



***HELLMIRA: The Union's Most Infamous POW Camp of the Civil War—Elmira, NY***

By Derek D. Maxfield

## Footnotes

### Prologue

Quotes regarding appearance of Thomas Botts are from:

- Diane Janowski, *In Their Honor: Soldiers of the Confederacy The Elmira Prison Camp* (Elmira, NY: New York History Review Press: 2009) 26-27.

## Chapter 1: The Refuse of War

Figures on Civil War POWS are from:

- J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (2011): 307-348, <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/465917/2011.0061>; Margaret E. Wagner, ed., et al, *The Library of Congress Civil War Desk Reference* (New York: Grand Central Press, 2002) 584.

Prisoner deaths and rates are from:

- U.S. War Department, *Medical and Surgical History*, part II, vol. V: 63.

Union retaliation is suggested by:

- Mike Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002); also see Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001).

Quotes "the striking consistency of..." and "But the existence of..." from:

- Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010) 14.

Account of Leroy Walker from:

- Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative* (New York: Random House, 1958).

Shiloh casualties:

- Wagner, ed., et al, *The Library of Congress*, 552.

POWs from Ft. Sumter and Camp Van Dorn:

- Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997).

Meigs quote "He keeps the muster-list..."

- *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. III: 8. (hereafter cited as OR).

Exchange between McClellan and Scott:

- Ibid.

Hoffman bio information:

- “William Hoffman,” Aztec Club, accessed July 18, 2018, <http://www.aztecclub.com/bios/hoffman.htm>.

Winder bio info:

- Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959).

Meigs correspondence with Hoffman:

- The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. III: 8. (hereafter cited as OR).

Shiloh casualty figures:

- Wagner, ed., et al, The Library of Congress, 552.

Quotes from Speer beginning “rules of conflict...”

- Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 98.

Dix-Hill cartel agreement:

- William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*. (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1930).

Information regarding the Emancipation Proclamation can be found:

- Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010). Also see William K. Klingman, *Abraham Lincoln and the Road to Emancipation* (New York: Viking Press, 2001); Harold Holzer and Sarah V. Gabbard, eds., *Lincoln and Freedom: Slavery, Emancipation, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007).

Seddon quote “be recognized in any way as soldiers...”:

- Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 109.

Speer quote “Statistics indicate...”:

- Ibid, 108.

Davis quote “be charged with...”:

- Ibid, 105.

Ould quote ““The Confederate Government...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. V: 950.

Ould bio info:

- Clement A. Evans, *Confederate Military History*, Vol. I (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Co., 1899).

Ludlow bio:

- Obituary for William H. Ludlow, The New York Times, 29 September 1890. Retrieved July 18, 2018.

Halleck quote “no Confederate officer...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. V: 696.

General Orders #207:

- OR, series II, vol. VI: 78.

Davis quote “Your dispatch of yesterday...” from:

- OR, series I, Vol. XXIV: 202.

Info on Gratiot Street Prison:

- Speers, *Portals to Hell*.

Dix quote “undrained and ungraded...” from:

- Ibid, 67.

Info on Camp Butler:

- Ibid.

Info on Camp Morton:

- Ibid.

Info on De Camp General Hospital:

- Ibid.

Info on Point Lookout:

- Ibid.

Info on Rock Island:

- Ibid.

Statistics on Rock Island:

- Benton McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island: The Story of a Civil War Prison* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 23.

## **Chapter 2: To Exchange or Not to Exchange**

Info on Grant's elevation from:

- Bruce Catton, *Grant Takes Command: 1863-1865* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

Overland Campaign stats:

- Margaret E. Wagner, ed., et al, *The Library of Congress Civil War Desk Reference* (New York: Grand Central Press, 2002) 304.

Farnsworth quote "We were informed...":

- Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), 206.

Info on Belle Isle:

- Ibid, 205.

Info on Salisbury:

- Ibid, 209.

Winder quote "declared the place..." from:

- Ibid, 212.

Hitchcock quote "Those authorities have..." from:

- *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. VII:582 (hereafter cited as OR).

Hoffman quote "that the military prisons..." from:

- Ibid, 595.

Townsend suggestion from:

- Ibid.

Ould quotes beginning “You are doubtless...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VI: 770.

Butler quote “consent officially that the person...” from:

- Ibid, 771.

Grant quotes beginning “Your report respecting...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 50.

Ould proposal to Grant:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 1063.

Info on Ould’s arrest:

- OR, series II, vol. VIII: 529.

Grant’s renewal of exchange:

- OR, series II, vol. VIII: 170.

Cloyd quote “drawing of Elmira prison...” from:

- Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010) 24.

POW stats from:

- Speer, *Portals to Hell*, xiv; Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity*, 1.

### **Chapter 3: The Chemung Valley Plays Host**

Hoffman quote “I respectfully suggest...” from:

- The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. VII:152 (hereafter cited as OR).

Elmira history info from:

- Diane Janowski, "Elmira History: Treaty of Painted Post signed in Elmira," *Star Gazette*, Dec. 31, 2014, <https://www.stargazette.com/story/news/local/twin-tiers-roots/2014/12/31/history-treaty-painted-post/20919343/>.
- Joyce Tice, "History of Elmira NY: Building the Downtown," *Elmira Downtown*, accessed July 25, 2018, <http://www.elmiradowntown.com/post.php?pid=15>.

Quote about draft rendezvous "twenty-four regiments of infantry..." from:

- Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002) 12.

Hoffman quote "the barracks will be enclosed by a suitable fence..." from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 152.

Eastman bio info from:

- Julia Lavanger, "Seth Eastman", *MNOpedia*, Last modified: June 13, 2018, <http://www.mnopedia.org/person/eastman-seth-1808-1875>.

Info on Mary Henderson from:

- "Aunt Phillis's Cabin," University of Virginia, accessed March 31, 2019, <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/proslav/eastmanhp.html>.

Eastman quote "These barracks were..." from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 157.

Eastman's preparations:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 424.

Alexander quote "They may soon become offensive..." from:

- Ibid, 465.

Alexander's recommendations:

- Ibid.

Info on Shohola wreck from:

- "Terrible Collision on the Erie Railroad," *New York Tribune*, July 18, 1864.
- Horigan, *Elmira*, 39.

Keiley quote "We were roused..." from:

- Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), 243.

Keiley bio info from:

- “An “Old Man” at the First Battle of Petersburg: Anthony M. Keiley”, *The Siege of Petersburg Online*, Accessed July 5, 2018, <http://www.beyondthecrater.com/news-and-notes/an-old-man-at-the-first-battle-of-petersburg-anthony-m-keiley/>.

Hoffman quote “lease [of] a half-acre lot...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 505.

Cemetery lease info from:

- Ibid.

Jones bio info from:

- Horigan, Elmira, 92.

Completion of garrison and camp:

- Ibid, 527.

#### **Chapter Four: Trouble in the Wind**

Sanger bio info from:

- Richard A. Brand, “Clinical Risk and Judicial Reasoning: Eugene F. Sanger, AM, MD, 1829–1897”, U.S. National Library of Medicine, Published November 26, 2008, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2628512/>.

Sanger quote “seven thousand men...” from:

- *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. VII:604 (hereafter cited as OR).

Info on observation platforms:



- Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001) 23.

Keiley quote “I am surprised Barnum...” from:

- M. Keiley, *In Vinculus; or, The Prisoner of War. Being, The Experience of a Rebel in Two Federal Pens, Interspersed With Reminiscences of the Late War; Anecdotes of Southern Generals, Etc*, (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866)158.

Keiley journal observation “Air pure, location healthy, no epidemic...” from:

- Ibid, 174.

Keiley quote “a club-footed little gentleman...” from:

- Ibid, 138.

Sanger quote “an increase of quantity...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 683.

Eastman quote “I would . . . request...” from:

- Ibid, 692.

Hoffman quote “You are authorized...” from:

- Ibid, 785.

Munger report “The weather is cold...” from:

- Ibid, 877.

Tracy’s response to Munger:

- Ibid, 878.

Tracy bio info from:

- “Benjamin F. Tracy”, UVA Miller Center, Accessed July1, 2018, <https://millercenter.org/president/bharrison/essays/tracy-1889-secretary-of-the-navy>.

Hoffman orders “invalid prisoners of...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 894.

Keiley quote “Having beat up England...” from:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 180.

Simpson report "The physical condition..." from:

- OR, series II, vol, VII: 894.

Hoffman report "It appears that both..." from:

- Ibid.

Horigan quote "it was Tracy..." from:

- Horigan, *Elmira*, 131.

Barnes report from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 1093-94.

Sanger quote "How does the matter..." from:

- Ibid.

Sanger quote "'I cannot be held..." from:

- Ibid.

Horigan quote "Undoubtedly..." from:

- Horigan, *Elmira*, 131.

## **Chapter 5: Into Winter**

Hoffman authorizations beginning "building [be] 100 feet..." from:

- *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901), series II, vol. VII:918 (hereafter cited as OR).

Project evolution info:

- Ibid, 1042.

Quotes concerning camp rations from:

- OR, series II, vol. VII: 1104; A. M. Keiley, *In Vinculus; or, The Prisoner of War. Being, The Experience of a Rebel in Two Federal Pens, Interspersed With Reminiscences of the Late War; Anecdotes of Southern Generals, Etc*, (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866) 145-46; Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001) 34.

Munger report “2,500 jackets...” from:

- OR, series II, vol. VIII: 76; OR, series II, vol. VII: 1213.

Smallpox concerns found in:

- OR series II, vol. VIII: 24.

Stocker bio info found in:

- Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002) 146-149.

Horigan on Stocker “conspiracy of silence”:

- Ibid, 149.

On Colt’s departure and gift “An ornately designed chalice...” found in:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 65.

Hoffman’s return and elevation found in:

- OR, series II, vol. VIII: 182.

Tracy’s concerns “The detachment of prisoners...” found in:

- Ibid, 232.

Winter death rates found in:

- Horigan, *Elmira*, 158, 166, 170.

Huffman quote “the biggest flood...” found:

- James Huffman, *Ups and Downs of a Confederate Soldier* (New York: William E. Rudge’s Sons, 1940) 103.

Huffman quote “All the prison walls...” found:

- Ibid, 104.

Tracy evacuation consideration found in:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 142-143.

Gray quote “The work was so strenuous...” found in:

- Ibid.

King quotes beginning “surrounded by a wilderness...” found in:

- John R. King, *My Experience In the Confederate Army and in Northern Prisons* (Clarksburg, W.VA: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1917) 47.

Tracy report to Hoffman:

- OR, series II, vol. VIII: 419.

Lone Star prisoner quote “If ever there...” found in:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 62.

Prisoner quote “a good thing...” from:

- Horigan, *Elmira*, 175.

Exodus from Elmira found in:

- Ibid, 176.

King quote found:

- King, *My Experience*, 50.

## **Chapter Six: A Pretty Place to Die**

Keiley quote “the whole site...” found in:

- Anthony M. Keiley, *Prisoner of War...*79;

Huffman quote “the green trees...” found in:

- James Huffman, *Ups and Downs of a Confederate Soldier* (New York: William E. Rudge’s Sons, 1940) 95.

Toney quote “The prison camp contained...” found:

- Marcus B. Toney, *The Privations of a Private: Campaigning with the First Tennessee, CSA, and Life Thereafter* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005) 85.

Keiley quote “pure, cool...” from:

- Keiley, *Prisoner*, 79.

Prisoner quote “It was a pleasant summer...” from:

- John R. King, *My Experience in the Confederate Army and in Northern Prisons* (Clarksburg, W.VA: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1917) 33.

King quote “We lived in low tents” from:

- Ibid, 34.

Toney quote “The bunks were...” from:

- Toney, *Privations*, 95-96.

King quote “The man who looked...” from:

- King, *My Experience*, 39.

Unique features of barracks found in:

- Susan Williams Benson, ed. *Berry Benson’s Civil War Book: Memoirs of a Confederate Sharpshooter* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1992) 129.

Tar Heel soldier account “very cold, worse...” found:

- Louis Leon, *The Diary of a Tar Hell Confederate Soldier* (Toccoa, GA: The Confederate Reprint Co, 2014) 65.

A Virginia soldier recalled “Without even a handful...” found in:

- Keiley, *Prisoner*, 83.

Huffman quote “From the 1st of December...” from:

- Huffman, *Ups and Downs*, 103.

King quote beginning “With a big snow...” from:

- King, *My Experience*, 38-39.

Note: Brandt (1743-1807), whose given name was Thayendanegea, was an Iroquois Confederacy leader from the Mohawk Nation during the American Revolution.

Porter quote beginning “the mercury got...” from:

- G.W.D. Porter, “Nine Months in a Northern Prison,” *Annals of the Army of Tennessee* (July 1878) 158-162.

Toney's account of smallpox hospital from:

- Toney, *Privations*, 102-104.

Prisoner quote "a small piece..." from:

- Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997) 246.

Keiley quote "at dinnertime..." found in:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 154-155.

Prisoner who recorded "measured my piece..." found in:

- King, *My Experience*, 36.

Porter quote "in reality..." found in:

- Porter, *Nine Months*, 161.

On rations "reports circulated that Rebels..." from:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 29.

Account of rat stands found in:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 75.

King quote "it was well..." from:

- King, *My Experience*, 42

Wade quote "the ribs of a stewed..." found in:

- Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 246.

Huffman quote "there were a lot..." found in:

- Huffman, *Ups and Downs*, 100.

Stamp quotes beginning "Apple peelings..." found in:

- J.B. Stamp, "Ten Months Experience in Northern Prisons," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1956) 496.

Account of prisoners "thinly clad..." found in:

- Keiley, *Prisoner*, 83.

King recalls prison garb in:

- King, *My Experience*, 38.

## **Chapter Seven: Butternut Capitalists**

Inmate quote “If any condition...” found in:

- Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001) 41.

Keiley quote “To assemble...” found in:

- M. Keiley, *In Vinculus; or, The Prisoner of War. Being, The Experience of a Rebel in Two Federal Pens, Interspersed With Reminiscences of the Late War; Anecdotes of Southern Generals, Etc.*, (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866) 63.

Holmes quote beginning “Many of the strongest...” from:

- Clay W. Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp: A History of the Military Prison at Elmira, NY, July 6th, 1864 to July 10, 1865* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912) 71.

Keiley quote “the abolitionist editor...” found in:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 159.

Denomination of prisoners found in:

- Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 36.

Keiley quotes about clergy beginning “a freedom shrieker” are from:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 166-167.

Huffman quotes beginning “We gave good attention...” found in:

- James Huffman, *Ups and Downs of a Confederate Soldier* (New York: William E. Rudge’s Sons, 1940) 105.

YMCA records found in:

- Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 36.

Keiley quotes on literature in camp found in:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 176.

Huffman quote “There were all kinds...” is from:

- Huffman, *Ups and Downs*, 101.

Leon quote found in:

- Louis Leon, *The Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier* (Toccoa, GA: The Confederate Reprint Co., 2014) 65.

Jones quote “trinkets were made...” found in:

- Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 38.

Ellet account found in:

- Ibid, 92.

Quote about jewelry business in camp “the city’s jewelry district” found in:

- Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 78.

Gray on microeconomy of camp:

- Ibid, 74 & 77.

Keiley quote “relieved them...” found in:

- Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 152.

## **Chapter eight - Epilogue: The Melancholy Debate**

Surgeon General’s report found:

- U.S. War Department, *Medical and Surgical History*, part II, vol. V: 63.

Cloyd quote beginning “By the end of 1865...” found in:

- Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010) 36.

Gray quote beginning “Blaine wanted...” found in:

- Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001) 155.

Hill quotes beginning “usually severe and rigid...” are found:



- Ibid, 156.

Cloyd quotes beginning “[t]he consistent refusal...” are found:

- Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity*, 3.

Horigan quote “money withheld by Hoffman...” from:

- Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002) 19.

## **APPENDIX A: Driving Tour of Elmira**

### **APPENDIX B: John W. Jones: The Great Care-Taker**

Holmes quote “One day while...” is found in:

- Clayton Wood Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 141.

Holmes quote “John wore in his belt...” found in:

- Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 141.

Quote “more dead than alive...” is also from:

- Ibid, 142.

Jones’ arrival in Elmira found in:

- Barbara S. Ramsdell, “The John W. Jones Story”, John W. Jones Museum, Accessed July 13, 2018, <http://www.johnwjonesmuseum.org/jwjstory.html>

William Still bio info from:

- “William Still”, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, Accessed July 13, 2018, <http://freedomcenter.org/content/william-still>.

Resolution of colored citizens of Elmira found in:

- Barbara S. Ramsdell, “The John W. Jones Story”, John W. Jones Museum, Accessed July 13, 2018, <http://www.johnwjonesmuseum.org/jwjstory.html>

Quote “Jones had many...” found in:

- Ibid.

Howard quote “Where we buried...” is found in:

- Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002) 92.

Info on Jones family farm is from:

- According to the John W. Jones House application for the National Register of Historic Places, Aug. 2003.

### **APPENDIX C: A “Most Appalling” Scene: The Shohola Train Wreck of 1864**

I would like to thank George J. Fluhr, Pike County (PA) Historian, for graciously providing clarification and valuable assistance regarding this essay.

New York Tribune block quote from:

- “Terrible Collision on the Erie Railroad,” New York Tribune, July 18, 1864. The Tribune provided the longest and most detailed description of the circumstances surrounding the wreck shortly after it occurred, from which most of the other newspapers throughout the country based their stories.

The first Confederate prisoners arrived at the Elmira prison camp on July 6, 1864. See:

- Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2006), 34.

The numbers of prisoners and guards varies, depending on the source. The numbers cited here are derived from:

- Capt. Morris H. Church’s official report: Capt. Morris H. Church to Lieut. Col. S. Eastman, July 22, 1864, U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1888-1904), Series II, 7, 489.

Quote “Of the men...” is from:

- “Terrible Collision on the Erie Railroad.”

Quote of a “most appalling scene” from:

- Ibid.; Horigan, *Elmira*, 39-40.

Quote “home was stripped...” is from:

- “Terrible Collision on the Erie Railroad.”

On the victims of the crash:

- Horigan, Elmira, 39; "Civil War Train Wreck Shohola, Pike County: Marking the Trail of History," *Happenings Magazine*, October 2, 2010, <https://www.happeningsmagazinepa.com/2015/10/02/civil-war-train-wreck-shohola-pike-county/>; "Nothing to Mark Graves," *Pike County Dispatch* (Milford, Pennsylvania), October 28, 1909; Sharon E. Siegel, "Respect Paid to All Civil War Soldiers by Shohola and Barryville Communities," *Times Herald-Record*: [recordonline.com](http://recordonline.com) (Middletown, New York), July 17, 2015, <https://www.recordonline.com/article/20150717/NEWS/150719612>; Civil War Train Wreck Historical Marker, Explore PA History, <http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-1D0>.

ON the controversy over blame:

- Horigan, Elmira, 39; Capt. Morris H. Church to Lieut. Col. S. Eastman, July 22, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series II, 7, 489; Sullivan County (New York) Historical Society, *Brass Buttons and Leather Boots: Sullivan County and the Civil War* (Sullivan County, NY: Sullivan County Civil War Centennial Commission, 1963), 59.

Material beginning with quote "'all over the country...":

- Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and Its Civil War Prison* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2001), 201; Clay W. Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp: A History of the Military Prison at Elmira*, N.Y. July 6, 1864, to July 10, 1865 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 136; Horigan, Elmira, 40. See also "'Is the Track Clear to Shohola?" Gettysburg's Fatalities in Pennsylvania's Second Bloodiest Railroad Cut," *The Blog of Gettysburg National Military Park*, December 18, 2014, <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2014/12/18/is-the-track-clear-to-shohola-gettysburg-fatalities-in-pennsylvanias-second-bloodiest-railroad-cut/>; Capt. Morris H. Church to Lieut. Col. S. Eastman, July 22, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series II, 7, 489.

Joseph C. Boyd, "Shohola Train Wreck; Civil War Disaster," *Chemung County Historical Journal*, June 1964, 1253-1260. Boyd noted that "Later investigation brought forth . . . that he [Kent] was addicted to alcohol" (p. 1254); D. Nelson Raynor, "When the Prison Train Was Wrecked at Shohola," *Pike County Dispatch* (Milford, Pennsylvania), March 2, 1961; Edward Harold Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes: The Story of Erie* (New York: John S. Collins Publisher, 1901); "Recall Wartime Wreck in Moving of Bodies," *The Allentown (Pennsylvania) Leader*, June 27, 1911; *The Montgomery (Alabama) Times*, June 29, 1911; *The Manning (South Carolina) Times*, July 5, 1911; Norman Gasbarro, "The Great Shohola Train Wreck—Two Elusive Participants," *Civil War Blog: A Project of a PA Historian*, <http://civilwar.gratzpa.org/2014/05/the-great-shohola-train-wreck-two-elusive-participants/>. Gasbarro raises a number of interesting questions regarding two of central characters associated with the story of the train wreck (i.e., "Duff" Kent and Frank Evans, an "eyewitness" who doesn't appear in print until decades later) while also highlighting the problematic quality of the available records. Diana S. Berger, "The Track Is Clear to Shohola," *Blue & Gray Magazine* (April 1993): 24-28; Sullivan County Historical

Society, Brass Buttons and Leather Boots, 59; Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes*, 442. Mott noted that the “inquest was held at Shohola, by Justice Thomas J. Ridgway and a jury” (p. 442).

On graves and monuments:

- “Nothing to Mark Graves”; see, for example, Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes*, 443; “Nothing to Mark Graves”; Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 202-203; Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 136-137. Civil War Train Wreck Historical Marker, Explore PA History, <http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-1D0>.

#### **APPENDIX D: “The Best Avenue of Escape” – Berry Benson and His Escape from Elmira**

No notes.

#### **APPENDIX E: “A Foretaste of Heaven”: How Elmira Gave the World Mark Twain**

Quote “Where Twain Remains” is from:

- “Mark Twain Country. Proud To Be Where Twain Remains,” accessed January 30, 2019, <https://www.marktwaincountry.com>.

Businesses and organizations utilizing Twain’s name:

- P. O. Selby, *Mark Twain Namesakes and Memorials* (Kirksville, MO: Northeast Missouri State College, 1969)

Kaplan quote “Elmira had cultural...” from:

- Fred Kaplan, *The Singular Mark Twain, A Biography* (New York: Random House, 2003), 228.

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## **APPENDIX F: Rise of Andersonville**

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## **APPENDIX G:**

For more information on the Friends of Elmira Prison Camp, visit <https://www.elmiraprisoncamp.com/>.