


# The Aftermath of Battle

## THE BURIAL OF THE CIVIL WAR DEAD

by Meg Groeling

EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



## ENDNOTES

### Prologue

The description of the Mechanicsville incident is combined from:

- Personal correspondence with Paul Perrault, public historian for Mechanicsville, New York.
- Randall, Ruth Painter. *Colonel Elmer Ellsworth: A biography of Lincoln's friend and first hero of the Civil War*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1960, 261.

The description of Ellsworth's death is from:

- Ingraham, Charles Anson. "Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, First Hero of the Civil War." *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. v. 1, no. 4, June, 1918, 23-25.

## Chapter One: “Many a one of us will be cold tomorrow”

“Many a one of us will be cold tomorrow:”

- Pohanka, Brian C. and Schroeder, Patrick A. *With the 11th New York Fire Zouaves in Camp, Battle, and Prison*. Lynchburg, Virginia: Schroeder Publications, 2011, 185.

Information about the First Battle of Bull Run is from:

- Detzer, David. *Donnybrook: the Battle of Bull Run*. Orlando, Austin, New York, Dan Diego, Toronto, London” Harcourt, Inc. 2004.
- Gottfried, Bradley M. *The Maps of First Bull Run: An Atlas of the First Bull Run (Manassas) Campaign including the Battle of Ball’s Bluff, June-October 1861*. New York and California: Savas Beatie, 2009.

More from Arthur Alcock’s narratives, “Water, water, for God’s sake,” “. . . don’t step on me,” etc.:

- Pohanka, 198-203.

A detailed history of the Sullivan Ballou debacle may be found at:

- Historynet. “Sullivan Ballou: The Macabre Fate of an American Civil War Major.” World History Group, June, 2006. <http://www.historynet.com/sullivan-ballou-the-macabre-fate-of-a-american-civil-war-major.htm>
- U. S. Government. *Reports on the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*. V. 3, 458-460.

## Chapter Two: Rooting Hogs and Angels Glow

Henry Stanley’s account of the day before the Battle of Shiloh:

- Stanley, Henry M. *The Autobiography of Sir Henry M. Stanley*. Reprinted England: Kessinger Publishing, L.L.C., 2010, 188.

Description of the Battle of Shiloh, including casualty numbers:

- <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/battles/tn003.htm>.

Quotes in this chapter are from:

- Barber, Lucius. *Army Memoirs of Lucius W. Barber: Company D, 15th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, May 24, 1861, to September 30, 1865*. New York: Time-Life Education: Facsimile edition, 1984.
- Goldfield, David. *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation*. London, Sydney, New York, New Dehli: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011 231.
- Sword, Wiley. *Shiloh: Bloody April*. Ohio: Morningside Press, 2001, 378.
- Sword, 379.
- Sword, 428.
- Sword, 429.
- Sword, 431.

Correspondence between Beauregard and Grant concerning burial of battle dead:

- <http://www.nytimes.com/1862/04/17/news/correspondence-between-beauregard-and-gengrant-beauregard-s-request.html>.

Information regarding General Orders concerning the burial of the dead after battles:

- [http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national\\_cemeteries/development.html](http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/development.html)

Ambrose Bierce quotation from:

- Bierce, Ambrose, "What I Saw of Shiloh." *The Complete Short Stories of Ambrose Bierce*. Nebraska: Bison Books, 1964.

The story of the solution to "glowing soldiers" by students Bill Martin and Jon Curtin may be found in several places, including:

- <http://www.americancivilwarstory.com/angels-glow-shiloh.html>

### Chapter Three: Fading Light Dims the Sight

The story of the men at the campfire on July 2, 1862 comes from a close reading of the regimental records of the 16th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, Company F. Ages at enlistment, ranks, kinship, wounding or death all come together in this account of one of the units camped on the grounds of the Berkeley Plantation the night "Taps" was played for the first time:

- <http://www.migenweb.org/michiganinthewar/infantry/16compf.htm>

Historical information concerning the origin of the bugle call itself comes from:

- History Channel. "Origin of Taps." Recorded 2001. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ImeNKft0WaI>
- Keyes, Allison. Interview with Jari Villanueva. "Historian Explains the Origin of 'Taps.'" NPR Music; May 30, 2011 <http://www.npr.org/2011/05/30/136721508/historian-explains-the-origin-of-taps>
- YouTube. "The Buglar's Cry: The Origin of Sounding Taps." Taps for Veterans." Recorded July 11, 2007. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nhtr5J00ntA>

The false story concerning Robert Ellicombe is discussed in several places:

- <http://www.snopes.com/music/songs/taps.asp>
- <http://www.truthorfiction.com/taps/>
- <http://www.legion.org/magazine/212632/'all-well-safely-rest'>

### Chapter Four: "Bodies Laid in Our Dooryards"

Dialogue between Gardner and Gibson is a generalized attempt to personalize these men. Basic information concerning Alexander Gardner's work for Mathew Brady and Brady in general can be found in several places including:

- Horan, James D. *Mathew Brady: Historian with a Camera*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1955.
- National Park Service. "Photography at Antietam." Last updated September, 2015. <http://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/photography.htm>
- Smithsonian Institution. National Portrait Gallery. "Mathew Brady's Portraits." <http://www.npg.si.edu/exh/brady/gallery/gallery.html>

The text of the review of October 20, 1862 in the *New York Times* can be found at:

- <http://www.nytimes.com/1862/10/20/news/brady-s-photographs-pictures-of-the-dead-at-antietam.html>

Quotes in this chapter are from:

- Fletcher, Samuel. *Walking the Woods: Ramblings on the West Woods at Antietam National Battlefield Park*. "To the West Woods: The Correspondence of Henry Ropes, 20th Massachusetts, Entry 15." <http://walkingthewestwoods.blogspot.com/2011/02/only-9-were-left-standing-company-h.html>
- Hale, Charles A. "The Story of My Personal Experience at the Battle of Antietam." John R. Brooke Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## Chapter Five: "A Singleness of Spirit"

Quotes in this chapter are from:

- *Daily KOS*, "For the Real War Horses in the Civil War: It was No Spielberg Movie," October 14, 2012, <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2012/10/15/1144510/-For-The-Real-War-Horses-in-the-Civil-War-It-Was-no-Spielberg-Movie#>
- Grace, Deborah. "The Horse in the Civil War," June, 2000. [http://www.reillysbattery.org/Newsletter/Jul00/deborah\\_grace.htm](http://www.reillysbattery.org/Newsletter/Jul00/deborah_grace.htm)
- Knox, Jack. "The General's Mount," Savage/Goodner Camp 1513, <http://dixieweb.com/Camp1513/roderick.htm>
- Segroves, Greg. "Rienzi," *Reflections of an Uncommon Common Man: Political, Social, and Historical Interpretation At Its Best*, June, 2013. [http://gregsegroves.blogspot.com/2013/06/rienzi\\_2.html](http://gregsegroves.blogspot.com/2013/06/rienzi_2.html)

Information regarding differences between Union and Confederate mounts:

- Grace, Deborah. "The Horse in the Civil War," June, 2000. [http://www.reillysbattery.org/Newsletter/Jul00/deborah\\_grace.htm](http://www.reillysbattery.org/Newsletter/Jul00/deborah_grace.htm)
- Larson, C. Kay. "The Horses of War," Opinionator, *New York Times*, February 2, 2013. [http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/02/the-horses-of-war/?\\_r=0](http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/02/the-horses-of-war/?_r=0)
- Lucas, Michael C. "Civil War Horse," High Bridge 1865-Blog of the High Bridge Battlefield Museum, 2005. <http://civilwarcavalry.com/?p=3521>
- Wittenberg, Eric J. "The Loyal Steeds: Horses in the Civil War," *Rantings of a Civil War Historian*, December, 2012. <http://civilwarcavalry.com/?p=3521>

## Chapter Six: "Your Obedient Servant"

The story of Privates John Cady and Dan Groves comes from a close reading of the regimental records of the 1st Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Company D. Ages at enlistment, ranks, kinship, wounding or death all come together in this account of a battlefield rescue. After his wounding and hospitalization, Cady was transferred to the Invalid Corps in January of 1864, after Chancellorsville.

- <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004198787;view=1up;seq=34>

Letterman biographical information is from:

- McGaugh, Scott. *Surgeon in Blue: Jonathan Letterman, the Civil War Doctor Who Pioneered Battlefield Care*, New York: Arcade Publishing, 2013.

Letterman quotes are from:

- Letterman, Jonathan. *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1866.

Statistics concerning the Army of the Potomac:

- Civil War Trust. Civil War Casualties. “The Cost of War: Killed, Wounded, Captured, and Missing.” <http://www.civilwar.org/education/civil-war-casualties.html>.
- Letterman—various places within the text, but especially 50, and 76-86.

## Chapter Seven: Johnny Won't Be Marching Home

Quotes from Alfred Bellard:

- Donald, David H., ed. *Gone For a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1991.

George Allen, Jane Moore, Jonathan Letterman, and other quotes are from the following sources:

- Coco, Gregory A. *A Strange and Blighted Land: Gettysburg, The Aftermath of a Battle*. Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1995, 210.
- Devine, Shauna. *Learning From the Wounded: The Civil War and the Rise of American Medical Science*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014, 13-52, 197.
- Letterman, Jonathan. *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1866.
- McGaugh, Scott. *Surgeon in Blue: Jonathan Letterman, the Civil War Doctor Who Pioneered Battlefield Care*, New York: Arcade Publishing, 2013. 118-119 144-145.

## Chapter Eight: From the Battlefield to Home

There are many sources for descriptions of Elmer Ellsworth's funeral:

- Largent, Kimberly J. “Surgeons and Pharmacists Cash in on the War.” February, 2009. [http://civilwarwiki.net/wiki/Embalming\\_Surgeons/\\_Undertakers](http://civilwarwiki.net/wiki/Embalming_Surgeons/_Undertakers).
- Largent, Kimberly J. “Embalming comes in vogue during Civil War.” *The Washington Times*, April 2, 2009. <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/apr/2/the-father-of-modern-embalming/?page=all>

Histories of the art of embalming and its effect on the war dead, including quotes:

- Alcott, Louisa May. *Hospital Sketches: An Army Nurse's True Account of her Experiences during the Civil War*. Massachusetts: J. Redpath, 1863.
- Aspiz, Harold. *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2003, 176.
- Eggleston, Lori L. The Guardian of the Artifacts Blog. “Embalming in the Civil War.” November 15, 2012. <http://guardianoftheartifacts.blogspot.com/2012/11/embalming-in-civil-war.html>

- Faust, Drew Gilpin. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.
- Laderman, Gary. *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883*. Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1999, 152.
- Mayer, Robert. *Embalming: History, Theory, and Practice*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011.
- Public Broadcasting System. "The American Experience: Death and the Civil War." 2012.
- Smith, Suzanne E. *To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African American Way of Death*. Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2010, 34.
- University of North Texas. Digital copy of General Grant's Order No. 39. <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph186680/m1/1/>

## Chapter Nine: All Was Confusion

Helen Gilson's singing to the wounded at Gettysburg and other places:

- Freemon, Frank R. *Gangrene and Glory: Medical Care during the American Civil War*. Urbana and Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001, 109.
- McClean, Maggie. "Civil War Women: Women of the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras 1849-1877." *CivilWarWomen* Blog, March 2, 2008. <http://civilwarwomenblog.com/helen-gilson/>

Information concerning hymns and songs popular with troops on both sides:

- Rhoads, Mark D. "Hymns in the Lives of the Civil War." *Singing the Songs of Zion: Soldiers' Hymn Collection and Hymn Singing in the Civil War*. 2012. <http://markrhoads.com/soldiershymns/index.htm>

Quotes and observations concerning the Battle of Gettysburg from Jonathan Letterman:

- Letterman, Jonathan. *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1866, 153-159.

After the battle, assorted quotes and diary entries:

- Coco, Gregory A. *A Strange and Blighted Land—Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle*. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Thomas Publications, 1995.
- Hancock, Cornelia. *Letters of a Civil War Nurse*. Reprint Edition—Nebraska: Bison Books, 1998
- Hedgpeth, Steve. *What They Did There: Profiles from the Battle of Gettysburg*. amazon Digital services, Inc. April 1, 2014.
- Murphy, Jim. *The Long Road to Gettysburg: Excerpts from the Diaries of Lt. John Dooley and Cpl. Thomas Galway*. New York: Clarion Books, 1992.
- Sheldon, George. *When the Smoke Cleared at Gettysburg: The Tragic Aftermath of the Bloodiest Battle of the Civil War*. Nashville, Tennessee: Cumberland House, 2003, 139-141.
- Woodworth, Steven E. *Beneath A Northern Sky: A Short History of the Gettysburg Campaign*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2008.

## Chapter Ten: The Last Full Measure

Descriptions of Lincoln, Lamon, and Hay prior to the deliverance of Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg may be found in:

- Borlitt, Gabor. *The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech that Nobody Knows*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster, 2006.
- Taliaferro, John. *All the Great Prizes: The Life of John Hay from Lincoln to Roosevelt*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster, 2013, 75-77.
- Zeitz, Joshua. *Lincoln's Boys: John Hay, John Nicolay, and the War for Lincoln's Image*. New York: Viking Press, 2014, 140-146.

Information on the breakup of Camp Letterman:

- Coco, Gregory A. *A Strange and Blighted Land: Gettysburg—the Aftermath of a Battle*. Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1995, 234-237.
- Sheldon, George. *When the Smoke Cleared at Gettysburg: The Tragic Aftermath of the Bloodiest Battle of the Civil War*. Nashville, Tennessee: Cumberland House, 2003, 238-241.

## Chapter Eleven: Sick of States Rights

Designing the cemetery including “. . . sick of state's rights.”:

- *About North Georgia* Blog. “Chattanooga National Cemetery.” 2015, [http://www.aboutnorthgeorgia.com/ang/Chattanooga\\_National\\_Cemetery](http://www.aboutnorthgeorgia.com/ang/Chattanooga_National_Cemetery)
- Catton, Bruce. *This Hallowed Ground: A History of the Civil War*. New York: Vintage Civil War Library, 2012, 302.
- U. S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service site. “Civil War Era Cemeteries: Honoring Those Who Served.” Chattanooga National Cemetery. [http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national\\_cemeteries/tennessee/Chattanooga\\_National\\_Cemetery.html](http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/tennessee/Chattanooga_National_Cemetery.html)

National Cemetery Information:

- U. S. Department of Veteran's Affairs, National Cemetery Administration, April, 2015, <http://www.cem.va.gov/cem/cems/listcem.asp>

Andrews Raiders/The Great Locomotive Race:

- Bonds, Russell S. *Stealing the General: The Great Locomotive Chase and the First Medal of Honor*. Tardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2008.
- Find A Grave. “Great Locomotive Chase: Andrews Raiders.” [http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national\\_cemeteries/tennessee/Chattanooga\\_National\\_Cemetery.html](http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/tennessee/Chattanooga_National_Cemetery.html)

German POW Graves:

- Roadside America. RoadsideAmerica.com. “POW Graves.” <http://www.roadsideamerica.com/story/24204>

Silverdale Cemetery:

- Wormsley, Jerry A. “A Condensed History of the Silverdale Confederate Cemetery.” Chattanooga, Tennessee: Chattanooga Area Relic and Historical

Association, January, 2004.  
<http://www.thundercreekharley.com/custompage2.htm>

Chattanooga Confederate Cemetery

- Epperson, Robert A. "History of the Chattanooga Confederate Cemetery." *Sons of Confederate Veterans*, N. B. Forrest Camp #3, October, 2007, <http://www.scv-nbforrest3.com/cemetery.htm>

## Chapter Twelve: Ending the Eternal Patrol

The story of Seaman Flemming's sighting of the Hunley is told in several places:

- Hicks, Brian and Kropf, Schuyler. *Raising the Hunley: The Remarkable History and Recovery of the Lost Confederate Submarine*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2002, 70-75.
- Klein, Christopher. "The *Hunley's* Daring Mission, 150 years Ago," *History in the Headlines—HistoryNet*. February 17, 2014. <http://www.history.com/news/the-hunleys-daring-submarine-mission-150-years-ago>

The *Hunley's* story is not ended. There are several news accounts of findings and events concerning the ship on line and in the news:

- Associated Press. "Digging History: 150 years after sinking, Confederate submarine slowly reveals its secrets." *FoxNews.com*, January 30, 2015. <http://www.foxnews.com/science/2015/01/30/150-years-after-sinking-confederate-submarine-slowly-reveals-its-secrets/>
- Drye, Willie. "Pictures: Civil War Sub Finally Revealed." *National Geographic*, January 31, 2012. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2012/01/pictures/120131-hunley-civil-war-first-submarine-science-nation/>
- Gast, Phil. "The *Hunley*: Zeroing in on what caused Civil War submarine's sinking." *CNN News*. February 15, 2014. <http://www.cnn.com/2014/02/14/travel/civil-war-submarine-hunley/>

For those interested in learning more:

- Friends of the *Hunley*. <http://www.hunley.org>

## Chapter Thirteen: A Death-like Stillness Prevails

The fictionalized scene between Mary Custis Lee and her cousin Lieutenant Orton Williams comes from information found in:

- DeVito, Carlo. *Mrs. Lee's Rose Garden: The True Story of the Founding of Arlington Cemetery*. Kennebunkport, Maine: Cider Mill Press, 2015.
- Perry, John. *Mrs. Robert E. Lee: The Lady of Arlington*. Oregon: Multnomah Press, 2003.

Information about Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs and the founding of Arlington Cemetery:

- DeVito, Carlo. *Mrs. Lee's Rose Garden: The True Story of the Founding of Arlington Cemetery*. Kennebunkport, Maine: Cider Mill Press, 2015.



- Miller, David W. *Second Only to Grant: Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs*. Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Books, 2000. 258-61.

## Chapter Fourteen: One Vast Cemetery

Many diary entries and letters remain from this part of the Civil War. Soldiers were experienced, and the general area of the Wilderness campaign was familiar to those who had fought in earlier battles. I have chosen one from:

- Rhea, Gordon C. *The Battle of the Wilderness May 5-6, 1864*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004, 77-78.
- Wilkeson, Frank. *Turned Inside Out: Recollections of a Private Soldier in the Army of the Potomac*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Battle information, including geographic:

- Civil War Trust. "The Wilderness: Spotsylvania and Orange Counties, Virginia." <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/the-wilderness.html>
- Dunkerly, Robert M., Pfanz, Donald and Ruth, David. *No Turning Back: A Guide to the 1864 Overland Campaign from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May 4-June 13, 1864* (Emerging Civil War Series). California: Savas Beatie, 2014.
- McPherson, James A. *Battle Cry of Freedom*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1968, 635-36.
- Pfanz, Donald. "The Bone Collectors: The Creation of Wilderness cemetery #1." *Mysteries and Conundrums Blog*, September 7, 2010. <https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/09/07/the-bone-collectors-creation-of-wilderness-cemetery-1/>

## Chapter Fifteen: The Skeleton Hunt

Information concerning the creation of the National Cemeteries:

- Hennessy, John. "The obscure Carpenter farm, and a soldier's grave." *Mysteries and Conundrums Blog*, November 1, 2010. <https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/11/01/the-obscure-carpenter-farm-and-a-soldiers-grave/>
- Pfanz, Donald. "Wilderness Military Cemetery #2." *Mysteries and Conundrums Blog*, May 27, 2010. <https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/05/27/wilderness-military-cemetery-2/>
- Pfanz, Donald. "The Bone Collectors: The Creation of Wilderness cemetery #1." *Mysteries and Conundrums Blog*, September 7, 2010. <https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/09/07/the-bone-collectors-creation-of-wilderness-cemetery-1/>
- Pfanz, Donald. "Skeleton Hunt: Spotsylvania 1865." *Mysteries and Conundrums Blog*, April 11, 2011. <https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2011/04/11/skeleton-hunt-spotsylvania-1865/>

## Chapter Sixteen: Atwater's List from the Stockade of Death

The interaction between Clara Barton and Dorence Atwater is fact, although there was no transcript of their exact words. Information, including descriptions about each one, comes from :

- Ancestry. "Keeper of the Death Rolls." Fold3 Blog. September 4, 2013. <https://spotlights.fold3.com/2013/09/04/keeper-of-the-death-rolls/>
- National Museum of Civil War Medicine. Clara Barton's Missing Soldiers Office Museum. 2015. <http://www.civilwarmed.org/clara-barton-museum/>
- National Park Service. "Andersonville: Dorence Atwater." [http://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/dorence\\_atwater.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/dorence_atwater.htm)
- National Park Service. "Andersonville: Clara Barton and Andersonville," [http://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/clara\\_barton.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/clara_barton.htm)
- Staff—Clara Barton Missing Soldiers Office. "Clara Barton: More Than Just a Nurse." June 20, 2014. <http://cbmso.blogspot.com/2014/06/dorence-atwater-part-2.html>

A copy of Atwater's List may be downloaded at:

- <https://archive.org/details/listofunionsoldi01atwa>

## Chapter Seventeen: Hollywood: A Reinterment Story

The scene of Freeman's death comes from a variety of sources, including several Freeman obituaries:

- American Antiquarian Society. "Douglas Southall Freeman." 1953, 288-290. <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44817440.pdf>
- Williams, Richard G. "Douglas Southall Freeman." Old Virginia Blog, May 22, 2007. <http://oldvirginiablog.blogspot.com/2007/05/douglas-southall-freeman.html>
- Johnson, David. *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Co., 2002.
- Johnson, D. Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953). (2014, May 27). In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. [http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Freeman\\_Douglas\\_Southall\\_1886-1953](http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Freeman_Douglas_Southall_1886-1953).

Hollywood Cemetery:

- Greenfield, Rebecca. "Our First Public Parks: The Forgotten History of Cemeteries." The *Atlantic* Blog, March 16, 2011. <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/03/our-first-public-parks-the-forgotten-history-of-cemeteries/71818/>
- Hall, Sharon. "Honoring the Fallen: Ladies Hollywood Memorial Association." *Digging History* Blog. January 6, 2014. <http://digging-history.com/2014/01/06/honoring-the-fallen-ladies-hollywood-memorial-association/>
- Hollywood Cemetery Web Page. "About," "Our History," and "Confederate Soldiers." <http://www.hollywoodcemetery.org/about/about-hollywood-cemetery>
- Janney, Caroline. *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of

- North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Lett, Kevin. *RootsWeb*. “Famous Burials of Hollywood Cemetery,” 2001. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~vahenric/hollywd.html>
  - Williams, Tate. “In the Garden Cemetery: The Revival of America’s first Urban Parks.” American Forests Blog, Summer 2014. <http://www.americanforests.org/magazine/article/in-the-garden-cemetery-the-revival-of-americas-first-urban-parks/>

Monument To the Confederate War Dead:

- Riggan, Phil. *Richmond On the James* Blog. “Monument to the Confederate War Dead at Hollywood,” February 25, 2013. <https://rotj.wordpress.com/2010/02/25/monument-to-confederate-war-dead-at-hollywood/>

## Chapter Eighteen: The Last Civil War Veteran

Who was really “the last?”

- Serrano, Richard A. *Last of the Blue and the Gray: Old Men, Stolen Glory, and the Mystery that Outlived the Civil War*. Washington, D. C: Smithsonian Books, 2013.

Life and Obituary:

- GPD. *VT Veterans Today*. “Albert Woolson: The Last Living Civil War Veteran.” February 16, 2009. <http://www.veteranstoday.com/2009/02/16/albert-woolson-the-last-living-civil-war-veteran/>
- Unknown. “Last Union Army Veteran Dies: Drummer at 17, He Lived to 109.” “Albert Woolson of Duluth Also Was Sole Survivor of Grand Army of Republic.” New York: New York *Times*, August 2, 1956. Reprinted on line: [http://localhistory.morrisville.edu/sites/gar\\_post/woolson.html](http://localhistory.morrisville.edu/sites/gar_post/woolson.html)

## Epilogue: Counting and Recounting the Civil War Dead

Early Counts:

- Fox, William. *Regimental Losses in the Civil War: A treatise on the extent and nature of the mortuary losses in the Union regiments, with full and exhaustive statistics compiled from the official records on file in the state military bureaus and at Washington*. Albany: Albany Publishing Company, 1889. Digitalized by Google: <https://archive.org/details/reglossescivilwar00foxwrich>
- Livermore, Thomas. *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War 1861-65*. Boston and New York: Mifflin and Company, 1900. Digitalized by Google: <https://archive.org/details/numbersandlosse00livegoog>

Recount:

- Civil War Trust. Civil War Casualties. “The Cost of War: Killed, Wounded, Captured, and Missing.” <http://www.civilwar.org/education/civil-war-casualties.html>

- Hacker, David J. "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead." *Journal of Civil War History*, December 2011: vol. 57, no. 4, 307-348.
- Hacker, David J. "Recounting the Dead." *Disunion*. The New York Times, The Opinion Pages "Opinionator," September 20, 2011. December 2011:
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. "Death and Dying." National Park Service. Reprinted from *The Civil War Remembered*. Fort Washington, Pennsylvania: National Park Service Handbook, 2015. <http://www.nps.gov/articles/death-and-dying.htm>
- Weaver, Mark. "Civil War Casualties." AmericanCivilWarStory.com. <http://www.americancivilwarstory.com/civil-war-casualties.html>

