrill to Parents, 5 miles from Fairfax C., July 20, *Civil War Times Illustrated* collection, USAMHI, copy in Manassas National Battlefield Park archive; "Corporal Trim" to *Independent Democrat*, July 18 (published July 25); John W. Odlin to friends, July 25, published in *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 1; Parker to Mary Parker, July 17.

24: Manassas, a critical: Elliott: "First Manassas (or Bull Run), July 21, 1861," *Blue & Gray*, Vol. XXVII, Issue 5, 2011; "Corporal Trim" to *Independent Democrat*, July 19, 1861 (published July 24).

25: The men awoke: Fiske: "At the Battle," 155; Thompson to Father, Camp Sullivan, July 24, 1861; Jesse E. Dewey to Sarah Ellis (mother), Camp Sullivan, July 31 (published in *Granite State Free Press*, Aug. 16); Haynes, *A History* (1896), 23-24; Leaver to Mother, On the Way to Bull Run, July 21, NHHS; Haynes to Cornelia Lane, Washington, D.C., July 24, in Haynes: *A Minor*, 14; Fiske: "At the Battle," 156.

26: The shots: Elliott: "First Manassas," *Blue & Gray*; Leaver to mother, July 21, 1861; Haynes to *Daily American* (Manchester), Washington, July 24 (published July 27); Haynes: *A History* (1896), 24-25; Fiske: Official Report, July 27, published in *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 8.

26: Lieutenant: Thompson to Father, July 24, 1861; on Pearl's actions, see Griffin, Simon G.: "Recollections," DC.

26: The men opened: Herbert B. Titus to *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), Washington, July 20, 1861 (published July 21); Thompson to father, July 24; Haynes to *Daily American* (Manchester), Washington, July 24; Fiske, in his Official Report, described the movement from the exposed position to the protected one behind the brow of the hill; Ephraim Weston to *Peterborough Transcript*, Camp Sullivan, Washington, D.C., Aug. 5 (published Aug. 17); William W. Sawtelle to Capt. Eli Sawtelle (father), Washington, July 23 (published in *Farmer's Cabinet*, Aug. 2); Fiske: "At the Battle," 157.

28: Officers had: Josiah Stevens to family in Concord, July 23 (quoted in *Daily American*, July 27); Haynes: *History* (1865), 29; Henry E. Parker to Mary Parker, July 22, 1861.



28: Now in: Fiske, Official Report; Thompson to Father, July 24, 1861; Anonymous to Friend Willie, July 24; Fiske, "At the Battle," 157; Griffin: "Recollections," DC.

29: A horseman: Fiske: Official Report; Anonymous account, Henry E. Parker papers, courtesy of Larry Brown; Thompson to Father, July 24, 1861.

29: When the regiment: Extract of Samuel Newell letter, *Daily American* (Manchester), July 26, 1861; Haynes to Cornelia Lane, Aug. 5, in Haynes: *A Minor*, 17; Anonymous to friend in Manchester, Camp Sullivan, July 24 (published in *Dollar Weekly Mirror*, Aug. 3); Henry H. Everett, journal entry (published in *Daily American*, Aug. 5); Fiske: "At the Battle," 158;

30: In mid-afternoon: Elliott: "First Manassas," *Blue & Gray*; Fiske: Official Report; Anonymous account, Parker papers.

30: Cannon fire: Haynes: *History* (1865), 23; Thompson to Father, July 24.

31: Two Second: Josiah S. Swain to Dear Father and Dear Brother, Washington, D.C., July 24-25 (*Independent Democrat*, Aug. 8); Haynes to Cornelia Lane, July 24, 1861; extract of Haynes letter to *Daily American* (published July 26).

31: The hardships: Fiske: Official Report; Swain to brother, July 25; Leaver to mother, July 21 (with later additions), NHHS; Captain Ephraim Weston to *Telegraph* (Nashua) (reprinted in *Farmer's Cabinet*, Aug. 9); Haynes: *History* (1865), 26.

32: The retreat: Fiske: "At the Battle," 159; Haynes: *A History* (1896), 35; Anonymous 2nd New Hampshire soldier to *Independent Democrat* (published Aug. 1, 1861); Charles A. Mace to *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 5 (published, Aug. 15).

32: The retreat route: Henry E. Parker to Mary Parker, July 22, 1861; Ai B. Thompson to Father, July 27; Surgeon Hubbard's report on the wounded and the abandoned ambulances

appeared in the Aug. 3 *Dollar Weekly Mirror*; John W. Odlin to Friends, July 25 (published in *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 1); John S. Godfrey to brother Horace, July 26, NHHS.

33: The men had: Frank O. Robinson to *Daily American* (undated, published July 26); Swain to Dear Brother, July 25; Haynes to Cornelia Lane, July 24.

33: As men: Fiske: "At the Battle," 159; Anonymous to Friend Willie, July 24, 1861, Manassas Battlefield National Park; Haynes to *Daily American* (Manchester), Washington, July 24; Thompson to Father, July 27.

34: Despite the panic: Ibid.; Leaver to Mother, July 21 (and later).

34: The men straggled: Fiske: "At the Battle," 159; Thompson to Father, July 27, 1861; Leaver to Mother, July 21 (and later); Parker to Mary Parker, Washington, July 22.

34: Most of : Ibid.; Thompson to Father, July 27, 1861; William W. Sawtelle to Capt. Eli Sawtelle (father), Washington, July 23 (*Farmer's Cabinet*, Aug. 2).

34: In Washington: French: *Witness to the Young Republic*, journal entry for July 22, 1861, 366 (he described his role in the inaugural parade on March 6, 348); Anonymous U.S. senator (probably John Parker Hale) to *Exeter News-Letter*, edition of Aug. 5.

35: The men struggled: Haynes to Lane, Aug. 5; Unidentified soldier to *Dollar Weekly Mirror* (published Aug. 3, 1861); Godfrey to brother Horace, Washington, July 26.

35: Senior officers: Thompson to Father, July 24, 1861; Fiske: Official Report; Griffin: "Recollections," DC; Parker to Mary Parker, July 27.

36: The morning: Child, Hamilton: *Gazetteer of Cheshire County*, 118; Herbert B. Titus to *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), Washington, July 20 (published July 21), July 22 (published July 28), and Aug. 3 (published Aug. 8).

37: Like any parent: Thomas B. Leaver to Mother, Camp Sullivan, July 29, NHHS.

37: It took time: Charles A. Mace to *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 5, 1861 (published Aug. 15); *Dollar Weekly Mirror*, Manchester, Aug. 17 and Sept. 7; William H. Walker to *Weekly Dollar Mirror* (published Sept. 9).

37: John L. Rice's: Rice gave this account in a letter in Haynes: *A History*, 35-36.

37: Like Rice: Titus to *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), Washington, July 22, 1861 (published July 28); Swain to Dear Brother, July 25.

## **August 2, 1861**

### **An eye for an eye**

38: Just before: The principal source of this account is the William F. Murray court martial record at the National Archives and Record Administration in Washington, D.C. The description in this paragraph comes in part from the author's visit to the site of the hanging on Shutters Hill in Alexandria, Va.

38: During the week: Ayling: *Register*; Murray court martial record, NARA.

38: As Chaplain: Tissot: "A Year with the Army of the Potomac," diary entries for July 22- 23, 1861, 46.

39: That very: Murray court martial record.

39: A neighbor: Ibid.

39: Back on King: Ibid.

39: On orders: Ibid.

40: Murray's two-day: Ibid.

40: For a man: Ibid.

40: Whatever the ten: Ibid.; *Dollar Weekly Mirror* (Manchester) of Aug. 14, 1861.

40: There is: *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1861; Tissot, “A Year,” diary entry for Aug. 2, 1861, 47.

40: On August: Zeller: *The Second Vermont Volunteer Infantry Regiment, 1861-1865*, 39.

41: Murray was not: Tissot: “A Year,” diary entry for Aug. 2, 1861, 47-48; “Reports from Alexandria,” *New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1861; Zeller: *Second Vermont*, p. 39.

41: Soldiers gave: Fletcher: *California and the Civil War*, 114; Zeller: *Second Vermont*, 40.

41: Murray’s regiment: Thomas B. Leaver to sister, Camp Sullivan, Aug. 2, 1861, NHHS.

41: The execution: Curtis: *Bull Run to Chancellorsville*, 60; Zeller, *Second Vermont*, 39-40.

## **August 8, 1861**

### **Fighting words**

42: The mob on: “Disturbance in Concord – Destruction of the ‘Democratic Standard,’ ” *The Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 17, 1861; “The Concord Riot,” *Daily Mirror* (Manchester), Aug. 9, indicates that “everything movable was thrown out the windows and afterward burnt”; “The Late Riot” and “Riot in Concord,” *New Hampshire Patriot*, Aug. 14; “ ‘ Democratic Standard’ Abated,” *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 15.

42: The *Standard*: The Aug. 15 *Independent Democrat* asserted: Soldiers “do not return from fighting Treason in the South, to love and respect Treason in the North.”

43: Even in: *Democratic Standard*, Sept. 8, 1860.

43: Republicans might: *Democratic Standard*, May 4 and July 20, 1861.

43: *The Standard's: Democratic Standard*, May 4, 1861.

44: *Underestimating: Democratic Standard*, May 25, 1861.

44: On August 5: *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 15, 1861; *New Hampshire Patriot*, Aug. 14; *Democratic Standard*, Aug. 3.

44: *Civilians and: Independent Democrat*, Aug. 15, 1861; *Patriot*, Aug. 14; John B. Palmer to *Patriot*, published Aug. 21.

45: John Kimball: *Ibid.*

45: At this moment: *Ibid.*; "Disturbance in Concord," *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 17, 1861; "Slight Row in Concord," *Daily American* (Manchester), Aug. 9; "The Concord Riot," *Daily Mirror* (Manchester), Aug. 9.

45: The Palmers had: "Disturbance in Concord," *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 17, 1861; "Slight Row in Concord," *Daily American*, Aug. 9; "Postscript: Disturbance in Concord – Demolition of the 'Democratic Standard,' " *Statesman*, Aug. 10.

46: *The Patriot*: "The Late Riot," *Patriot*, Aug. 14, 1861.

46: To Amos Hadley: "Democratic Standard 'Abated.' " *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 15, 1861; "Suppressing Treasonable Papers," *Daily American*, Aug. 26.

## **August 22, 1861**

### **'I am ready for the wars'**

47: Before leaving: Edward E. Cross to Henry O. Kent, San Francisco, July 3, 1861, Cross papers, UNH; Pride and Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 5-23.

48: Cross had: Alisky: "Arizona's First Newspaper," 134-43; *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 12, 1859; Thompson M. Turner ("Hesperian") to *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Tubac, Ariz., July 18, 1860 (published Aug. 6), in Altshuler (ed.): *Latest from Arizona*, 106.

48: Cross earned: Altshuler (ed.): *Latest* (biographical index), 247-48 (Cross lived at Fort Buchanan for a time and went on several patrols. Altshuler specifically mentions his having accompanied Captain Ewell, seventy-five soldiers, and many volunteers to meet with the Chiricahua Apaches in the summer of 1860.); Cross to Miguel Antonio Otero, Washington, D.C., Dec. 29, 1859, NARA.

48: After visiting: Ibid.

49: Like other miners: Ibid.; Blake: *The Mining Magazine*, 322-23; Turner to *Missouri Republican*, Tubac, Nov. 3, 1859 (published Nov. 22), in Altshuler (ed.): *Latest*, 16.

49: Had business: Alisky: "Arizona's First Newspaper," 137-41; Pride and Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 19-21 (duel account); Altshuler: *Latest* (biographical index), 284; Cross to Henry O. Kent, Aug. 21, 1859, Cross papers, UNH.

49: As the months: Turner to *Missouri Republican*, Tubac, March 27 and May 31, 1860 (published April 15 and June 17), in Altshuler, *Latest*, 55, 90-91; U.S. Census, 1860 (The eighth census for New Mexico and Arizona Territory, published in 1965 by the U.S. Government Printing Office, lists Cross as thirty years old, two years older than his actual age, and living at Fort Buchanan.); Capt. Richard Ewell to Capt. Dabney H. Maury (assistant adjutant general, Department of New Mexico), Fort Buchanan, July 24, 1860, NARA (Letters received, Department of New Mexico); Cross to John B. Floyd, Fort Buchanan, March 3, 1860; Turner to *Missouri Republican*, Fort Buchanan, July 29, 1860 (published Aug. 16), in Altshuler (ed.): *Latest*, 107-08.

50: The fall of: Ibid., 11, 250-51, 260; Cross to Kent, San Francisco, July 3, 1861, UNH; Cross to Gov. Nathaniel S. Berry, San Francisco, July 3, NHSA (Berry executive files).

51: When he told: Cross to Kent, San Francisco, July 3, 1861.

51: The fates: Turner to *Missouri Republican*, Fort Buchanan, July 29, and Tubac, Aug. 7, 1860 (published Aug. 16 and 27), in Altshuler: *Latest*, 107-08, 112. Altshuler: *Latest* (biographical index), 284; Turner to *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), Tucson, May, 1861 (published June 25), in Altshuler: *Latest*, 198-99; Altshuler: *Latest*, 11.

51: Back in: Kent, Charles N.: *History of the Seventeenth*, 94; Henry O. Kent purchased the *Coos Republican* in 1858 (Somers (ed.): *History of Lancaster*, 457).

52: As Cross: Waite: *New Hampshire in the Great Rebellion*, 224, 403-05; Cross to Kent, July 3, 1861; Cross to Gov. Nathaniel Berry, July 3; Cross journal, UNH.

## **February 21, 1862**

### **Picture man**

52: Musicians of: John W. Odlin to Dear Folks, Hilton Head, S.C., Feb. 23, 1862 (published in March 13 *Independent Democrat* ).

53: Henry P. Moore: Bolster and Anderson's richly illustrated *Soldiers, Sailors, Slaves, and Ships: The Civil War Photographs of Henry P. Moore* provides an excellent account of Moore's life and work.

53: The war: In its Nov. 5, 1864, edition, after it had become difficult to recruit soldiers without bounties and substitutes, the *Portsmouth Journal* gave another important use for the picture-making boom: "These *cartes de visite* are very handy in arresting deserters."

54: Itinerant photographers: Odlin to Dear Folks, Feb. 23, 1863; Benjamin Stevens to Father and Mother, April 23 and May 24, 1863, quoted in Bolster and Anderson: *Soldiers*, 26, originals at William R. Perkins Library, Duke University.

54: Moore's enterprise: Bolster, Anderson: *Soldiers*, 23-25; Odlin to Dear Father, Hilton Head, Dec. 15, 1861 (*Independent Democrat*, Dec. 26), to Dear Friends, Dec. 21, 1861, and Jan. 19, 1862 (*Independent Democrat*, Jan. 2 and Jan. 30, 1862) and to Dear Father, Hilton Head, Feb. 27 (*Independent Democrat*, March 27).

54: Odlin's regiment: Waite: *New Hampshire in the Great Rebellion*, 230-31; Kelley, Snell: *Bugles Resounding*, 83-90 (this citation is from "An Inspiration to All," Richard C. Spicer's excellent chapter on New Hampshire bands in Civil War South Carolina); Josiah Dadmun to Susie, Dec. 14, 1861, NHHS.

56: The day after: Odlin to Dear Folks, Hilton Head, Feb. 23 (*Independent Democrat*, March 13).

56: By the following: Linehan: "War Pictures," *Granite Monthly*, 88.

57: The regimental: Odlin to Dear Father, Hilton Head, S.C., Feb 27, March 6-7, 1862 (*Independent Democrat*, March 27).

58: Butler, a former: Kelley, Snell: *Bugles Resounding*, 77; heritagelib.org, the website of the Heritage Library Foundation in Hilton Head, S.C., cites many accounts of the Seabrook family's purchase of the property.

58: Moore took: See Moore photographs in this chapter, in the NHHS collection, and throughout Bolster, Anderson: *Soldiers*.

58: Moore also: Linehan, John C.: "War Pictures," *Granite Monthly*, 211-13; Odlin to Dear Friends, Hilton Head, Dec. 21, 1861 (published in *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 2, 1862);



Edward F. Hall to Susan Hall, Port Royal, March 15, 1862, NHHS; Mudsill Jr. to *Farmer's Cabinet* (Milford), Hilton Head, S.C., March 7, 1862 (published March 30).

## **March 31, 1862**

### **The namesake**

60: Sergeant Louville: The principal sources of this chapter are letters written by soldiers and others to Susan Brackett (later Susan Paine), sister of Louville Brackett. Bette Paine, the widow of a descendant of Louville and Susan, kindly lent these letters to the author.

61: Some of: W.A. Crafts to Miss Susan Brackett (Kind friend), Camp Sullivan, Washington, D.C., July 26, 1861, Brackett papers, courtesy of Bette Paine.

61: Given the choice: Susan Brackett's attitude is gleaned from the letters to her, especially those from Louville's friend Henry S. Hilliard (see citations below).

61: Among Louville's: Henry S. Hilliard to Susan Brackett, Camp Constitution (N.H.), June 18, 1861, and Washington, D.C., July 6, 1861; Grow speech extracts, *Daily American* (Manchester), July 13, 1862.

62: When Hilliard: Hilliard to Susan Brackett, Bladensburg, Md., Sept. 21 and Oct. 15, 1861.

62: For Susan: Hilliard to Susan Brackett, Camp Beaufort, Charles County, Md., Feb. 16, 1862.

63: Henry Hilliard: Ed Bragdon to Susan Brackett (Remembered Friend), Relay House, Md., Feb. 17, 1862; Volney (Bisbee) to Dear friend, Waterford, Maine, July 28, 1861, and Jan. 19, 1862, and to Dear friend Susie, Camp Abraham Lincoln, Portland, Maine, Sept. 24, 1862; Gardner C. Paine to Susie, Milan, Dec. 21, 1861, all in Brackett papers, courtesy of Bette Paine.

63: Four months: Marriage certificate is in Brackett papers; Henry Hilliard to Susan Brackett, Camp Beaufort, Charles County, Md., March 23, 1862; Louville Paine, who was born in Milan, New Hampshire, on Feb. 6, 1863, became a writer. His 1925 recollections of early Berlin, New Hampshire, can be found at [berlinhistory.weebly.com](http://berlinhistory.weebly.com).

## **April 14, 1862**

### **Relic rage**

63: Nine months: Herbert B. Titus to *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), Camp near Manassas, April 15, 1862 (published April 24).

64: Titus, a farmer: Lord (ed.): *History of the Ninth Regiment*, 741-43; Child: *Gazetteer of Cheshire County*, 118-19.

64: One day: Titus to *Sentinel*, April 15, 1862; "Opossum" and "Fairfax County Court House," *Independent Democrat*, Dec. 19, 1861.

64: Nothing was: Titus to *Sentinel*, April 15, 1862.

65: Titus explored: Ibid.

65: Back in Washington: Ibid.

65: Titus understood: Ibid.

## **June 1, 1862**

### **Wounded**

66: When George: Bucknam papers, courtesy of Bucknam family. These papers are the principal source for this chapter.

66: As he sat: George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, Bladensburg, Md., Nov. 10 and Nov. 25, 1861.

66: At Fair Oaks: George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, Nelson Hospital, Yorktown, Va., June 11, 1862; Walter S. Drew to *Independent Democrat*, Battle-field near Richmond (Fair Oaks), June 3 (published June 12); Edward E. Sturtevant to John Kimball (marshal of Concord), Fair Oaks, Va., June 23, NHSA; Sturtevant to George Bucknam, Fair Oaks, Va., June 16, Bucknam family papers.

67: Friends who: Ibid.; George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, Nelson Hospital, Yorktown, Va., June 11, 1862.

67: George was: Nelson Hospital information from Wikipedia and other web sources; Warren Bucknam to Peter Mooers, Concord, July 3, 1862; George Bucknam to Sturtevant, Yorktown, June 19.

67: Sturtevant advised: Edward E. Sturtevant to Warren Bucknam, Fair Oaks, Va., June 16, 1862; Rosie Smith to Susan Bucknam, June 13.

68: Doctors soon: James Desmages to Warren Bucknam, General Freight Office, Hudson River Railroad, New York, July 3, 5, 9, and 11, 1862; George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, Davids' Island, July 10.

68: A month later: George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, Davids' Island, undated, Aug. 8, and Aug. 14, 1862.

69: After nearly: P. Brainard Cogswell to Warren Bucknam, Concord, Oct. 31, 1862 (on George's arrival at convalescent camp); George Bucknam to Susan Bucknam, March 28, 1863.

70: Such was: Bucknam papers.

## **August 13, 1862**

### **The newlyweds**

70: The fates: *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), Nov. 1 and Dec. 5, 1861; biographical details throughout this chapter about the Scotts, Dorts, John A. Cummings, and Kate Scott Cummings are taken from regimental and town histories and obituaries.

70: When the regiment: C.H.R. to *New Hampshire Sentinel*, Camp Brooks (Keene), Dec. 4, 1861 (published Dec. 5); Kate Scott Cummings letters, PHS.

71: In mid-July: Promotions reported in *Peterborough Transcript*, May 29, 1862; Albert S. Scott to *Peterborough Transcript*, July 25 (published Aug. 2); women's travel reported in *Transcript* of Aug. 23, 1862; Kate Cummings to John A. Cummings, Peterborough, July 27 and 28, 1862, PHS.

72: Major Dort went: *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 23, 1862; John A. Cummings to sister Ellen, Potomac Bridge near Fredericksburg. Aug. 9, 1862, PHS.

72: Major Dort hurried: *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 23, 1862; Kate Cummings to John A. Cummings, Newport News, Va., Aug. 11, PHS.

73: The ship: *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 23, 1862.

73: As the *West Point*: Ibid.

73: Captain Doyle: United States Congress: *Congressional Edition: Executive Documents, Printed By Order of the Senate of the United States for the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1862-'63*, "Report on the Finances," 165. This congressional inquiry into the sinking of the *West Point* determined that the calamity had begun with a moment of confusion as the two steamers neared Ragged Point from opposite directions. Like wagons on a road, ships were supposed to keep right when approaching each other. When the *George*

*Peabody's* captain saw the *West Point*, his whistle blast signaled the captain of the *West Point* to adhere to this standard practice. The *West Point* whistled assent. Accordingly, the *West Point's* pilot told Captain Doyle to turn the wheel right, but for some reason Doyle blurted, "You don't mean that, you mean port." Yielding to the captain, the pilot shouted, "Yes, port; hard a port." Doyle swung the ship left and it rammed the *Peabody*. The board of inquiry chose not to punish Doyle, a decision that disturbed Sergeant Curtis L. Parker for the rest of his life. He alleged that Doyle and his pilot had abandoned the sinking ship in a lifeboat, leaving the passengers to fend for themselves. Evidence at the inquiry, however, contradicted his accusation of "criminal delinquency" and "basest disloyalty." The board decided that like so many men in positions of authority during the war, Doyle had simply committed a fatal blunder. Sergeant Parker's account is in Lord: *Ninth*, article titled "Loss of the West Point," 73-76.

73: As water rushed: *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 23, 1862; Parker account in Lord: *Ninth*, 73-76.

75: Passing ships: *Ibid.*, 75-76.

75: But the sinking: "Dreadful Disaster on the Potomac!" Associated Press, Aug. 14, 1862; *New York Times*, Aug. 15 (and other contemporary newspaper accounts); Jackman: *History of the Sixth*, 73-76; Ayling's *Register* is the chief source of the identification of the Sixth New Hampshire soldiers who drowned, who are listed by name and hometown in the final chapter, "What Happened to Them"; *Peterborough Transcript*, Aug. 23; *New Hampshire Sentinel*, Aug. 21.

76: Bodies washed: *New Hampshire Sentinel*, Sept. 11, 1862; *Washington Intelligencer*, Aug. 28; "A True Story of President Lincoln," in Dickens, Charles (conductor or editor): *All the World Round*, Aug. 1867, 226-28. This account of Charles Scott's meeting with Lincoln is

strikingly similar to John R. French's 1885 article in the *North American Review's* feature titled "Reminiscences of Famous Americans." Charles Scott told a reporter after the 1867 account appeared that it was substantially true, but some quotations might be overdrawn. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that French wrote both accounts. He also may have accompanied Scott to visit Lincoln at his cottage in the Soldier's Home. French, who had started his working life as a printer at the *Herald of Freedom*, Concord's abolition newspaper, in the 1840s, was a Treasury official during the Lincoln administration. It is possible Scott, in Washington to testify in the inquiry into the ship disaster, knew French and approached him for help in taking his plea to Lincoln after Stanton turned him down. To complicate matters, the 1885 obituary of James Scott (no relation to Charles), the father of Kate Cummings, stated that he had received special help from Lincoln to retrieve his daughter's body. No account near the time of the *West Point* disaster corroborates James Scott's claim. In contrast, a woman in Washington, D.C., who signed herself only "M." wrote to the *Christian Inquirer*, a Unitarian newspaper, in August 1862 that she had heard directly from Charles Scott about his effort to recover his wife's body. "Last week the deeply bereaved husband obtained from the kindness of the President, permission to accompany the body to its last home in the quiet resting place of the scared mountain West, by the riverside," "M." wrote. The *Peterborough Transcript* published her letter on Sept. 20, 1862. On the basis of this record, it seems certain that Lincoln helped Charles Scott but doubtful that he personally intervened on behalf of James Scott.

76: On the morning: *Washington Intelligencer*, Aug. 28, 1862; *Peterborough Transcript*, Sept. 6 and 13.

76: Of the three: Dort resignation letter is in Cheshire County Civil War Biographies and Related Materials (Manuscript Group 95), HSCC; Scott resignation reported in *Peterborough*

*Transcript*, Oct. 26, 1862; John Cummings to *Peterborough Transcript*, Sept. 5 (published Sept. 13); Col. Simon G. Griffin's official report on the Sixth New Hampshire at Second Bull Run put the casualties at 210: 29 killed, 113 wounded, 68 missing, *Transcript*, Sept. 20; Cummings to mother, Alexandria, Aug. 27, 1862, Sharpsburg, Md., Sept. 20, and Pleasant Valley, Md., Oct. 24, PHS.

## **September 17, 1862**

### **Rush to battle**

77: The Ninth: Oscar D. Robinson diary, Sept. 2, 1862, Robinson papers, DC; Elmer Bragg to Ella F. Bragg, Arlington Heights, Va., Sept. 3, 1862, Bragg papers, DC; Lord: *History of the Ninth*, 35.

77: The regiment: Robinson diary, July 25, 1862, DC.

78: The holiday ended: Robinson diary, Aug. 6, 1862; Marshall P. Wood to "My own precious wife" (Julia), Camp Colby, Concord, Aug. 19, NHHS; Wood to Julia Wood, Pleasant Valley, Md., Oct. 25.

78: The Ninth broke camp: Thomas M. Chisholm to *Independent Democrat*, Arlington Heights, Aug. 30, 1862 (published Sept. 4); Marshall P. Wood to Julia Wood, Arlington Heights, Va., Aug. 31, NHHS; Robinson diary, Washington, D.C., Aug. 28, DC; Elmer Bragg to mother, Arlington Heights, Va., Aug. 29, DC.

78: The men pitched: Robinson diary, Sept. 2, 1862.

79: They moved: Elmer Bragg to Ella F. Bragg, Arlington Heights, Va., Sept. 3, 1862; Robinson diary, Sept. 2.

79: It was in: Lord: *History of the Ninth*, 35; Marshall P. Wood to Julia Wood, Arlington Heights, Va., Aug. 31, 1862; Chisholm to *Independent Democrat*, Arlington Heights, Aug. 30 (published Sept. 4).

79: One evening: George H. Chandler to Mary (mother), Arlington Heights, Va., Sept 3, 1862 (with later postscript), Chandler papers, NHHS.

79: The ground: George W. Barber to *Granite State Free Press* (Lebanon), Aug. 28, 1862; Robinson diary, Sept. 2, Sept. 6.

80: When the Ninth: Elmer Bragg to "My dear Aunt" (Sarah Bragg Littlefield), Leesboro, Sept. 11, 1862; Wood to Julia Wood, Leesboro, Sept. 7.

80: On September 12: Chisholm to *Independent Democrat*, Monocacy, Sept. 12, 1862 (published Sept. 25); Wood to Julia Wood, Arlington Heights, Aug. 31; Robinson diary, Sept. 12.

82: The men awoke: Robinson diary, Sept. 13-14, 1862; Bragg to Sarah Bragg Littlefield, Middletown, Md., Sept. 14; McClintock: "Col. Enoch Q. Fellows," *Granite Monthly*, 317-18.

82: The rebels: Robinson diary, Sept. 14, 1862.

83: As officers: *Ibid.*; Official Records, report of Forty-sixth New York, Camp near South Mountain Pass, Sept. 16, 1862.

83: At last: Robinson diary, Sept. 14; Franklin J. Burnham diary, quoted in Lord: *History*, 77.

83: The regiment's: "O.D" (Oscar D. Robinson) to *Granite State Free Press*, Antietam Creek, Near Sharpsburg, Sept. 23, 1862 (published Oct. 3); Reno and Nagle reports, Official Records; Elmer Bragg to Mother, Five Miles from Middletown, Md., Sept. 17.

84: Exploring: Robinson diary, Sept. 15; Robinson to *Granite State Free Press*, Sept. 23.



84: The pursuit: John E. Mason to *Independent Democrat*, “Battle-field of Antietam,” Oct. 1, 1862 (published Oct. 9).

84: Reno, the Ninth: Mason to *Independent Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1862; Head, Natt: *Report of the Adjutant-General*, Vol. 2, 1866 (written by Oscar D. Robinson), 674; Robinson to *Granite State Free Press*, Sept. 23; Bragg to Dear Father (William L. Bragg), Antietam H.Q. 9th Regt N.H. Vol., Sept. 22.

85: An incident at noon: Herbert B. Titus to Frank Butler, Braintree, Mass., Nov. 24, 1862, Butler papers, courtesy of Tom Jameson; Bragg to William L. Bragg, Sept. 22.

85: At two o'clock: Mason to *Independent Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1862; Robinson diary, Sept. 17; Robinson to *Granite State Free Press*, Sept. 23.

87: Because of poor: Sears: *Landscape Turned Red*, 261-69, 353-57; Bragg to William L. Bragg, Sept. 22, 1862; Mason to *Independent Democrat*, Oct. 1.

87: The Ninth had: *Ibid.*; Bragg to William L. Bragg, Sept. 22, 1862.

## **September 25, 1862**

### **A mother's love**

The romance: Long, Richard R.: *Dearest Carrie*, 2; Carrie C. Deppen to Dear Sir (George W. Ladd), Myerstown, Pa., July 10, 1861, Long: *Dearest*, 8.

Undaunted, he: George W. Ladd to Dearest Carrie, Hookers Headquarters, “Army of the Potomac,” Bladensburgh, Md., Sept. 19, 1861, MP; Ladd to “Dearest Carrie,” Aug. 25, 1861, and to “My Darling Carrie,” Sept. 11 and 18, 1861, Long: *Dearest*, 16, 21, 36 (“You ask me” quotation is from Sept. 18 letter.)

Perhaps an: Ibid.; Lt. William C. Ballard, Co. B., 2d N.H., to Susan Abbott (mother of George W. Ladd), Camp near Fairfax Seminary, Alexandria, Va., Oct. 25, 1862, Long: *Dearest*, 57.

George's death: Susan Kezer married Artemus S. Ladd of Alexandria in Bristol in 1838; after his death, she married Rufus Abbott of West Concord in 1845 (marital records and 1850 census); Your dearest Mother Abbott to Carrie C. Deppen, West Concord, N.H., Feb. 20, 1863, Long: *Dearest Carrie*, 58-59.

"Dear Beloved" (and following paragraphs): Ibid.

## **October 25, 1862**

### **Just a boy**

90: In August: Sarah Low journal, Aug. 8 through Sept. 8, 1862, and Low to Mother, Union Hotel Hospital, Georgetown, Sept. (no date but 1862), Low papers, NHHS; Brumgardt (ed.): *Civil War Nurse*, 32. Dix's full range of qualifications for her nurses, according to John R. Brumgardt in his introduction to the diary and letters of Hannah Ropes, was that they be "over thirty years old, healthy, of good moral character, modest in dress, unattractive, and able to cook."

91: The hospital: Smith (Ed.): *The Medical Times*, Vol. III, July to December, 1861, 128; Brumgardt: *Civil War Nurse*, 40; Cheney (ed.): *Louisa May Alcott*, 117; Low to brother Nathaniel, Union Hotel Hospital, Oct. 2 and 10, 1862, NHHS.

91: Hannah Ropes: Brumgardt: *Civil War Nurse*, 74-79, 81-95; Smith (Ed.): *The Medical Times*, Vol. V, July to December 1862, (Nov. 8), 265; Low to Mother, September (no day but 1862), NHHS. Hannah Ropes diary, Nov. 8, 1862, in Brumgardt: *Civil War Nurse*, 92.

92: Low found: Low journal and letters; Low to Mother, Armory Union Hospital, Dec. 20, 1862, and to Mother, Union Hotel Hospital, Sept. (no day but 1862), and Oct. 22, all NHHS.

92: Low had been: Low to Mother, Union Hotel Hospital, Oct. 22, 23, 26, 29, 1862, NHHS.

93: As Johnny's: Ibid.

93: Knowing his: Ibid.

93: "Uncle," the boy's: Ibid.

## **December 13, 1862**

### **Feet to the foe**

94: It was Friday: Edward E. Cross journal, Dec. 11-12, 1862, UNH.

94: Cross rose early: Cross journal, Dec. 13; James E. Larkin to Dear Wife and Children, Camp near Falmouth, Va., Dec. 16, NHHS; Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 292n (Accounts of Sturtevant's death conflict, but there is no credible evidence that he was with the regiment beyond the first artillery barrage. Two officers in the regiment wrote that he died just beyond the ravine. His body, apparently stripped on the field, was not recovered.)

96: Cross felt: Cross journal, Dec. 13; UNH; Cross to Murat Halstead (*Cincinnati Commercial*), Headquarters, 1st Brigade, Hancock's Div., June 4, 1863 (reprinted in *Farmer's Cabinet*, Aug. 6, under the headline "The Late Col. Edward E. Cross"). Halstead and Cross were friends from Cross's years as a journalist in Cincinnati. Halstead visited Cross two days before the battle, went to a party with several of the Fifth New Hampshire's officers, and spent the night in Cross's tent. This later account of Cross's actions during the Battle of Fredericksburg adds some details to his journal account.)

96: First one: Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 172-76; George Gove to Dear Mother, Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 14, 1862, Parsons family papers, UNH;

97: Farther down: Cross journal, Dec. 13, 1862; Cross to Halstead, June 4, 1863.

97: It was December: Cross journal, Dec. 13; Cross to Ephraim Cross, Washington, D.C., Dec. 21, 1862, UNH; Larkin to My Dear Wife (Jennie), Dec. 16, 1862, NHHS; Augustus D. Sanborn to mother and brothers, Jan. 10, 1863, courtesy of Terry Tomann.

98: Three veterans: "The Gallant 'Fifth' and Its Commander," Charles H. Smart, William C. Silver, and Walter A. Drew, *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1863.

98: The Fifth: Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 176; Gove to Mother, Fredericksburg, Dec. 14, 1863; "The Gallant 'Fifth' and Its Commander," *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1863.

98: Living in: *Ibid.*

## **January 1, 1863**

### **Jubilee?**

103: After the Third: John M. Head to *Daily American* (Manchester), Edisto Island, S.C., May 19, 1862 (published May 30).

103: Private John: John H. Burrill to Dear Parents, Philadelphia hospital, Jan. 1, 1863, *Civil War Times Illustrated* collection, USAMHI; Anonymous soldier signing himself "\* \*" to *Farmer's Cabinet*, Beaufort, S.C., July 14, 1862 (published July 31).

104: The previous: *Independent Democrat*, July 7 and July 24, 1862.

104: One soldier: Edward F. Hall to Susan Hall, Port Royal, S.C., Feb. 2, 1862, NHHS; Hall to Susan and Eddy Hall, Hilton Head, S.C., July 15.

104: Charles E.: Charles E. Hurd to Dear Father and Mother, Beaufort, S.C., Feb. 24, 1862, MP; John L. Kelly to *Daily American* (Manchester), Beaufort, S.C., Jan. 1, 1863 (published Jan. 18); Edmund Dascomb to *Daily American*, Camp of 2d N.H.V. near Falmouth, Va., Jan. 30, 1862 (published Feb. 4). Dascomb was “E.D.,” a regular *Manchester Mirror* and *Daily American* correspondent, identified by full name in his obituary after his death at Gettysburg; Freedom M. Rhodes to *Independent Democrat*, Camp Grover (Maryland), Nov. 23, 1862 (published Dec. 4).

105: Yet racial hostility: Levi Miller to Friend Vess, St. Augustine, Fla., Feb. 15, 1863, courtesy of Leigh A. Webb; Christopher Hoyt to Mr. and Mrs. Mason Cressy (brother-in-law and sister), Feb. 5, Hoyt papers, NHHS; William J. Combs to Eliza Doolittle Combs, Poolesville, Md., Nov. 23, 1862, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books and Special Collections (online archive); Miles Peabody to brother and sister, Camp near Falmouth, Feb. 14, 1863, USAMHI.

106: Private Albert: Albert T. Austin (Sixteenth New Hampshire) to Mother, Carrollton, La., March 3, 1863, NHHS; Charles Goings to Mary Goings, Camp Parapet, La., July 14, 1862, DC; Claude Goings to Mary Goings, Baton Rouge, La., Jan. 20, 1863, DC; Enos G. Drew to *Independent Democrat*, Camp Parapet, La., Sept. 10, 1862 (published Sept. 25); George A. Flanders to *Statesman* (Concord), Camp Parapet, La., Aug. 23, 1862 (published Sept 13).

106: To many: Col. Haldimand S. Putnam to John S. Putnam (father), Beaufort, S.C., July 1, 1862, DC; George F. Towle to Charles Warren Brewster, Port Royal, S.C., Dec. 4, 1861, and to Brewster, Camp near Beaufort, Nov. 3, 1862, Brewster papers, NHHS.

107: One such: Daniel M. Robertson: “Eight Months among the Deserted Slaves at Port Royal,” undated but published in the *Daily American*, July 1, 1862.

107: Esther Hill: Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, 1-2, 6-7, 10, 11-12, 19-20; J.M. Hawks to Ichabod Goodwin, Manchester, N.H., May 6, 1861, Goodwin papers, NHHS; J.M. Hawks to Esther Hill Hawks, Oct. 2-3, 1862, quoted in Schwartz (ed): *A Woman Doctor's*, 18.

107: After the: *Ibid.*, 20, 37-38.

108: January 1: *Ibid.*, 41-42.

108: Also at: Liberty Billings to W. Walker, N. White, O. Stearns, S.G. Sylvester and others, Beaufort, Jan. 1, 1863 (published in *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 15, 1863).

108: In Concord: The *Portsmouth Journal* of Jan. 17, 1863, was one of several newspapers to suggest that the election was a referendum on the Emancipation Proclamation and to report on Democratic peace initiatives; Edward E. Cross to Bernard John Dowling Irwin, Lancaster, N.H., July 14, 1862, LOC.

109: When Cross: *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 8, 1863.

109: Franklin Pierce: Franklin Pierce to John H. George, Andover, N.H., Jan. 2, 1863, Pierce papers, NHHS; this letter appeared almost verbatim but unsigned under the headline "Emancipation Proclamation" in the *New Hampshire Patriot* of Jan. 7, 1863.

109: On January 2: *Ibid.*

110: An incident: Chaplain Edwin Wheelock to editors, *Boston Traveller*, from New Orleans, May 1, 1863 (published May 19).

110: Months later: *Ibid.*; Unitarian Universalist History & Heritage Society: *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography* (online).

**January 7, 1863**

## Brothers

111: The Rhodes boys: Individual military records from Ayling: *Register*; “My Hunt after the Sergeant,” Freedom M. Rhodes to *Independent Democrat*, Camp near Poolesville, Md., Jan. 23, 1863 (published Feb. 12). This account, signed F.M.R. and referring to Eldad Rhodes as Sergeant R., is the principal source on the Rhodes brothers’ return to Antietam. Their full identities are corroborated by Eldad Rhodes’s diaries and letters, used courtesy of Fred Goodwin, a family descendant.

111: Eldad’s wound: Eldad Rhodes diary, July 1-2, 11, Aug. 5-6, 12-14, 29, Sept. 3-5, 1862, courtesy of Fred Goodwin; Eldad Rhodes to Dear Parents, Post Hospital near Alexandria, Va., Sept. 3, 1862, courtesy of Fred Goodwin.

112: He caught up: Eldad Rhodes diary, Sept. 14-17; Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*, 138; a notation on the back of a drawing by Eldad Rhodes recounts Cutler Edson’s role in helping Eldad from the field and caring for him, courtesy of Fred Goodwin.

112: Eldad slept: Eldad Rhodes diary, Sept. 18-19, 30; “My Hunt,” Freedom M. Rhodes to *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 23, 1863; notation on back of Eldad’s drawing.

113: Freedom Rhodes: “My Hunt.”

114: Just after: Ibid.; on hospital layout, Walter S. Drew to *Independent Democrat*, Frederick City, Md., Sept. 18, 1862 (published Oct. 3).

114: Whose idea: “My Hunt.”

114: The view: Ibid.

114: When the brothers: Ibid.; A.D. Richardson, *New York Tribune*, Sept. 19, 1862; Wikipedia and other web sources on manner of General Richardson’s death.

116: Elizabeth Pry: "My Hunt"; *Farmer's Cabinet*, April 2, 1862; Boylston (compiler): *Amherst in the Great Civil Conflict*, 42-3.

116: The Rhodeses: "My Hunt."

117: Across Antietam Creek: Ibid.

117: The brothers: Ibid.

118: Now it was: Ibid.

### **March 10, 1863**

#### **Down to the wire**

118: The gubernatorial: Lex Renda's *Running on the Record* puts New Hampshire's 1863 election in perspective, 112-16; Franklin Pierce to John H. George, Lowell Mass., Oct. 6, 1862, Pierce papers, NHHS.

118: The Republicans: Renda: *Running*, 112-13; *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 8, 1863; Chandler papers, NHHS; Benjamin F. Prescott to Anna E. Dickinson letters, Dickinson papers, LOC.

118: The proclamation: Prescott letters, LOC.

119: Governor Nathaniel: William E. Chandler to anonymous, Concord, Nov. 25, 1862, Chandler papers, NHHS; *Independent Democrat*, Jan. 8, 1863; Renda: *Running*, 114; Benjamin F. Prescott to Anna E. Dickinson, Office of Republican State Committee, Concord, Jan. 2, 1863; Venet: *Neither Ballots nor Bullets*, 44.

119: Dickinson had: For the fullest treatment of Dickinson's life, see Gallman, J. Matthew: *America's Joan of Arc*; Parton et al.: *Eminent Women*, 496-97.

119: Prescott was: Ibid; Prescott to Dickinson, Concord, Jan. 28 and Jan. 29, 1863, LOC.



120: To oppose Gilmore: Renda: *Running*, 112-13.

120: The *Patriot*: “Langdon” for *New Hampshire Patriot*, Feb. 11 and 25, 1863.

“Soldiers’ Letters,” *Patriot*, Feb. 18 and March 4.

121: Despite such: Thomas C. Cheney to Lyman Cheney (father), Camped near Pratts Landing, Feb. 24, 1863, UNH; Lauren Elmer Bent to mother and sister, Poolesville, Md., Feb. 15, 1863, Jones master’s thesis, Lord collection, HSCC.

121: The slavery: Prescott to Dickinson, Feb. 11, Feb. 20, and Feb. 18, 1863, LOC.

121: To townspeople: Venet: *Neither Ballots*, 45; “The New Star” (Fall River Press), “Miss Dickinson at Allyn Hall” (Hartford), and “Miss Dickinson at Cooper Union,” all quoted in Parton (et al.): *Eminent Women*, 495, 499-500, 500-01.

122: Dickinson’s message: Venet: *Neither Ballots*, 39-41.

122: Soon Dickinson: Prescott to Dickinson, Feb. 12, 1863; J.H. Ela to Prescott, Moultonborough, N.H., Feb. 28, Dickinson papers; Anonymous to Ela, Sandwich, N.H., Feb. 26, Dickinson papers.

122: While acting: Prescott to Dickinson, Feb. 18, Dickinson papers.

122: Chandler, Gilmore’s: Renda: *Running*, 115-16; The *Daily American* reported Harriman’s Feb. 17, 1863, nomination in Manchester on Feb. 18 and ran his Feb. 25 acceptance letter on Feb. 28; Col. Edward E. Cross to Franklin Pierce, Camp near Falmouth, Feb. 19 (“I think Harriman has been *hired* to stand by the promise of a Brig. G,” Cross wrote), Pierce papers, NHHS; Prescott to Dickinson, Feb. 18, Dickinson papers, LOC.

123: Chandler played: *Patriot*, March 4; Caleb F. Dodge to Sophia Dodge, St. Augustine, Fla., March 17, NHHS.

124: Chandler faced: Chandler to anonymous, Concord, Nov. 25, 1862, Chandler papers, NHHS (“We need more than anything else an energetic campaign. And with Mr. Gilmore for our candidate, we should be sure to have it.”); Gilmore to Chandler and Chandler to Gilmore, Concord, both notes March 2, 1863, Chandler papers.

124: The campaign’s: The New Hampshire press gave little or no coverage to the Bradford debate because of its timing. It occurred the Friday before the election, and the leading political weeklies did not publish editions between then and the Tuesday election. Election results dominated their next editions. The fullest account of the Bradford debate was written by a *Boston Courier* reporter, and it is the basis for this paragraph. The *New Hampshire Patriot* published the *Courier* story in full on April 1, 1863, three weeks after the election, with its own introduction detailing the parties’ dueling special trains.

125: Judge William: Prescott to Dickinson, March 8, 1863, Dickinson papers, LOC.

125: On March 10: Julia Jones to Samuel Duncan, East Washington, N.H., March 10, 1863, NHHS; Eleanor (Clark) Noyes to Charlotte Peabody (Kimball) Nichols, Hanover, Jan. 20, DC.

126: By nightfall: Renda: *Running*, 116; vote totals are from ourcampaigns.com.

126: Prescott’s optimism: Prescott to Mary Dickinson, Concord, March 14, 1863, Dickinson papers; Prescott to Anna E. Dickinson, June 24, Dickinson papers; *Cincinnati Gazette* account, undated but January 1864, in Dickinson scrapbook, LOC; *Independent Democrat*, June 11, 1863.

**March 27, 1863**

**Damned abolitionist**

127: Liberty Billings: Lyford, *History of Concord*, Vol. II, 747; Liberty Billings to *Independent Democrat*, St. Augustine, Fla., Aug. 30, 1862 (published Oct. 2).

127: The day: Ibid.

127: In relating: Ibid.

128: Not surprisingly: Ibid.; Charles F. Towle diary, Oct. 2, 1862, NHHS; Billings to *Independent Democrat*, Beaufort, S.C., Oct. 27 (published Nov. 6).

128: This turned out: Ibid.; Liberty Billings to *Independent Democrat*, Beaufort, Dec. 26, 1862 (published Jan. 1, 1863).

129: Billings dismissed: Ibid.; for T. Butler King background, see Kearns, Mary Pinckney: "Secession Diplomacy" (master's thesis); Charlotte Forten diary entry, Jan. 1, 1863, Stevenson (ed.): *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimke*, 431.

129: General Saxton: Saxton's March 5, 1863, order from Beaufort, S.C., is in Ash: *The Firebrand of Liberty*, 57.

129: Billings joined: Ash: *Firebrand*, 154-60; Thomas W. Higginson diary, Nov. 27, 1862, Camp Saxton, near Beaufort, S.C., in Looby (ed.): *The Complete*, 51.

130: The resourceful: J.J. Dickison report, in Official Records, Vol. XIV, 1885; Ash: *Firebrand*, 159-60; Ballach, James Curtis: *The South* (Vol. III, Florida), 55-56; Thomas T. Russell to Gen. Joseph Finegan, April 2, 1863, East Bank, St. John's (Near Palatka), April 2, 1863, in Official Records, Vol. 1, Correspondence, 860.

130: Liberty Billings: Ash: *Firebrand*, 160; Higginson diary, March 28, 1863, Jacksonville, Fla., March 30, On Board Steamer *John Adams*, Mouth of St. Johns River, in Looby (ed.): *The Complete*, 117, 122; J.J. Dickison report, Official Records.

132: Back in: Seth Rogers diary (or letters), March 28 and April 16, 1863, [unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Projects/Rogers](http://unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Projects/Rogers); Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, 45.

132: By then: Higginson diary, March 30, 1863, On Board Steamer *John Adams*, Mouth of St. Johns River, and (on Hawks) Higginson to Mary Channing Higginson, Camp Saxton, Jan. 14, 1863, and to Louisa, April 23, 1863, in Looby (ed.): *The Complete*, 122, 261, 273.

132: Higginson wanted: Higginson diary, April 26 and May 10, 1863, and Higginson to Louisa Storrow Higginson, Advance Picket, Port Royal Island, S.C., May 26, in Looby (ed.): *The Complete*, 139, 244, 282; an examining board dismissed Billings for incompetence on July 28, 1863, Looby: *The Complete*, 162fn; Higginson to Louisa Storrow Dickinson, Hdqrs., 1st S.C. Vol., Aug. 23, 1863, in Looby: *The Complete*, 303.

## **May 23, 1863**

### **The amputation**

133: When Private: Napoleon B. Perkins memoir, NHHS.

133: Perkins most: Ibid.

133: The first winter: Ibid.

133: By May 1863: Ibid.

134: Just then: Ibid.

134: The Fifth: Ibid.

135: It was a hideous: Ibid.

135: As the Army: Ibid.

135: From there: Ibid.

135: Perkins's own: Ibid.; the summary of how amputations were performed comes from a variety of websites on the subject.

136: When they arrived: Perkins memoir, NHHS.

136: The pain: Ibid.; a 1902 pension application on Perkins's behalf states that his stump was five inches long.

136: Perkins's war: Perkins memoir.

136: On December: Ibid.

## **June 28, 1863**

### **The cause defined**

137: The postmarks: Lucien Smith letters, NHHS.

137: Lucien was: Lucien Smith to Mary E.V. Corning, Port Royal, S.C., Dec. 24, 1861, and to Brother, St. Augustine, Fla., June 17, 1862, NHHS.

138: In 1863: Mary Corning's questions are inferred from Lucien Smith's letter to her on June 28, 1863, from Folly Island, S.C., NHHS.

138: Lucien answered: Lucien Smith to Mary Corning, Port Royal, June 28, 1863, and undated (but from around the same time), NHHS.

138: While still: Ibid.

139: Smith now: Ibid.

139: "That is: Ibid.

## **July 2, 1863**

### **Three soldiers at Gettysburg**

139: It began: Haynes: *History of the Second* (1865), 132; Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 79; Hale: "With Colonel Cross in the Gettysburg Campaign," J.B. Bachelder Papers, Historical Association of Pennsylvania; Frank Butler to Dear Friends, near Gettysburg at Slocum's HQ, July 5, 1863, Butler papers, courtesy of Tom Jameson.

140: The twenty-one-year-old: Martin A. Haynes married Cornelia Lane on March 9, 1863, *A Minor History*, 91; letters recommending Haynes for a commission from prominent Republicans Frederick Smyth, Manchester's mayor, and Samuel Upton, a lawyer, are in the Nathaniel Berry file, NHSA.

140: At dawn: Haynes to Cornelia Haynes, Taneytown, June 30, 1863, in Haynes: *A Minor*, 104-05.

141: After another: *Ibid.*, 105-106.

141: Rumors circulated: *Ibid.*, 106-07

141: Sergeant Richard: Bartlett: *History of the Twelfth*, 12, 88, 91, 612; Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 28-29, 67-74, 227.

142: On the way: Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 81-83.

142: In a heavy: *Ibid.*, 83-86.

143: Colonel Cross: One of Cross's chief backers for promotion was his corps commander, Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott. In a letter to Sen. Daniel Clark of New Hampshire on Dec. 9, 1862, Scott wrote of the Fifth: "I do not believe there is a better regiment in the world. These men are refined gold. I would trust that regt. now to hold a position that a new regiment of a thousand men would be driven from. I consider that Col. Cross has made the regt. what it is. He should be promoted. 100 men is too small a command for him" (Cross papers, UNH). Most of the men in his regiment concurred, including George S. Gove, who wrote to Julia Parsons, his

sister, on Feb. 15, 1863: “He ought to have a star on his shoulder & would have if he would get the politicians to use their influence. He deserved it more than Marston” (Parsons family papers, UNH) (Marston, whose performance as a colonel improved after Bull Run, had been promoted to brigadier general on Nov. 29, 1862); Cross to Franklin Pierce, Camp near Falmouth, April 13, 1863, Pierce papers, NHHS.

143: Cross had ridden: Frank Butler to Dear Friends, July 5, 1863, Butler papers, courtesy of Tom Jameson; Hale, Charles: “With Colonel Cross.”

144: After the brigade: Cross’s visit to the Second New Hampshire in Rose’s woods is noted in Haynes: *A History* (1896), 169-70; Hale: “With Colonel Cross.”

145: At about four: Sears, *Gettysburg*, 249-52, 262-68; Hale: “With Colonel Cross.”

145: Private Haynes’s: Haynes: *A History* (1896), 170-72.

146: A shell exploded: Haynes to Cornelia Haynes, Gettysburg, July 4, 1863, in Haynes: *A Minor History*, 107; Haynes: *A History*, 172.

146: Lying for two: Col. Edwin Bailey: Official Report on the Second New Hampshire at Gettysburg, July 5, 1863; Haynes: *A History* (1896), 175-80; Anonymous (probably Private William H.H. “Harry” Patch of Concord) to brother, Aug. 9, 1863, letter excerpted in *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 20 (The writer names fourteen captured men from his regiment. They were taken by a circuitous route to the rebel prison on Belle Isle in Richmond. Most were paroled and exchanged, including Patch. The letter notes that he was at Annapolis, Md., by Aug. 1); “Darnard” to *Peterborough Transcript*, Camp near Gettysburg, July 6, 1863 (published July 18); “Lieutenant Edmund Dascomb of the Second Regiment,” *Peterborough Transcript*, Sept. 5 (reprinted from *American*, Manchester); Wyman Holden’s account is in Haynes: *A History*

(1896), 185-87 (Holden was among those captured with Patch); Haynes to Cornelia Haynes, July 4.

148: About half: Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 88.

148: Staying put meant: Bartlett, Asa W.: *History of the Twelfth Regiment*, 124-26; Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 88-89; Robinson, *History of Pittsfield*, 52-53.

149: When Colonel Cross: Hale: "With Colonel Cross."

150: As their comrades: Hapgood: "Fighting Fifth," *Boston Herald*, March 11, 1886; Phelps's shooting of the man who shot Cross is recounted in an addendum to "With Colonel Cross in the Gettysburg Campaign" in which Charles Hale pinpoints the sharpshooter's boulder and the spot where Cross fell. Hale names Hapgood and two other Fifth New Hampshire soldiers who were with him when he made the calculations.

150: The Fifth fought: George Gove to Julia Parsons, U.S.A. Hospital, Chestnut Hill Philadelphia, July 9, 1863, Parsons Family papers, UNH; Clark Cragin's wound is described in his pension record at [www.geocities.ws/craginhistory/RobertCCragin1844](http://www.geocities.ws/craginhistory/RobertCCragin1844); Hapgood: "Fighting Fifth," *Boston Herald*, March 11, 1886; Major General John Caldwell's official report on his division's second-day fighting said: "That it fell back was owing entirely to the breaking of the troops on the right, permitting the enemy to get on its flank and its rear." The troops on its right included the Second and Twelfth New Hampshire and much of the rest of Sickles's Third Corps.

151: Because the enemy: George Bucknam to Warren Bucknam, May 24, 1863, Bucknam family papers.

151: It took more: Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 630; S.G. Sylvester to Warren Bucknam, Concord, Aug. 12, 1863, Bucknam family papers.



152: From the Second: Haynes to Cornelia Haynes, Gettysburg, July 4, 1863, in Haynes: *A Minor History*, 108.

152: Sergeant Musgrove's: Musgrove: *Autobiography*, 92-94.

153: An ambulance: Livermore: *Days and Events*, 254-56; Child: *A History*, 212; Hale: "With Colonel Cross"; Frank Butler to Dear Friends, July 5, 1863, Butler papers.

## **July 4, 1863**

### **Glorious Fourth**

154: People came: *New Hampshire Patriot*, July 8, 1863.

155: Six years: Fourth of July committee to Pierce, Boston, June 9, 1863, Pierce papers, NHHS; *Patriot* July 1; Sidney Webster to Pierce, New York City, June 12, Pierce papers, NHHS.

155: The Fourth: *Patriot*, July 8, 1863; *Independent Democrat*, July 9. The account of the rally is taken mainly from the *Patriot's* copious coverage with certain factual details gleaned from the *Independent Democrat*, which downplayed the event.

156: There was: *Patriot*, July 8, 1863; *Independent Democrat*, April 25, 1861.

156: If he had: *Patriot*, July 8.

156: By half past: Ibid.; Parker Pillsbury, Nathaniel White, et al., to John C. Frémont, Concord, July 17 (published in *Independent Democrat*, June 25).

157: When Pierce: *Patriot*, July 8.

157: Pierce read: *Independent Democrat*, July 9, 1863; *Patriot*, July 8.

158: As subsequent: *Independent Democrat*, July 9; Lyford: *History of Concord*, Vol. I, 398, 485.

158: This awkward: Nathaniel Hawthorne to Elizabeth Peabody, The Wayside, Concord, Mass., July 20, 1863, published in “Hawthorne and Pierce: The Great Romancer a Good Friend but a Poor Statesman,” *Boston Post*, April 18, 1887, reprinted in *New York Times*, April 28, 1887; *Patriot*, July 8.

159: By late: Ibid.

### **July 4, 1863**

#### **‘Our happiness was complete’**

159: After months: The main source of this chapter is the George H. Chandler letters at the New Hampshire Historical Society. The regiment arrived in Lexington, Ky., the last week of March 1863 (Chandler papers, NHHS); George H. Chandler to My dear Mother (Mary Ann Chandler), In the works in rear of Vicksburg, Miss., July 2, 1863, NHHS; Chandler to William E. Chandler, Headquarters, 9th N.H. Vols., rear of Vicksburg, July 3, NHHS.

159: The assignment: George H. Chandler to Mary Ann Chandler, Headquarters 9th New Hampshire Regiment, on Yazoo River near Haines Bluff, Miss., June 19, 1863.

160: Peering into: George H. Chandler to William E. Chandler, Headquarters, 9th N.H. Volunteers, near Jackson, Miss., July 14, 1863.

160: Neither his: Ibid.

162: Forty-eight: Ibid.; George H. Chandler to William E. Chandler, Headquarters, 9th N.H. Regiment, Milldale, Yazoo River, July 29, 1863.

### **July 15, 1863**

#### **Return to Antietam**

162: For a day: "Carleton": "A Day at Antietam," *Boston Journal*, July 15, reprinted in *Independent Democrat*, July 30, 1863; John A. Cummings to Friend, Camp Near Antietam Creek, Sept. 20, 1862, *Peterborough Transcript*, Oct. 11.

163: Carleton had: Coffin: *The History of Boscowen and Webster*, "Biographical History," 337-41; Griffis: *Charles Carleton Coffin*, 28, 35, 50-58.

163: At the age: *Ibid.*, 59-60, 69, 75-76.

164: When war: *Ibid.*, 79-83.

164: His break: *Ibid.*, 83-84, 110, 117; Coffin: *Four Years of Fighting*, 93-94, 115-21, 142-52, 282-88; Carleton's account of Gettysburg for the *Boston Journal*, widely reprinted, also detailed his movements on July 2, 1863.

164: Carleton returned: Carleton: "A Day at Antietam."

165: As Carleton: *Ibid.*

165: Nearby, Carleton: *Ibid.*

165: What Carleton: *Ibid.*

## **July 18, 1863**

### **Dark night**

166: Ferdinand Davis: Davis memoir, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

166: Davis had been: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 496, 517-18, 520-21; Ferdinand Davis to Dear Brother, Lebanon, N.H., Sept, 18, 1861, Raymond Cazillis Davis papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; findagrave.com has a useful biography of Ferdinand Davis and his family.

167: The Seventh: James W. Darrah to *Independent Democrat*, Fort Jefferson (published May 29, 1862); Davis to My dear Brother, Fort Jefferson, April 20, 1862, and memoir, Davis papers.

167: By the time: Davis memoir.

168: Fort Wagner: Ibid.; of modern books on the battle, Wise: *Gate of Hell* gives the best overview of the campaign.

168: With the rest: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 116-27; Davis memoir.

168: Davis saw: Ibid.

170: After Gillmore: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 122; Davis memoir.

170: At last: Ibid.; Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 121.

171: Above the roar: Davis memoir; Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 521.

171: The regiment: Davis memoir; Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 521-22.

171: Davis began: Davis memoir.

171: Helpless without: Ibid.

172: By chance: Ibid.

172: The two: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 124-26; Davis memoir.

172: Davis left: Ibid.

172: Gradually: Ibid.

173: Clear of: Ibid.

173: It was: Fox: *Regimental Losses*, 441 (Fox's total killed for the Seventh at Fort Wagner – 77 – included those who died of wounds); W.W. Brown (chaplain) to John L. Putnam, Camp of the 7th N.H. on Morris Island, S.C., Aug. 12, 1863, Putnam papers, DC; Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 496, 522.

174: It fell to: Davis memoir.

## **July 20, 1863**

### **To gain a country**

174: Thirty-six: Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, 48-50.

175: Help arrived: Ibid., 50-51.

175: Hawks, an: Ibid., 52-54; 54th Massachusetts roster, in Emilio: *A Brave Black Regiment*.

175: Charley Reason: Ibid.; Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman*, 51-53.

176: First Sergeant: Ibid., 53-54; Emilio: *A Brave* (roster).

176: After two: Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman*, 54fn, 55.

## **August 14, 1863**

### **The cup of sorrow**

177: A crowd: *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 20, 1863; Anonymous Sixteenth New Hampshire soldier's diary, NHHS; J.H. Gilmore and P.B. Cogswell to Gov. Joseph A. Gilmore, Fisherville, N.H., Sept. 1, 1863, report on trip to find and care for New Hampshire troops, in J.A. Gilmore executive file, NHSA.

177: It was not: *New Hampshire Patriot*, Aug. 19, 1863; *Independent Democrat*, Sept. 10.

177: To ease: J.H. Gilmore and Cogswell to Gov. J.A. Gilmore, NHSA; *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 20 and 27, 1863; Robertson: *Parker Pillsbury*, 39-41; Lyford: *History of Concord* (Vol. II), 782, 1183.

178: On August 16: *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 20 and 27; Gilmore-Cogswell to Gov. Gilmore, NHSA.

178: Although Gilmore: Ibid.

178: Cogswell and: Ibid.; *Independent Democrat* report based on *Buffalo Express* reporting, Aug. 27.

179: Yet not even: "Mascomy" to *Granite State Free Press*, Fort Burton, Butte a la Rose, April 29, 1863 (published June 6); "Souhegan" to *Farmer's Cabinet*, Butte a la Rose, La., April 29 (published June 4); James Richardson to Isaac Orr, Butte a la Rose, May 14, MP; "Fred" to *Peterborough Transcript*, Fort Burton, Butte a la Rose, April 24 (published May 16); Daniel E. Howard account, Sixteenth New Hampshire file, NHSA.

179: The new barracks: "Fred" to *Peterborough Transcript*, April 24; "Mascomy" to *Granite State Free Press*, April 29, 1863 (published June 6); Richardson to Isaac Orr, May 14; Townsend: *History of the Sixteenth*, 186-89.

181: Not everyone: Andrew Farnum to Father, April 23, 1863, NHHS; "Souhegan" to *Farmers' Cabinet*, May 29 (published June 25); Townsend: *History of the Sixteenth*, 189-90.

181: A regimental doctor: Ibid., 193-95; "Souhegan" to *Farmer's Cabinet*, Butte a la Rose, May 29, 1863 (published June 25); Anonymous diary of Sixteenth soldier, NHHS.

182: As Townsend: Andrew Farnum to Father, Fort Burton, May 6, 1863, NHHS; Townsend: *History*, 201.

182: Salvation came: Ibid., 204; the quotation is from Alpheus Hyatt's June 21, 1893, letter to Luther Townsend with an account of the rescue. The letter was printed in Townsend: *History*, 205-08.

182: The rescue: “Souhegan” to *Farmer’s Cabinet*, Butte a la Rose, May 29, 1863; Townsend: *History*, 208-09.

182: Before leaving: “Sixteenth N.H.” to *Granite State Free Press*, In Rear of Port Hudson, June 18, 1863 (published July 4); Daniel E. Howard account, NHSA.

183: The Sixteenth: “Fred” to *Peterborough Transcript*, Headquarters, 16th Reg. N.H.V., before Port Hudson, La., June 20, 1863 (published July 11); Townsend: *History*, 301-02.

183: On August: *Ibid.*, 302-07.

183: Tears of: *Ibid.*, 308-10.

183: A formal: *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 20, 1863.

184: Afterward: *Ibid.*; In an anonymous, undated account written by a member of the Sixteenth New Hampshire for the *Eagle* in Claremont, the writer blamed Col. James Pike for the regiment’s woes. He called Pike “utterly disqualified, both by ignorance of theory and practice of military tactics and routine, and by an unconquerable ineptitude for the duties devolving upon him, for the post he held.” Pike’s bumbling cost the regiment “the confidence and good opinion” of the generals above it. It was this loss of confidence, the writer believed, that led to the Sixteenth’s being deprived of a chance to go to battle and sent instead to the “awful swamps.” There it was condemned to “a record of sickness, suffering and death without a parallel in the history of any military organization within the knowledge of any member of our distressed and decimated column.” After the *Eagle*’s publication of this article, which was titled “A Brief History of the 16th N.H. Regiment,” a copy was sent to the state’s adjutant general. It is now in Augustus Ayling’s “Regimental Files” at NHSA.

**December 6, 1863**

## Ship's boy

185: Alvah Hunter: The two chief sources for this chapter are Alvah Hunter's two memoirs, which he compiled from his diaries. His unpublished *A New Hampshire Boyhood* is at the Thompson-Ames Historical Society in Gilford, N.H. Craig L. Symonds edited and introduced Hunter's *A Year on a Monitor and the Destruction of Fort Sumter*. It was published in 1887 by the University of South Carolina Press. Hunter: *A Year on a Monitor*, 8-9.

185: The sailor: Hunter: *A New Hampshire Boyhood*, Chap. 13, 11-12, Chap. 20, 6.

185: The South: *Ibid.*; Hunter: *A Year*, xii-xii, 65.

185: In the summer: Hunter: *A New Hampshire*, Chapter 9, 10; Hunter: *A Year*, xiii-xiv.

186: Alvah clung: *Ibid.*, 4-7.

186: He was one: *Ibid.*, 9, 11, 22, 36.

186: Alvah found: *Ibid.*, 11-18, 66.

186: So slow: *Ibid.*, 20-25, 28.

187: The sinking: *Ibid.*, 46-48.

188: Aligned in: *Ibid.*, 49-51, 55-56, 59.

189: Damage to: *Ibid.*, 53-55, 57.

189: The attack: *Ibid.*, 93-94, 65-67, 69-70.

189: One June: *Ibid.*, 70-72.

189: The *Nahant*: *Ibid.*, 73, 75-77.

190: After half: *Ibid.*, 77-79.

190: Back at: *Ibid.*, 103-107.

190: From this point: *Ibid.*, 114-27.

191: The passage: *Ibid.*, 113-14.



191: Still, as: Ibid., 168-69.

191: Ibid., 170-72.

## **February 20, 1864**

### **Olustee**

192: The quickest: The website [battleofolustee.org](http://battleofolustee.org), a cooperative venture run by webmaster Thomas R. Fasulo of the University of Florida, provides links to many contemporary letters, reports, and other documents about the battle. It also includes a strong battle narrative, maps, photographs, and other information; Robert O. Farrand's account of the battle was apparently dictated to a fellow GAR member in Penacook (formerly Fisherville) after the war. It was first provided to me by Phyllis Longver, a local researcher, during the 1990s. It also appears in Little: *History of the Seventh*, beginning on page 535. This quotation is on 536.

192: The Seventh had: Little: *History of the Seventh*, 207-09; Ferdinand Davis memoir, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

192: The Seventh arrived: Little: *History*, 209; Davis memoir; Moore (ed.): *The Rebellion Record*, 401 (According to the official report of General Quincy Gillmore, Seymour's superior, Gillmore telegraphed Seymour on Feb. 12 and ordered him to consolidate his forces at Baldwin, Fla., and not go beyond that point); Dobak: *Freedom*, 64 (Hay's report is in the Official Records).

193: His men: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 213, 216-18; Unnamed soldier to *Manchester Daily Mirror*, quoted in *Boston Journal*, March 4, 1864; Davis memoir.

193: Suddenly rifle: Little: *History of the Seventh*, 220-21; Ferry: "The Battle of Olustee"; Moore (ed.): *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*. (Vol. 8), 412

(“Nothing could have been . . .”), 405 (spider comparison: The rebels were “waiting with complacent satisfaction the entrance of our men into his ambush, very much after the manner that the spider would have the fly walk into his parlor”).

195: The Seventh: In his official report, Colonel Abbott wrote: “My regiment was moving by the left flank and remained in that order until we were under the fire of the enemy. The regiment was then brought by company into line and closed in mass. The order was then given by myself to deploy upon the first company and the deployment commenced. At this moment I was informed by yourself [Colonel Hawley] that the deployment was not as you intended, and I at once commanded, ‘Halt; front,’ but the fire of the enemy had now become very severe, and in the attempt to bring the regiment again into column confusion ensued, followed by faltering on the part of some of the men, and finally in almost a complete break”; Harris: “Soldier’s Narrative,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, May, 1988; Davis memoir; Little: *History of the Seventh*, 220-25; Harris: “Soldier’s Narrative.”

195: As the regiment: The *Farmer’s Cabinet’s* March 10, 1864, battle account pieced together from other newspapers included news of the Seventh’s collapse; Trudeau: *Like Men of War*, 137-52; James Flynn to “My Dear Wife & Child,” Tallahassee, Florida, March 30, 1864, posted by descendant Gerry Flynn, [battleofolustee.org](http://battleofolustee.org); Joseph Hawley to Harriett Foote Hawley, 6 miles north of Jacksonville, Feb. 23, 1864, LOC.

195: For its skedaddle: The *Farmer’s Cabinet’s* March 10, 1864, account reported: “The 7th New Hampshire had so deadly a fire poured into their ranks that they broke and fell back in confusion. Dissatisfaction and want of confidence in the regiment by depriving it of the ‘Spencer Repeating Rifle,’ and the issue, instead, of Springfield muskets, in bad condition; some lacking locks, others rusted or wanting screws, proper springs, or otherwise useless – Unable to protect

themselves with these weapons, one wing of the regiment gave way, and could not be rallied”; Lt. Oliver Norton to Father, March 1, 1864, Jacksonville, Norton: *Army Letters 1861-1865* (this letter is published online at [battleofolustee.org](http://battleofolustee.org)); William Frederick Penniman Reminiscences (1901), University of North Carolina (excerpted on [battleofolustee.org](http://battleofolustee.org)); Hickox (ed.): *The Penniman Papers*, 64.

196: After four hours: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 225; Harris: “Soldier’s Narrative”; Robert O. Farrand’s account of his experience at Olustee and Andersonville was found years ago in a file in the American Legion Hall in Penacook, N.H., his hometown. It also appears in Little: *The Seventh*, with his reference to his brother’s wounding on page 540; T.W.G. Inglett (Company C, 28th Georgia) to My Dear Wife, near Henderson Fla., Feb. 23, 1864, courtesy of Richard J. Ferry; in his reminiscences, Penniman, of the 4th Georgia Cavalry, wrote that when he came upon the field after the Union retreat, he noticed a great deal of shooting still going on. “What is the meaning of all this firing I hear going on?” he asked an infantry officer, “His reply to me was, ‘Shooting niggers Sir. I have tried to make the boys desist but I can’t control them.’ I made some answer in effect that it seemed horrible to kill the wounded devils, and he again answered, ‘That’s so Sir, but one young fellow over yonder told me the niggers killed his brother after being wounded, at Fort Pillow, and he was twenty three years old, that he had already killed nineteen and needed only four more to make the matter even, so I told him to go ahead and finish the job.’ I rode on but the firing continued.”

196: Lieutenant Davis: Davis memoir.

197: The next: Ibid.

197: Rumors of: One of the first newspaper reports of the battle (*Boston Journal*, Feb. 24, 1864) blamed Seymour for an expedition “that went into a trap, with no excuses.” Others

followed suit; in Thomas W. Higginson to Louisa Storrow Higginson, Camp Shaw, Beaufort, S.C., Feb. 23, 1864, Col. Higginson wrote his wife that General Quincy Gillmore “threw it all, last night, on Gen Seymour who, he said, had disobeyed orders. But the whole plan of the Expedition is Gen. G.’s responsibility” (Looby: *The Complete*, 356); the quotations here are from Higginson’s journal on the same date, also from Looby, 197-200.

197: Doctor Esther: Schwartz (ed.): *A Woman Doctor’s Civil War*, 61-63; casualty figures from Hillhouse and Thrush (eds.): “The Union Roll of Honor: Union Casualties at the Battle of Olustee.”

199: On the battlefield: Ferry, Richard J: “The Battle of Olustee”; Penniman: Reminiscences; Hillhouse and Thursh: “The Union Roll”; On May 8, 1864, S.C. Roberts, a rebel artilleryman, wrote to his sister from Camp Gadbury on James Island: “I passed over the Battle Field at Olustee. It was still a horrible sight to see, here and there the hand of a Yankee sticking out of the Ground. In one place by a House they used as a Hospital, there were the skeletons of six of eight men. There were crowds of dead horses all over the field. The men were buried not far from the surface of the Ground, and in several cases they had been scratched up by the buzzards and all their bones could be seen” (courtesy of Richard J. Ferry).

## **February 21, 1864**

### **Love hurts**

199: One winter’s day: Buzzell pension record, NARA; Dearborn, Adams, Rolfe: *History of Salisbury*, 808 (the biographical data here erroneously give 1863 as the year of the marriage); M. Annie Thompson to Frank Buzzell, Salisbury, N.H., Feb. 21, 1864, MP.

199: When Buzzell: Ibid.

200: She told: Ibid.

200: Frank Buzzell: Buzzell pension record, NARA (the record includes the Buzzells' marriage license, signed by Gilmore).

201: Four months: Ibid.

201: In the unpredictable: Ibid.

201: Frank brought: Thompson to Buzzell, Feb. 21, 1864.

## **April 21, 1864**

### **May God have mercy**

201: Between the: Anonymous: "A Biography of the Life and Tragical Death of Elder Caleb M. Dyer," 1863; Aaron Cragin gave his eulogy, printed in the "Biography," at Dyer's funeral on July 22, 1863; funeral reported in *Granite State Free Press*, July 25, 1863.

202: Like Dyer's: See trial coverage in *Daily Mirror and American*, Manchester, April 13 through April 26, 1864.

202: Thomas Wier: William C. Perkins testimony, Wier murder trial, *Daily Mirror and American*, April 23, 1864; De Wolfe: "Murder by Inches," 187; Hector, Eric: "Thomas Weir: The Man Who Murdered Caleb Dyer," Enfield Historical Society News, reprinted in "Charge Bayonets!" (newsletter of the Fifth New Hampshire re-enactors), June 1992.

202: His motives: Ibid.; *Granite State Free Press*, July 25, 1863; Henry Cummings testimony, Wier murder trial, *Mirror and American*, April 23, 1864; De Wolfe, "Murder by Inches," 187.

203; Wier was: *Ibid.*; Ayling: *Register*, Fifth New Hampshire roster; court testimony of William Perkins, Trueman S. Johnson, and George W. Aiken, all witnesses to the shooting, *Mirror and American*, April 14, 1864.

203: On Saturday: Trial testimony, *Mirror and American*, April 14 and in subsequent days.

203: Despite Dyer's: *Boston Herald*, July 23, 1863; Jackman eulogy in Anonymous: "A Biography."

203: The day: Pattee and Jesse L Gove testimony at Wier murder trial, *Mirror and American*, April 23 and 25, 1864; *Mirror and American*, April 13.

203: The prosecution's: *Mirror and American*, April 14-15.

204: Smith and: The other two men who approached Dyer on Wier's behalf were Isaac N. Blodgett and Aaron Cragin, *Mirror and American*, April 15, 19.

204: Cragin, Dyer's: *Mirror and American*, April 19.

205: The defense: *Mirror and American*, April 15, 19, 23.

205: Defense lawyers: *Mirror and American* trial coverage; De Wolfe: "Murder by Inches," 186.

205: When defense: *Daily Mirror and American*, April 25.

206: To settle: *Daily Mirror and American*, April 22.

206: Prosecutors: *Daily Mirror and American*, April 25.

206: Wier's fate: *Daily Mirror and American*, April 26.

206: In passing: *Ibid.*

207: With the Army: *Ibid.*

**May 12, 1864**

**Spottsylvania**

211: As the Ninth: Elmer Bragg to William L. Bragg, Camp of 9th Vols., near Alexandria, Va., April 28, 1864, DC; Larkin D. Mason to Governor Joseph Gilmore, Washington, D.C., April 25 (Mason timed Burnside's corps' passing), Gilmore executive papers, NHSA.

212: Larkin D.: Mason's appointment as "a Commissioner to investigate the condition and wants of New-Hampshire soldiers in the hospitals and in the fields" was reported in the *Independent Democrat*, Dec. 11, 1862; Mason to Gilmore, April 25, 1864.

212: The Ninth: Oscar D. Robinson to William L. Bragg, On the Battle Field near Spottsylvania, Va., May 16, 1864, Elmer Bragg papers DC; Lord: *History of the Ninth*, 733.

213: Marching out: Elmer Bragg to William L. Bragg, Bristow Station, Va., May 2, 1864.

213: Larkin Mason: Mason to Gilmore, April 25, 1864; Lord: *History of the Ninth*, 365, 380.

213: Before dawn: Head, Natt: *Report of the Adjutant-General*, Vol. II, 1866 (written by Oscar D. Robinson), 689; Pastor John H. Edwards used George Tracy's diary entry in his 1864 funeral sermon for Tracy at the Congregational Church in West Lebanon, N.H., copy in the Herbert B. Titus papers, NHHS.

215: Counting heads: Robinson diary, May 12-16, 1864, Robinson to Sister, May 20, DC; Head: *Report*, 691.

215: Elmer Bragg: Bragg to Father, May 14, 1864, DC; Bragg diary, May 13-14, 17, 21, DC.

215: He tried: Ibid., May 25, June 2-3, Aug. 3, Aug. 18-19; Bragg to Sister, Annapolis, Aug. 16, 1864.

216: Two nurses: John Hanby and Maria M.C. Hall to William L. Bragg, Naval School Hospital, Annapolis, Md., May 20, 1864, Bragg papers, DC; William L. Bragg to C.W. Wilcox of Milford, Mass., April 23, 1895, Herbert B. Titus papers, NHHS.

216: Bragg was: Newell T. Dutton to Elmer Bragg, Near Petersburg, Aug. 22, 1864; Oscar D. Robinson to Elmer Bragg, Petersburg, Aug. 21, both DC.

216: In the time: Robinson to Mother, On the Battlefield, 12 Miles from Richmond, June 1, 1864, Robinson papers, DC; Robinson to William Bragg, On the Battle Field near Spottsylvania, Va., May 16, 1864, and to William L. Bragg, Trenches before Petersburg, Oct. 26, 1864, Bragg papers, DC.

## **May 19, 1864**

### **Friends to the end**

218: As the two men: Franklin Pierce to Sidney Webster, Concord, N.H., March 18, 1868, in Webster: "Franklin Pierce and His Administration," 36-38.

218: The two had: Wallner: "Franklin Pierce and Bowdoin College Associates Hawthorne and Hale," *Historical New Hampshire*, Volume 59, 23-24; Hawthorne: *The Life of Franklin Pierce*, Chap. 6; G.P.A. Healey's 1852 portrait of Hawthorne, commissioned by Pierce, is now in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

218: Unlike his: Hawthorne: "Chiefly about War Matters, By a Peaceable Man," *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1862.



219: Days before: Nathaniel Hawthorne to James T. Fields, Concord, Mass., July 18, 1863; Benjamin Brown French to Henry French, Washington, D.C., Oct. 4, 1863, French papers, NHHS.

219: That December: Wallner: "Franklin Pierce," 39; Fields: *Hawthorne*, 112.

219: Pierce knew: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne to James T. Fields, Concord, Mass., undated but May 6, 1864, published in full in Fields: *Hawthorne*, 122; Sophia Hawthorne to Franklin Pierce, Concord, Mass., May 8, 1864, Pierce papers, NHHS.

220: Hawthorne had: Sophia Hawthorne to Pierce, Concord, Mass., April 24, 1864, Pierce papers, NHHS.

220: Her husband's: Sophia Hawthorne to James T. Fields, undated but May 7, 1864, in Fields: *Hawthorne*, 123; Holmes described his encounter with Hawthorne for Fields's July 1864 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The article is quoted in Fields: *Hawthorne*, 123-24.

221: Pierce met: Pierce to Sidney Webster, Concord, N.H., July 18, 1868, in Webster: *Franklin Pierce*, 36-37.

221: The Pemigewasset: Report of fire in *Independent Democrat*, Sept. 4, 1862; Pierce to Sidney Webster, July 18, 1868, 37; "Sudden Death of a Distinguished Author," *Daily Mirror & American* (Manchester), May 18, 1863.

221: As night fell: Pierce telegram to James T. Fields, Pemigewasset House, Plymouth, N.H., Thursday Morning [May 19, 1864], 5 o'clock, in Fields: *Hawthorne*, 125-26; Pierce to Sidney Webster, July 18, 1868, in Webster: "Franklin Pierce," 37-38.

221: Pierce sent: *Ibid.*

222: Pierce joined: Sophia Hawthorne to Franklin Pierce, Concord., Mass., June [no date] 1864, Pierce papers, NHHS; Ralph Waldo Emerson journal entry, May 23, 1864, in Porte (ed.), *Emerson in His Journals*, 521-22; Fields: *Hawthorne*, 127.

222: Despite Pierce's: Peter Wallner's two-volume biography of Pierce give a full and sympathetic account of his life; Pierce to Horatio Bridge, Andover, Mass., May 21, 1864, letter published in Bridge: *Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 179.

### **May 30, 1864**

#### **A hard choice**

223: War had been: In addition to George Washington Gordon's wartime letters, the Gordon papers (courtesy of Grace Forest) contain family information, an 1850 list of students at the Gymnasium and Military Collegiate Institute in Pembroke, N.H., which includes Gordon's name, and Adams Express Company telegrams conveying money.

223: The carnage: G.W. Gordon to Dear Wife (Angeline), Camp, 2d, N.H. Vols., Williamsburg, Va., May 13, 1862, and Fair Oaks, Va., June 16., Gordon papers.

224: Gordon was: G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Columbia Hospital, Washington, D.C., Sept. 8, 1862, Littleton, Pa., July 4, 1863, and Camp 2d N.H.C. (location unnamed), July 19, 1863.

224: For rest: On conditions at Point Lookout, see Sanders: *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 173-77; G.W. Gordon mentions the good wishes of the wives of Platt, Adams, and Bailey in letters to Angeline Gordon from Point Lookout, Md., Oct. 3 and Nov. 12, 1863. His expression of longing is in his letter of Nov. 14, Gordon papers.

224: For all his: Martin A. Haynes to Cornelia Lane, Headquarters Berry's Division, Near Falmouth, Va., Feb. 15, 1863, Point Lookout, Md., Dec. 31, 1863, and Point Lookout, Md., Feb. 2, 1864, in Haynes: *A Minor War History*, 89, 144, and 150-51.

225: Though not: G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Point Lookout, Md., Nov. 14 and Dec. 2, 1863, Gordon papers.

225: This was no: G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Yorktown, Va., April 14, 1864, Gordon papers; Adams: *A Civil War Chaplain's Story*, copy at NHHS; Haynes, Martin A.: *A History of the Second* (1896), 216.

226: Private John: Ibid., 215-6; G.W. Gordon to Angeline, Gordon. Yorktown, Va., April 14 and April 18, 1864, Gordon papers; Haynes: *History* (1865), 165.

226: Gordon and: Martin A. Haynes to Cornelia Lane, Headquarters, Second N.H.V., near Petersburg, Va., Friday, May 27, 1864, in Haynes: *A Minor History*, 171; G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Camp 2d N.H.V., near Bermuda Hundred, 10 o'clock at night, May 27, Gordon papers.

226: On May 30: G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Pamunky River, Va., May 30, 1864. Gordon papers.

## **June 2, 1864**

### **A chaplain's province**

227: John Wesley: Haynes: *A History* (1896), 244 (description from photo), 262; Adams: *A Civil War Chaplain's Story*.

227: Adams's first: Ibid.; G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Harrison's Landing, Va., July 19, 1862, Gordon papers, courtesy of Grace Forest.

227: One of: Haynes: *A History* (1896), 216; Adams: *A Civil War*.

228: An hour: *Ibid.*

228: For the sake: Charles W. Adams (“Chaplain”) to *Independent Democrat*, May 2, 1864 (published May 12); “The Death of Capt. Platt,” Adams to *Daily Mirror & American* (Manchester), Near Point Rocks, Va. May 20, 1864 (published May 28); Adams: *A Civil War*.

228: The regiment’s: Adams to *Daily Mirror & American*, May 20, 1864; Adams: *A Civil War*.

229: The Union assault: *Ibid.*

230: It was here: *Ibid.*

230: The sound: *Ibid.*

230: At Cold Harbor: Rhea: *Cold Harbor*, 348-55; Haynes: *A History* (1896), 235-38.

230: As the charge: Adams: *A Civil War*; Haynes: *A History* (1896), 45, 105, 237, 301; R.S. Stubbs to *Independent Democrat*, Base Hospital, 18th Army Corps, Near Point of Rocks, Va., Aug. 22, 1864 (published Sept. 1).

231: Like many: G.W. Gordon to Angeline Gordon, Camp 2d N.H.V., near Bermuda Hundred, 10 o’clock at night, May 27; Haynes: *A History* (1896), 237; Martin A. Haynes to Cornelia Haynes, Camp Near Bermuda Hundred, Va., May 13, in Haynes: *A Minor History*, 167; Adams: *A Civil War*.

231: After the guns: *Ibid.*; Adams to *Independent Democrat*, July 22, 1864 (published Aug. 4).

232: To the wounded: Adams: *A Civil War*.

**July 30, 1864**

## **A race with time**

232: Colonel Edward: The Francis Butler papers, courtesy of Tom Jameson, are the source for this portrait of Butler and much else in this chapter. The papers include letters to and from Butler, his war records, and other letters to his family about him. In further notes, they will be cited individually and/or referred to as the Butler papers; Livermore: *Days and Events*, 367; for more on Cross's character and wartime service, see Pride, Travis: *My Brave Boys*.

232: In addition: The full poem is in the Butler papers.

233: The more: Butler to family of June 5, 9, 17, 18, 22, 1864, Butler papers.

233: Behind these fears: Butler to Dear friends (family), Gen. Sigel's HQ, near Falmouth, Va., Dec. 16, 1862; Butler to Dear friends, Slocum's HQ, near Gettysburg, July 5, 1863; Butler to Dear friends, 18th Army Corps HQ, June 9, 1864; undated (but June 1864) letter fragment, all Butler papers; Mason W. Humphrey to Frank W. Butler, Point Lookout, Md., May 14, 1864 (published in *Independent Democrat*, June 30).

233: Early in: Undated (but May 1863) letter fragments from Butler to family, Butler papers.

234: As bad as: Butler to Dr friends, HQ, Reserve Signal Department, Falmouth, Va., May 12, 1863; Butler to Sister Clintie, Signal Department, Hooker's HQ, June 8, 1863, Butler papers.

234: As the summer: Butler to Dear friends, HQ, 12th Corps, Kelly's Ford, Va., Aug. 20, 1863, Butler papers; Butler's willingness to listen to his parents at the outset of the war is discussed in his obituary, *Independent Democrat*, Aug. 11, 1864.

235: By June: Butler to My Dear Mary, York River, June 5, 1864; Undated (but June 1864) letter fragment, Butler papers.

235: His job: George Gove to Julia Gove Parsons (sister), In the trenches on Gaines Farm, Va., June 10, 1864, Parsons family papers, UNH; Butler diary, June 12-14, Butler papers; Butler to Dear friends, 18th Corps HQ, in the field, June 18, 1864, Butler papers.

235: This was not: Butler to Dear friends, 18th Corps HQ, within two miles of Petersburg, June 22, 1864, Butler papers.

235: Nine days later: Maj. Gen. William F. Smith to John D. Butler, near Petersburg, July 1, 1864, Butler papers; Livermore: *Days and Events*, 333, 366-67; Livermore to John D. Butler, HQ, 18th Army Corps, Near Petersburg, Aug. 11, 1864, Butler papers; in a letter to Julia Jones on Oct. 22, 1864, Col. Samuel Duncan wrote that he had seen Butler the night he was shot. "The Surgeon had examined him and gave great encouragement," Duncan wrote. "The captain, tho' in pain, was cheerful & fully expected to return in 20 days," Duncan-Jones papers, NHHS.

236: Butler's servant: Margaret Craig to Luther, April 17, 1866, Butler papers.

236: Butler arrived: *Peterborough Transcript*, July 23 and Aug. 6, 1864; Mary Butler letter fragments; O.W. Dimick to John Butler, Lyme, N.H., Jan. 22, 1865; George W. Burns to John Butler, Milford, N.H., July 31, 1864; W. Abbott to Dear friends, Concord, N.H., Aug. 7, 1864, all Butler papers.

236: Friends and: George W. Burns to John Butler, Milford, N.H., July 31, 1864; Laura Robinson to Butler's sister, Aug. 11, 1864, Butler papers.

237: At least two: Orlando W. Dimick to John Butler, Lyme, N.H., Jan. 22, 1865, Butler papers.

237: Captain Livermore: Livermore to John Butler, Aug. 11, 1864, Butler papers.

**September 9, 1864**

## **The Durgins' war**

237: In the spring: The Durgin family papers, lent to the author by Marcy Fuller, are the main source for this chapter; Linehan, John C.: "Penacook in the War for the Union," 189; Little: *History of the Seventh*, 472; F.F. to *Dollar Weekly Mirror* (Manchester), May 28, 1861 (published June 1), indicates that the Washington House had just "changed hands again," its current landlord being L.C. Edgerly.

238: When war came: F.F. to *Weekly Dollar Mirror* (Manchester), May 28, 1861; Linehan: "Penacook in the War," 189; Abner F. Durgin to Mother and Father, Washington, D.C., July 23, 1861 (Hiram's note to his parents is added at the end of Abner's letter), Durgin papers, courtesy of Marcy Fuller; *New Hampshire Patriot*, Aug. 28, 1861.

238: Caroline Durgin: Caroline Durgin to Abner and Hiram Durgin, Fisherville, Dec. 12 and July, 1861, and to Abner Durgin, March 2, 1862, Durgin papers.

239: When her: Jeremiah S. Durgin to Hiram F. Durgin, Camp Hale, Manchester, Nov. 21, 1861, Durgin papers; the receipt for Major Durgin's uniform is in the Durgin papers; Upset that most regiments were training in Concord, Manchester political leaders persuaded the governor and Executive Council to place the camps of the Seventh (Camp Hale) and Eighth (Camp Currier) regiments on a large field in that city; Col. Haldimand S. Putnam of the Seventh arrived on Oct. 24, 1861 (*Manchester Daily Mirror*, Oct. 25); Caroline Durgin to Abner and Hiram Durgin, Fisherville, Oct. 27, 1861, Durgin papers.

239: The day before: Caroline Durgin to Abner and Hiram Durgin, Fisherville, Oct. 27, and to Abner, Dec. 9, 1861, Durgin papers.

240: Jeremiah's first: Little, *History of the Seventh*, 67; Jeremiah Durgin to Caroline Durgin, St. Augustine, Feb. 7, 1862, Durgin papers; Seventh New Hampshire soldier to *Granite State Free Press*, Beaufort, S.C., July 1, 1862 (published, July 18).

240: Abner and Hiram: Edmund Dascomb to *Daily American* (Manchester), Camp near Alexandria, Sept. 6, 1862 (published Sept. 11); Abner F. Durgin to Caroline Durgin ("My Dear Mother"), Centerville, Va., Nov. 9, 1862, Durgin papers.

240: As much as: Caroline Durgin mentions Scott's eagerness to volunteer and her opposition to the idea in nearly every letter; Abner Durgin to Scott Durgin, Camp Beaufort, Lower Potomac, Md., Dec. 29, 1861, Durgin papers.

241: With all: Abner Durgin to Caroline Durgin, Fort Pocahontas, Williams Landing, Va., Sept. 9, 1864, Durgin papers.

241: What he saw: Ibid.

242: For him: Ibid.

242: This is how: Ibid.

242: The three: Jeremiah Durgin to Caroline Durgin, June 11, 1864, Durgin papers; Batchelder's Hair Dye ad appeared in *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 9, 1867; Little, *History of the Seventh*, 473; Linehan: "Penacook in the War," *Granite Monthly*, 202; Brown: *History of Penacook*, 289; Abner Durgin pension file, NARA.

243: At least: Ibid. Writing "Penacook in the War" in 1889, John C. Linehan described Abner Durgin as "one of a family of four who served through the war, all dead but him, and his intellect is gone," 199.

**December 23, 1864**



## Andersonville

243: The last thing: The chief source for this chapter is Robert O. Farrand's postwar account of his wounding at the battle of Olustee and his imprisonment at Andersonville. Phyllis Longver, a Civil War researcher who did much of her work in Fisherville (Penacook) and Boscawen, N.H., brought this account to my attention during the 1990s, when I was editor of the *Concord Monitor*. Phyllis presented me with a photocopy of Farrand's account in the handwriting of the person to whom he apparently dictated it. The account is also in Little: *The Seventh New Hampshire*.

244: What had: Farrand account.

244: Farrand was: Robert O. Farrand pension record, NARA; Brown: *The History of Penacook*, 389-90.

244: Seven months: Farrand account.

244: When he: Ibid.

244: The men: Ibid.

245: The guards told: Ibid.

245: Slaves had built: Marvel: *Andersonville: The Last Depot*, 18, 21; the National Park Service's [nps.gov/history/seac/histback.htm](https://www.nps.gov/history/seac/histback.htm) is one of many websites that describes the prison.

245: When Farrand: Farrand account; on the refusal of Confederate officials, including Secretary of War James A. Seddon and Inspector General Samuel Cooper, to honor Wirz's requests for improving conditions at Andersonville and slowing the influx of prisoners, see Sanders: *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 220-36.

246: Neither the: [nps.gov/history/seac/histback.htm](https://www.nps.gov/history/seac/histback.htm); Farrand account.

247: Somehow Farrand: Ibid.; Marvel: *Andersonville*, 39-41, 59; the 7th New Hampshire roster in Ayling: *Register* identifies soldiers who died at Andersonville; “The Union Roll of Honor: Union Casualties at the Battle of Olustee,” edited by Hillhouse and Thrush, contains a detailed accounting of Seventh New Hampshire men sent to Andersonville after that battle.

247: Symptoms of: Farrand account.

247: The column halted: Ibid.

248: As he waited: Ibid.

248: Having been: Ibid.

## **Christmas 1864**

### **Waiting for Cupid**

249: The letter: The primary source material for this chapter is in the extensive collection of Samuel Duncan-Julia Jones correspondence at the New Hampshire Historical Society; Duncan to Jones, Dartmouth College, April 21, 1862, NHHS.

249: Jones saw: Julia Jones to Samuel Duncan, Avenue House, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1862, NHHS.

249: From Duncan: Duncan to Jones, Dartmouth College, June 8, 1862.

250: So began: Duncan-Jones correspondence, NHHS.

250: Jones had: Town Committee (Washington, N.H.): *History of Washington*, 219-22, 501.

250: Their early: Duncan to Jones, Hanover, June 8, 1862; Jones to Duncan, July 24 and Oct. 27, 1862 (no datelines, but East Washington, N.H.).

250: Duncan joined: Duncan to Jones, Poolesville, Md., Jan. 22, 1863, and Headquarters, 14<sup>th</sup> N.H. Vols, Camp Adirondack, Washington, D.C., May 2; Jones to Duncan, (East Washington), May 17; Duncan to Jones, Camp “Adirondack,” Washington, D.C., July 30.

251: He also teased: Duncan to Jones, Camp “Adirondack,” Washington, D.C., July 30, 1863; Jones to Duncan, E. Washington (N.H.), Aug. 9; Duncan to Jones, Washington, D.C., Sept. 6.

252: Traveling in: Jones to Duncan, Wheeling, Va., Sept. 20, 1863; Duncan to Jones, Hdq’rs, 4th regt. U.S. Col’d. Troops, Yorktown, Va., Nov. 20.

252: After months: Jones to Duncan, Avenue House, Washington, D.C., May 7 and May 17, 1864.

252: When she sent: Duncan to Jones, Spring Hill, Va., May 22, 1864.

253: Seven months: Duncan to Jones, Officers’ General Hospital, Annapolis, Md., Jan. 22 and 30, 1865; Jones to Duncan, Home (East Washington, N.H.), Jan. 26.

253: As Samuel: Duncan to Jones, Jan. 22, 1865.

253: The time: Ibid., and further Duncan-Jones correspondence, NHHS.

## **January 2, 1865**

### **Escape**

254: In the chill: The chief source for this chapter is Orlando Wales Dimick’s “Autobiographical Account of His Civil War Experiences,” read at a Boston meeting in October 1881 and later “rewritten for the benefit of my dear child, 1909,” Dimick papers, DC.

254: Dimick, who: Ayling: *Register*, summary of Eleventh New Hampshire’s service; Dimick account.

254: Rebels surrounded: Ibid.

255: In the morning: Ibid.; the National Park Service website NPS.gov and other credible websites give the particulars on Camp Oglethorpe.

255: By then: Dimick account, DC.

255: Sherman's invasion: NPS.gov and other websites (Sherman allowed his cavalry commander, Major General George Stoneman, to raid Macon in hopes of freeing the prisoners; the raid failed and Stoneman was captured with many of his men.); Dimick account.

255: Sherman's army: Ibid.

256: In November: Ibid.

256: The next morning: Ibid.

258: The plan changed: Ibid.

258: The Underground: Ibid.

258: They reached: Ibid.; O.W. Dimick to John Butler, Lyme, N.H., Jan. 22, 1865.

## **February 22, 1865**

### **'The rebellion melts away before it'**

259: Before the war: Samuel A. Duncan to Julia Jones, Cox's Ridge on the Neuse, eight miles above Goldsboro', N.C., March 23, 1865, Duncan-Jones papers, NHHS.

259: The chance: Samuel Duncan to J.T. Duncan (brother), HQ, 4th Regt., U.S. Colored Troops, Gloucester Point, Va., Jan. 18, 1864, Duncan papers, DC; James W. Patterson to Duncan, Hanover, N.H., Aug. 7, 1863, Duncan papers, DC.

260: Duncan saw: Duncan to Julia Jones, H'dq'rs, 4th regt., U.S. Col'd. Troops, Yorktown, Va., Nov. 20, 1863, NHHS.

260: On May 4: Duncan to Julia Jones, H'd Q'rs., 2nd Brig., 3d Divis., 18th Army Corps, City Point, Va., May 7, 1864, NHHS.

260: The brigade's: Samuel Duncan to Julia Jones, Chesapeake General Hospital, Fortress Monroe, Oct. 22, 1864, NHHS; Trudeau: *The Last Citadel*, 209; Berg: "Battle of New Market Heights: USCT Soldiers Proved Their Courage"; Brackett (editor): *Black Civil War Correspondent*, 139.

261: Wounded in: Duncan to Mother, Chesapeake Hospital (Fortress Monroe, Va.), Oct. 6, 1864, DC; Duncan to brother, North East River Station, N.C., Feb. 25, 1865, DC; Duncan to Julia Jones, Cox's Ridge on the Neuse, eight miles above Goldsboro', N.C., March 23, 1865, NHHS.

261: He set up: Ibid.

262: Duncan scoffed: Ibid.

## **April 4, 1865**

### **Richmond at last**

262: Charles Carleton: Coffin: *Four Years of Fighting*, 500.

262: Fires still: Carleton: "Scenes of Richmond," *Boston Journal*, reprinted in *Farmer's Cabinet*, Milford, April 14, 1865; Coffin: *Four Years*, 499, 504, 508-09.

263: Early the next: Carleton: "Scenes of Richmond."

264: Looters were: Ibid.; Coffin: *Four Years*, 509-10.

264: As Carleton stood: Carleton: "Scenes of Richmond"; Coffin: *Four Years*, 510-11.

264: Just the day: Carleton: "Scenes of Richmond"; Coffin: *Four Years*, 511-15.

265: Carleton, one of: Carleton: "Scenes of Richmond."

265: “No written: Ibid.

265: All this: Ibid.

## **April 15, 1865**

### **Peace, with a catch**

266: On the way: Oscar D. Robinson diary, Sept. 14-15, 1862, account of Battle of South Mountain, DC.

266: The beginning: Robinson diary, April 2-3, 1865, DC; Robinson to Sister, HQ of 9th N.H., Burkeville Station, Va., April 16, 1865, DC.

267: Robert E.: Robinson to Mother, Near Burkeville Station, Va., April 14, 1865, DC.

267: What happened: Robinson diary, April 15; Robinson to Sister, April 16.

268: Although Lincoln’s: Ibid.

## **April 21, 1865**

### **Flashback**

268: The boat trip: French: *Witness to the Young Republic*, French journal entries of April 15 and 17, 1865, 469-76.

268: French, who came: French: *Witness*, 2-3, 7 (the break with Franklin Pierce followed French’s brief flirtation with the Know-Nothing Party in 1854); journal entry of May 6, 1861, on wife’s death, 354-55, entry of Sept. 13, 1862, on marriage to Mary Ellen, 406-07; Spangler: “Benjamin Brown French in the Lincoln Period,” 5-11.

269: The morning: French: *Witness*, journal entry of April 15, 1865, 469-70.

269: Thus began: Spangler, "Benjamin Brown French in the Lincoln Period," 13-16; French: "Narrative of the President's Murder," *Daily National Republican*, Washington, D.C., April 25, 1865. French to Francis O. French (son), Washington, April 24, French papers, LOC.

270: French described: Ibid.

270: When Lincoln: French: "Narrative," *Republican*, April 25, 1865.

270: Once the body: Ibid.; French: *Witness*, journal entry of May 17, 1865, 471.

271: Pallbearers were: French, "Narrative," *Republican*; Newton Colby account from Colby family papers, courtesy of Retta Presby Weaver.

271: After 600: Spangler: "Benjamin Brown French," 14-15; Sarah Low to Mother, Washington, April 23, 1865, NHHS.

272: A week after: French, "Narrative," *Republican*.

273: It was: French to Pamela Prentiss French, Washington, D.C., May 21, 1865, NHHS.

## **May 23-24, 1865**

### **The grand review**

273: Captain Elbridge: Copp: *Reminiscences*, 511-13, 515.

273: Copp was: Ibid., 7, 12-13. In his memoir Copp wrote that Plimpton was shot through the heart, but "Veteran Volunteer" of the Third New Hampshire wrote to the *Farmer's Cabinet* on Aug. 25, 1864 (published Sept. 8) describing how he was among the first to reach the body. Plimpton died instantly from a minie ball in the head, he wrote. He added that the body was left on the field, buried by rebels, and then disinterred and exchanged for the body of a Confederate brigadier general. The men of the Third buried Plimpton on a small hill across the James River.

274: Although Copp's: Copp, *Reminiscences*, 11, 511-14.

275: On the morning: Ibid., 514-15.

276: A signal: Ibid., 515-16.

276: Copp's pride: Ibid., 517-21.

276: Copp's brother: Ibid., 523-25. Sherman, in his memoirs, asserted that the original surrender terms he offered Johnston were approved by President Lincoln in their meeting aboard the steamer *Queen* near City Point in March 1865. Sherman published Admiral David Porter's written account of the meeting, based on notes Porter took that day. Porter wrote that he did not regret taking careful notes, "as circumstances afterward occurred (Stanton's ill conduct toward Sherman) which tended to cast odium on General Sherman for allowing such liberal terms to Jos. Johnston. Could the conversation that occurred on board the *Queen*, between the President and General Sherman, have been known, Sherman would not, and could not, have been censored. Mr. Lincoln, had he lived, would have acquitted the general of any blame, for he was only carrying out the President's wishes."

277: After the: Copp: *Reminiscences*, 525-26.

277: When the last: Ibid., 527-28.

277: The Copp brothers: Ibid., 528.

## **June 8, 1865**

### **Homecoming**

278: Seventeen days: Ransom Sargent's letters to Maria French Sargent are the principal source for his experiences in this chapter. A transcript of the letters, provided by the late Mather



Cleveland, is in the Rauner special collections at DC. Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, Petersburg, March 12, 1865, and Concord, N.H., June 8, 1865.

278: The “hateful business”: Lord: *A History of the Town of New London*, 411; Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, near Chickahominy, June 1, 1864, near Petersburg, June 12 and 20, DC.

279: Now that: *Independent Democrat*, June 16, 1865.

279: Lawmakers had: *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 7 and June 14, 1865.

279: Late that: Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, Concord, June 8, 1865 (“We haven’t had enough sleep to keep a man alive until last night and I am half crazy,” he wrote her), DC; *Independent Democrat*, June 16, 1865; Joseph A. Gilmore to Abraham Lincoln, Concord, March 31, 1864, LOC; *New Hampshire Statesman*, June 10, 1865.

280: As Sargent’s: Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, Concord, June 8, 1865, DC; *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 14, 1865.

280: Morning trains: *Independent Democrat*, June 16, 1865; *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 14; description of the horse guard’s uniforms is from the essay “The Governor’s Horse Guard” in Volume I of James O. Lyford’s *History of Concord*.

281: This auspicious: *Concord Monitor*, June 8, 1865; Page: *Abraham Lincoln in New Hampshire* (2009 update), 54.

281: If Smyth’s: *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 14, 1865.

282: Smyth supported: Ibid.

282: The new: Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, Before Petersburg, Sept. 22, 1864, DC.

283: It is unlikely: Ransom Sargent to Maria Sargent, Concord, N.H., June 8, 1865, DC; Lord: *A History of the Town of New London*, 528.

## What happened to them

284: Liberty Billings: Trefousse, Hans Louis: *Historical Dictionary of Reconstruction*, Greenwood, 1991, 79, 183; Hutchinson, *History of the Fourth*, Roster, 29.

284: M. Annie: Buzzell pension record, NARA.

284: William E.: Richardson: *William E. Chandler, Republican*; Lord, Edward Oliver (ed.): *History of the Ninth*, 676-77

284: Charles Carleton: Griffis: *Charles Carleton Coffin*, 348.

284: Elbridge J.: Parker (ed.): *History of the City of Nashua, N.H.*, 265-66. Charles D. Copp's Congressional Medal of Honor was awarded in 1890 for his actions as a second lieutenant in the Ninth New Hampshire at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. The citation reads that he "seized the regimental colors, the color bearer having been shot down, and, waving them, rallied the regiment under a heavy fire."

285: Clark Cragin: Cragin's pension record has been posted at [www.geocities.ws/craginhistory/RobertCCragin1844.htm](http://www.geocities.ws/craginhistory/RobertCCragin1844.htm)

285: Edward E.: A report in the Aug. 19, 1863, *New Hampshire Patriot* includes a quotation from a Republican legislator about Cross – "He was a d—d copperhead, and I'm glad he's shot" – and a statement from John P. Hale encouraging people not to donate to a fund for a statue of Cross.

285: John A.: Samuels, Edward Augustus: *Somerville, Past and Present: An Illustrated Historical Souvenir*, Henry and Kimball, Somerville, Mass., 1897, 513; Turner, Walter Frye: *Representative Men of Somerville, From the Incorporation of the City in 1872 to 1898*, self-published, 1898, 58. The Peterborough monument guards the town's old GAR Hall.

285: Ferdinand Davis: Little: *The Seventh Regiment*, 518; Brackett: *History of Pomona*, 631-32.

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Caleb Dyer,” from Enfield Historical Society News, reprinted in “Charge Bayonets!” (Fifth New Hampshire re-enactors newsletter), June 1992; Wier release paper (this July 2, 1880, document, signed by Gov. Natt Head, instructed Warden John C. Pillsbury to release Wier), NHSA.

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