



## Endnotes

### Notes for Prologue

<sup>1</sup> Edward M. Deems, comp., *Holy-Days and Holidays* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1902), 587. For biographical details see Jessie B. Rittenhouse, ed., *Selected Poems of Edith M. Thomas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926), 1-23.

<sup>2</sup> Deems, *Holy-Days*, 587.

<sup>3</sup> For examples of this see *St. Johnsbury Republican* (St. Johnsbury, VT), June 9, 1909; *Passaic Daily News* (Passaic, NJ), May 31, 1928, *Los Angeles Herald*, May 15, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Jake Gabriele, et. al., “Life was Extinct: A Roster of Cool Spring’s Dead,” *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 4 (2021): 8; Jake Gabriele, et. al., “The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem’: A Roster of Cool Spring’s Union Dead,” *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 3 (2020): 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> Gabriel, et. al. “Life was Extinct,” 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> Gabriele, et. al., “The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem,” 23.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65* (Raleigh, NC: F.M. Uzell, Printer, and Binder, 1901), 1: 172.

### Notes for Chapter One: “We’ve Scared Abe Lincoln Like Hell”

<sup>1</sup> The conditions in Washington, DC at this time are derived from Evelyn Leasher, ed., *Letter from Washington 1863-1865: By Lois Bryan Adams* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1991), 193.

<sup>4</sup> Diary of Horatio Nelson Taft, July 9, 1864, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Divisions, Washington, DC.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield*, 198.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> For further discussion of the significance of Jackson’s 1862 Valley Campaign see Jonathan A. Noyalas, *Stonewall Jackson’s 1862 Valley Campaign: War Comes to the Homefront* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, June 11, 1864, quoted in Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, eds., *The Wartime Papers of R.E. Lee* (New York: Bramhall House, 1961), 774-775.

<sup>10</sup> Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, June 14, 1864, quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> For a deeper examination of Hunter’s campaign in the Valley see Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2017), 157-187; Scott C. Patchan, *The Battle of Piedmont and Hunter’s Raid on Staunton: The 1864 Shenandoah Campaign* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011); Edward A. Miller, Jr., *Lincoln’s Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 164-216.

<sup>12</sup> Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 1992), 251.

<sup>13</sup> Jubal A. Early, *Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1912), 371; Benjamin Franklin Cooling II, *Jubal Early: Robert E. Lee’s “Bad Old Man”* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 53-55.

<sup>14</sup> George W. Nichols, *A Soldier’s Story of His Regiment (61<sup>st</sup> Georgia) and Incidentally of the Lawton-Gordon-Evans Brigade Army Northern Virginia* (Kennesaw, GA: Continental Book Company, 1898), 174.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 389. For additional details about Fort Stevens see Benjamin Franklin Cooling III and Walton H. Owen II, *Mr. Lincoln’s Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing, 1988), 156-162.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 390.

<sup>18</sup> John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson’s Foot Cavalry: His Experience and What He Saw during the War 1861-1865* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1912), 243.

<sup>19</sup> U.S. War Department, comp., *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 348. Hereafter cited as *OR*.

- <sup>20</sup> Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield*, 198.
- <sup>21</sup> Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 390.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, 242.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 348; Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 394.
- <sup>26</sup> Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield*, 199.
- <sup>27</sup> Patrick J. Hayes, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran: Confederate Chaplain and Redemptorist* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 437.
- <sup>28</sup> G. Ward Hubbs, ed., *Voices from Company D: Diaries by the Greensboro Guards, Fifth Alabama Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 300.
- <sup>29</sup> Susan P. Lee, *Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, D.D.* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott, 1893), 363; W.G. Bean, *Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 206.
- <sup>30</sup> Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid*, 190.
- <sup>31</sup> John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 314.
- <sup>32</sup> Richard Barksdale Harwell, ed., *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 241.
- <sup>33</sup> John Alexander Stikeleather, "Reminiscences," Mil. Coll. CW Box 72, Folder 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
- <sup>34</sup> Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 440.
- <sup>35</sup> Eloise C. Strader, ed., *The Civil War Journal of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 2011), 381.
- <sup>36</sup> Lucy Rebecca Buck, *Sad Earth, Sweet Heaven: The Diary of Lucy Rebecca Buck* (Birmingham, AL: Buck Publishing, 1992), 268.
- <sup>37</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 349.
- <sup>38</sup> Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 296.

## Notes for Chapter Two: "The March is a Rather Severe One"

- <sup>1</sup> Michael Burlingame and John R. Turner, eds., *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1997), 221.
- <sup>2</sup> John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York: The Century Co., 1890), 9: 173.
- <sup>3</sup> Burlingame and Turner, *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 222.
- <sup>4</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1886), 2: 122.
- <sup>5</sup> Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 173.
- <sup>6</sup> Leasher, *Letter from Washington*, 175.
- <sup>7</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 194.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., 223.

- <sup>9</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 222.
- <sup>11</sup> General Ulysses S. Grant to Assistant Secretary Charles Dana, July 13, 1864, quoted in John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 11: 228.
- <sup>12</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 258.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., 194.
- <sup>14</sup> Simon, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, 11: 232.
- <sup>15</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 258.
- <sup>16</sup> Aldace Walker to Father, July 15, 1864, quoted in Tom Ledoux, ed., *Quite Ready to be Sent Somewhere: The Civil War Letters of Aldace Freeman Walker* (Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2002), 278.
- <sup>17</sup> James L. Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh Regiment Mass. Volunteers, in the Civil War of 1861-1865* (Holyoke, MA: Clark W. Bryan & Company, 1884), 357.
- <sup>18</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 314.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.; Emil Rosenblat and Ruth Rosenblat, eds., *Hard Marching Every Day: The Civil War Letters of Private Wilbur Fisk, 1861-1865* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 241.
- <sup>21</sup> Aldace Walker to Father, July 15, 1864, quoted in Ledoux, *Quite Ready*, 278.
- <sup>22</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 314-315.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 315.
- <sup>24</sup> Robert K. Krick, *Civil War Weather in Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 134.
- <sup>25</sup> For further discussion of the environmental impact of these conditions see Kathryn Shively Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 48.
- <sup>26</sup> Kenneth W. Noe, *The Howling Storm: Weather, Climate, and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 297.
- <sup>27</sup> William H. Runge, ed., *Four Years in the Confederate Artillery: The Diary of Henry Robinson Berkeley* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1991), 88.
- <sup>28</sup> John Alexander Stikeleather, "Reminiscences," Mil. Coll. CW Box 72, Folder 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
- <sup>29</sup> George G. Kundahl, *The bravest of the brave: The Correspondence of Stephen Dodson Ramseur* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 239.
- <sup>30</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 315.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Burlingame, *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 223.
- <sup>33</sup> Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 384.
- <sup>34</sup> Simon, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, 11: 241.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., 242.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>38</sup> For additional details about Hunter's movement from Lynchburg back to the Shenandoah Valley see Miller, *Lincoln's Abolitionist General*, 208-222.
- <sup>39</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 315.

- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 316.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 315; Paul Magid, *George Crook: From the Redwoods to Appomattox* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 211.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., 342.
- <sup>43</sup> Cecil D. Eby, Jr., ed., *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 279.
- <sup>44</sup> Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 7: 445.
- <sup>45</sup> Simon, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, 11: 268.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., 268.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., 260.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., 244.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., 260.
- <sup>50</sup> Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 241.
- <sup>51</sup> Alfred Seelye Roe, *The Ninth New York Heavy Artillery* (Worcester, MA: Published by the Author, 1890), 137.
- <sup>52</sup> Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 241.
- <sup>53</sup> Corporal John R. Rhoades to wife, July 17, 1864, John R. Rhoades Papers, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, OH.
- <sup>54</sup> Roe, *The Ninth New York*, 137.
- <sup>55</sup> Alanson A. Haines, *History of the Fifteenth New Jersey Volunteers* (New York: Jenkins & Thomas, Printers, 1883), 228.
- <sup>56</sup> For further discussion of this sentiment see David A. Ward, *The 96<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), 266-267.
- <sup>57</sup> Aldace Freeman Walker to father, July 17, 1864, quoted in Ledoux, *Quite Ready*, 279.
- <sup>58</sup> Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook: His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 122.
- <sup>59</sup> For further discussion of Sullivan see Miller, *Lincoln's Abolitionist General*, 168. For a more positive assessment of Sullivan's generalship, particularly prior to his arrival in the Shenandoah Valley see David A. Powell, *Union Command Failure in the Shenandoah: Major General Franz Sigel and the War in the Valley of Virginia, May 1864* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2019), 51.
- <sup>60</sup> Scott Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank: The 1864 Shenandoah Campaign Journal of Colonel Joseph Thoburn, Commander First Infantry Division, Army of West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: 35<sup>th</sup> Star Publishing, 2021), 65.
- <sup>61</sup> James Mulligan Diary, July 14, 1864, James A. Mulligan Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN. Hereafter cited as JMND.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., July 16, 1864.
- <sup>63</sup> Schmitt, *General George Crook*, 122.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>65</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 319.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., 320.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid., 320; Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid*, 194; Gary W. Gallagher, *Stephen Dodson Ramseur: Lee's Gallant General* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 130; John C. Bonnell, Jr., *Sabres in the Shenandoah: The 21<sup>st</sup> New York Cavalry, 1863-1866* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1996), 110-111.

<sup>68</sup> Archie P. McDonald, ed., *Make Me a Map of the Valley: The Civil War Journal of Stonewall Jackson's Topographer* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973), 216.

<sup>69</sup> Cooling, *Jubal Early*, 90.

<sup>70</sup> Cary Whitaker quoted in Manly Wade Wellman, *Rebel Boast: First at Bethel—Last at Appomattox* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), 174.

<sup>71</sup> Hubbs, *Voices from Company D*, 301.

<sup>72</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead* (New Bern, NC), February 25, 1874.

### Notes for Chapter Three: “I Hope We can Whip the Rebs this Summer”

<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park, “The Twelfth Alabama Infantry, Confederate States Army,” *Southern Historical Society Papers* 33 (1905): 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Henry Hanger to wife, July 17, 1864, Henry Hanger Letters, 1861-1864, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 449.

<sup>5</sup> *The Western Sentinel* (Winston-Salem, NC), February 25, 1874.

<sup>6</sup> Laura Virginia Hale, *Four Valiant Years in the Lower Shenandoah Valley 1861-1865* (Stephens City, VA: Commercial Press, 2008), 382.

<sup>7</sup> *The Western Sentinel* (Winston-Salem, NC), February 25, 1874.

<sup>8</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran*, 440.

<sup>9</sup> Mulligan Diary, July 17, 1864, JMND.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*; Daniel P. Kotzin, “Writing His Life During the Civil War: The Diary of James A. Mulligan,” *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 114, no. 1 (Spring 2021): 87.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 56.

<sup>15</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second*, 281.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>17</sup> J.L. Scott, *Lowry's, Bryan's, and Chapman's Batteries of Virginia Artillery* (Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, 1988), 15; Samuel Clark Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania Cavalry and the Ringgold Battalion 1861-1865* (Pittsburgh, PA: Twenty-Second Pennsylvania Ringgold Cavalry Association, 1911), 280.

<sup>18</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second*, 282.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Civil War Journal of William B. Tibbitts, 61, MS 2017-07 Box 1, Wichita State University Libraries, Wichita, KS. Hereafter cited as WSUL.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran*, 439.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Clarence R. Geier, Joseph Whitehorne, and Ann McCleary, “Cool Spring Battlefield,” United States Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places, 41; Joseph W.A.

Whitehorne and Clarence R. Geier, "The Battle of Cool Spring, July 16-20, 1864" in *Archaeological Perspectives of the American Civil War*, eds. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 80-81; George E. Pond, *The Shenandoah Valley in 1864* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 82.

<sup>26</sup> Henry H. Hanger to wife, July 17, 1864, Henry H. Hanger Letters, 1861-1864, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>27</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second*, 280.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Mulligan Diary, July 17, 1864, JMND.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Isaac Burkhammer, 10<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Infantry, Widows Pension Application, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. Items from this repository hereafter cited as NARA; H.E. Matheny, *Major General Thomas Maley Harris* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing, 1963), 246.

<sup>33</sup> All of the claims can be found in Isaac Burkhammer, 10<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Infantry, Widows Pension Application, NARA.

<sup>34</sup> Mulligan Diary, July 17, 1864, JMND; Civil War Journal of William B. Tibbitts, 62, WSUL.

<sup>35</sup> Civil War Journal of William B. Tibbitts, 62, WSUL.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 320.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> James Mulligan Diary, July 17, 1864, JMND.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran*, 440.

<sup>42</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 280.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 280.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel P. Bates, *A History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5* (Harrisburg, PA: B. Singerly, State Printer 1871), 5: 189.

<sup>45</sup> *OR* ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 320. Duffié's report lists "killed, enlisted men, 7; wounded, enlisted men, 3; missing commissioned officers, 2; enlisted men, 5; total killed, wounded, and missing, commissioned officers, 2; enlisted men, 15."

<sup>46</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 280.

<sup>47</sup> Bates, *A History*, 5: 171.

<sup>48</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 281.

<sup>49</sup> John W. Elwood, *Elwood's Stories of the Old Ringgold Cavalry 1847-1865: The First Three Year Cavalry of the Civil War* (Coal Center, PA: Published by the Author, 1914), 215.

<sup>50</sup> Chauncey S. Norton, "*The Red Neck Ties*," or *a History of the Fifteenth New York Cavalry* (Ithaca, NY: Journal Book and Job Printing House, 1891), 47; Chauncey Norton, 15<sup>th</sup> New York Cavalry, Compiled Service Record, NARA. All references to Compiled Service Records hereafter cited as CSR.

<sup>51</sup> Milton W. Humphreys Civil War Diary and Transcripts, July 17, 1864, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

<sup>52</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 2, 597.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pt. 1, 269.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pt. 2, 369.

<sup>55</sup> Charles M. Keyes, *The Military History of the 123<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Sandusky, OH: Register Steam Press, 1874), 78.

<sup>56</sup> Charles H. Lynch, *The Civil War Diary 1862-1865 of Charles H. Lynch, 18<sup>th</sup> Conn. Vol's* (Hartford, CT: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1915), 100.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>59</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 65.

<sup>60</sup> William Walker, *History of The Eighteenth Regiment Conn. Volunteers in the War for the Union* (Norwich, CT: Published by the Committee, 1885), 284.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> William McMurphy to Mother, July 17, 1864, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV; George Baber, ed., *Decisions of The Department of the Interior in Cases Relating to Pension Claims* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 2: 246-248.

<sup>63</sup> William McMurphy to Mother, July 17, 1864, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.

<sup>64</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 285.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

#### **Notes for Chapter Four: "Send a Force Across the River"**

<sup>1</sup> William S. Lincoln, *Life with the Thirty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry in the War of the Rebellion* (Worcester, MA: Press of Noyes, Snow, & Co., 1879), 333.

<sup>2</sup> Lynch, *Civil War Diary*, 100.

<sup>3</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 285.

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Elijah E. Massey to Colonel Joseph Thoburn, July 21, 1864, in Elijah E. Massey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Eastern Shore Infantry, CSR.

<sup>5</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 65.

<sup>6</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287.

<sup>7</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 285.

<sup>8</sup> Jim Leeke, *A Hundred Days to Richmond: Ohio's "Hundred Days" Men in the Civil War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 139.

<sup>9</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 285.

<sup>10</sup> Leeke, *A Hundred Days*, 139.

<sup>11</sup> Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 60-61.

<sup>12</sup> *The National Tribune*, February 25, 1892.

<sup>13</sup> Colonel James A. Mulligan Diary, July 18, 1864, JMND.

<sup>14</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 280.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 281; Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee: The History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 879; Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 61.

<sup>18</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 281.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas W. Cutrer and T. Michael Parrish, eds., *Brothers in Gray: The Civil War Letters of the Pierson Family* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 242.

- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> Reuben Allen Pierson, 9<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry, CSR.
- <sup>22</sup> Cutrer and Parrish, *Brothers in Gray*, 242.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 241.
- <sup>24</sup> Jake Gabriele, et. al., “‘Life was Extinct’: A Roster of Cool Spring’s Confederate Dead” *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 4 (2021): 12-13.
- <sup>25</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 281.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., 281; *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, June 6, 1898.
- <sup>28</sup> *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, June 6, 1898.
- <sup>29</sup> Farrar, *The Twenty-Second Pennsylvania*, 281.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., 321.
- <sup>33</sup> Schmitt, *General George Crook*, 122.
- <sup>34</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287.
- <sup>35</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 286.
- <sup>36</sup> Aldace Walker, *The Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley 1864* (Burlington, VT: The Free Press Association, 1896), 40-41.
- <sup>37</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 290.
- <sup>38</sup> 1850 U.S. Census, Clarke County, Virginia, John Carrigan, August 5, 2022, Ancestry.com; John Carrigan, 3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, CSR.
- <sup>39</sup> *Winchester Times*, June 20, 1888; *Alexandria Gazette*, June 18, 1888.
- <sup>40</sup> *Winchester Times*, June 20, 1888.
- <sup>41</sup> John Carrigan, 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry, CSR.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., Jonathan A. Noyalas, *Plagued by War: Winchester, Virginia, During the Civil War* (Leesburg, VA: Gauley Mount Press, 2003), 36.
- <sup>43</sup> John Carrigan, 3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, CSR.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., L. Allison Wilmer, J.H. Jarrett and George W.F. Vernon, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5* (Baltimore, MD: Guggenheimer, Weil, & Co., 1899), 1: 597.
- <sup>45</sup> For a broader discussion of this see Clayton J. Butler, *True Blue: White Unionists in the Deep South During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2022), 38-39.
- <sup>46</sup> *Winchester Times*, June 20, 1888.
- <sup>47</sup> Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln’s Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 54, 78-79.
- <sup>48</sup> Charles C. Anderson, *Fighting by Southern Federals* (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1912), 11.
- <sup>49</sup> Daniel Carroll Toomey, *Hero at Front Royal: The Life of General John R. Kenly* (Linthicum, MD: Toomey Press, 2009), 73.
- <sup>50</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 286; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 290.
- <sup>51</sup> John D. Chapla, *50<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, 1997), 97-98.
- <sup>52</sup> William Hewitt, *History of the Twelfth West Virginia Volunteer Infantry: The Part it Took in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (NP: Twelfth West Virginia Infantry Association, 1892), 157.

- <sup>53</sup> *New York Herald*, July 25, 1864.
- <sup>54</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.
- <sup>55</sup> *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 25, 1864.
- <sup>56</sup> Hewitt, *History of the Twelfth*, 157; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.
- <sup>57</sup> Lincoln, *Life with the Thirty-Fourth*, 333.
- <sup>58</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 66.
- <sup>59</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.
- <sup>60</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 66.
- <sup>61</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.
- <sup>64</sup> Charles M. Keyes, *The Military History of the 123<sup>rd</sup> Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Sandusky, OH: Register Steam Press, 1874), 78.
- <sup>65</sup> Jon-Erik Gilot, ““Hardships and Dangers Will Bind Men as Brothers””: The 170<sup>th</sup> Ohio National Guard in the Summer of 1864,” *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 3 (2020): 76; John Gundy, 170<sup>th</sup> Ohio Infantry, Claim for Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>66</sup> Gilot, ““Hardships and Dangers,”” 76; Statement of Captain Nathan H. Rowles, Company I, 170<sup>th</sup> Ohio Infantry, in William Rankin, 170<sup>th</sup> Ohio Infantry, Claim for Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>67</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Elijah E. Massey to Colonel Joseph Thoburn, July 21, 1864, in Elijah E. Massey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Eastern Shore Infantry, CSR; Report of Assistant Surgeon Ezekiel Cooper, July 21, 1864, in Elijah E. Massey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Eastern Shore Infantry, CSR.
- <sup>68</sup> For additional scholarship on the environment’s impact on soldiers see Kenneth W. Noe, *The Howling Storm: Weather, Climate, and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020); Kathryn Shively Meier, *Nature’s Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>71</sup> Joseph W.A. Whitehorne and Clarence R. Geier, “The Battle of Cool Spring, July 16-20, 1864,” *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 86.
- <sup>72</sup> Lynch, *The Civil War Diary*, 100.
- <sup>73</sup> *Gallipolis Journal* (Gallipolis, OH), August 4, 1864.
- <sup>74</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 67.
- <sup>75</sup> *The National Tribune*, February 25, 1892.
- <sup>76</sup> Martha Ming Frost, August 24, 2022, findagrave.com.
- <sup>77</sup> *The National Tribune*, February 25, 1892; Daniel Frost, August 24, 2022, findagrave.com.
- <sup>78</sup> *The National Tribune*, February 25, 1892.
- <sup>79</sup> William Beavans Diary, July 18, 1864, William Beavans Diary and Letters, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC; Hubbs, *Voices from Company D*, 301.
- <sup>80</sup> Hubbs, *Voices from Company D*, 301.
- <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.
- <sup>82</sup> Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 70; Meaney, *Cool Spring*, 22.
- <sup>83</sup> William Ashley, Thomas’ Legion, CSR; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), 11: 154.

- <sup>84</sup> Moore, *The Rebellion*, 11: 154.  
<sup>85</sup> *New York Daily Herald*, July 25, 1864.  
<sup>86</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>87</sup> Schmitt, *General George Crook*, 122.  
<sup>88</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>89</sup> *New York Daily Herald*, July 25, 1864.  
<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

### Notes for Chapter Five: “Wholly Exposed”

- <sup>1</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 286.  
<sup>2</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 67; Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 129.  
<sup>3</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 286.  
<sup>4</sup> Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 129; Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 73-74.  
<sup>5</sup> Whitehorne and Geier, “The Battle of Cool Spring,” 87-88.  
<sup>6</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.  
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>8</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>9</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>10</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>11</sup> *The National Tribune*, April 11, 1889; Charles E. McCoy, 1<sup>st</sup> Maine Cavalry, CSR, NARA.  
<sup>12</sup> *The National Tribune*, December 10, 1891; Sam Koenig, *Gustav Erdman Koenig: A History of His Civil War Years* (NP: Lulu, 2016), 14.  
<sup>13</sup> *The National Tribune*, April 11, 1889.  
<sup>14</sup> John T. Nagle, *An Appeal to President Roosevelt For Justice to a Class of Acting Assistant Surgeons of the United States Army Who Served in the Civil War* (New York: Martin B. Brown Press, 1908), 72.  
<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 115.  
<sup>16</sup> *The National Tribune*, March 24, 1892.  
<sup>17</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>18</sup> Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-’65* (Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell, Printer and Binder, 1901), 1: 260.  
<sup>19</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>20</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>21</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>22</sup> *Gallipolis Journal*, August 4, 1864.  
<sup>23</sup> *The National Tribune*, April 11, 1889.  
<sup>24</sup> Eric J. Wittenberg, ed., *Under Custer’s Command: The Civil War Journal of James Henry Avery* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 2000), 100.  
<sup>25</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>26</sup> *The National Tribune*, April 11, 1889.  
<sup>27</sup> William Cushman, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ohio Cavalry, CSR, NARA; William Cushman, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ohio Cavalry, Widows’ Pension, NARA; 1860 U.S. Census, Cuyahoga, Cleveland, Ohio, William Cushman, October 3, 2022, Ancestry.com.

- <sup>28</sup> Lieutenant George W. Byard to Mary Cushman, August 18, 1864, in William Cushman, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ohio Cavalry, Widows Pension, NARA.
- <sup>29</sup> Private Anthony W. Stumpe to Mary Wright, September 27, 1864, in William Wright, 5<sup>th</sup> United States Cavalry, Widows Pension, NARA.
- <sup>30</sup> William Hewitt, *History of the Twelfth West Virginia Volunteer Infantry: The Part it Took in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (WV: Twelfth West Virginia Infantry Association, 1892), 160.
- <sup>31</sup> *Gallipolis Journal*, August 4, 1864.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 300.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., 291.
- <sup>37</sup> Lieutenant Colonel John P. Linton, quoted in Henry Wilson Storey, *History of Cambria County Pennsylvania* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1907), 2: 365.
- <sup>38</sup> Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 77.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., 78.
- <sup>40</sup> Jake Gabriele, et. al, “‘The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem’: A Roster of Cool Spring’s Union Dead” *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* (2020): 3-29.
- <sup>41</sup> James Darrah Abstract Muster Rull, New York Civil War Muster Roll Abstracts, 1861-1900, New York State Archives, Albany, NY; James Darrah, 5<sup>th</sup> New York Heavy Artillery, Widows Pension, NARA.
- <sup>42</sup> Jacob A. Blackmon to Amy Darrah, July 25, 1865, James Darrah, 5<sup>th</sup> New York Heavy Artillery, Widows Pension, NARA.
- <sup>43</sup> James Burns, 5<sup>th</sup> New York Heavy Artillery, Civil War Widows Pension, NARA.
- <sup>44</sup> Mary C. Murray, Report to Accompany Bill H.R. 3549, 47<sup>th</sup> Congress 1<sup>st</sup> Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 595, Jonathan A. Noyalas collection, Martinsburg, WV.
- <sup>45</sup> Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 78.
- <sup>46</sup> *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 26, 1864.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., Theodore F. Lang, *Loyal West Virginia From 1861-1865* (Baltimore, MD: The Deutsch Publishing Co., 1895), 278.
- <sup>48</sup> *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 26, 1864.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., July 27, 1864.
- <sup>51</sup> Thomas Morris, 15<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Infantry, Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>52</sup> Storey, *History of Cambria County*, 365.
- <sup>53</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 291.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., 300.
- <sup>55</sup> Lynch, *The Civil War Diary*, 101.
- <sup>56</sup> Dean S. Thomas, *Round Ball to Rimfire: A History of Civil War Small Arms Ammunition, Part One* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1997), 182-210; Earl J. Hess, *The Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat: Reality and Myth* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 75-79.
- <sup>57</sup> Dana B. Shoaf, “Haste Makes Waste,” October 19, 2022, <https://www.historynet.com/haste-makes-waste/>.
- <sup>58</sup> Lynch, *The Civil War Diary*, 101.
- <sup>59</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 286-287.

- <sup>60</sup> Gabriele, et. al., “The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem,” 18-19.
- <sup>61</sup> Samuel Smith to Hannah Bastow Smith, April 9, 1865, Mike Smith private collection, Buffalo, NY.
- <sup>62</sup> Gabriele, et. al., “The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem,” 18-19.
- <sup>63</sup> *The National Tribune*, December 10, 1891.
- <sup>64</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287; Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 130-131.
- <sup>65</sup> Thomas F. Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment Ohio Infantry Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (Sandusky, OH: I.F. Mack & Bros., Printers, 1884), 129.
- <sup>66</sup> Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 134.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.
- <sup>70</sup> John M. Mitchell Diary, July 18, 1864, Ohio Memory Community Collection, accessed October 12, 2022, <https://ohiomemory.org/digital/collection/p15005coll41/id/155>.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.
- <sup>72</sup> *Republican Observer* (Richland Center, WI), December 5, 1895.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*; *History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wisconsin* (Springfield, IL: Union Publishing Co., 1884), 1259.
- <sup>74</sup> *Richland Rustic* (Richland Center, WI), May 14, 1898.
- <sup>75</sup> Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 129.
- <sup>76</sup> *Gallipolis Journal*, August 3, 1864.
- <sup>77</sup> Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 129-130.
- <sup>78</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran*, 441.
- <sup>79</sup> Robert Grandchamp, *The Boys of Adams’ Battery G: The Civil War Through the Eyes of a Union Light Artillery Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 178.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>81</sup> James L. Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh Regiment Mass. Volunteers in the Civil War of 1861-1865* (Holyoke, MA: Clark W. Bryan & Company, 1884), 363; Grandchamp, *The Boys of Adams’ Battery G*, 178.
- <sup>82</sup> Wildes, *Record of the One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 131.
- <sup>83</sup> *Providence Journal*, July 27, 1864.
- <sup>84</sup> Reporter for the *Washington Chronicle* quoted in John Russell Bartlett, *Memoirs of Rhode Island Officers Who Were Engaged in the Service of Their Country during the Great Rebellion of the South* (Providence, RI: Sidney S. Rider & Brother, 1867), 415.
- <sup>85</sup> James M. Greiner, Janet L. Coryell, & James R. Smither, eds., *A Surgeon’s Civil War: The Letters & Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994), 225.
- <sup>86</sup> Ann Hartwell Brinton and Thomas J. Reed, eds., *To My Beloved Wife and Boy at Home: The Letters and Diaries of Orderly Sergeant John F.L. Hartwell* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 257.
- <sup>87</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287.
- <sup>88</sup> Schmitt, *Crook*, 122.
- <sup>89</sup> *The National Tribune*, December 10, 1891.
- <sup>90</sup> Meaney, *Civil War Engagement at Cool Spring*, 38.
- <sup>91</sup> *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 25, 1864.
- <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

## Notes for Chapter Six: “The Advantage of Position”

- <sup>1</sup> Whitehorne and Geier, “The Battle of Cool Spring,” 73, 89.
- <sup>2</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 67.
- <sup>3</sup> Wildes, *History of the One Hundred Sixteenth*, 131.
- <sup>4</sup> Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions*, 1: 172.
- <sup>5</sup> Park, “Diary,” 382.
- <sup>6</sup> *Weekly National Intelligencer*, July 28, 1864.
- <sup>7</sup> Gabriele, et. al., ““Life was Extinct,”” 20; Venner, *The 30<sup>th</sup> North Carolina*, 199.
- <sup>8</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 43, pt. 1, 603.
- <sup>9</sup> Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865: A Roster* (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1993), 13: 64.
- <sup>10</sup> Clarke, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 3: 259.
- <sup>11</sup> *The Confederate Union* (Milledgeville, GA), August 23, 1864.
- <sup>12</sup> *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington, NC), March 7, 1867.
- <sup>13</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 43, pt. 1, 603.
- <sup>14</sup> John Alexander Stikeleather, “Reminiscences,” Mil. Coll. CW Box 72, Folder 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
- <sup>15</sup> Sergeant Milton W. Humphreys Civil War Diary, July 18, 1864, Accession No. 1578, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> Captain Robert J. Johnston to Dear Sir, July 24, 1864, in George W. Lee, 4<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry, Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>18</sup> Haines, *History of the Fifteenth*, 230; George W. Scott, 10<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry, CSR, NARA.
- <sup>19</sup> Haines, *History of the Fifteenth*, 230.
- <sup>20</sup> Watson Chambers, 15<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry, Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>21</sup> William S. Stryker, *Record of Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Trenton, NJ: John L. Murphy, Steam Book & Job Printer, 1876), 1: 78, 196.
- <sup>22</sup> Captain Caleb Wright, statement to certify death, John Price, 4<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry, Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>23</sup> Captain Robert J. Johnston to Dear Sir, July 24, 1864, in George W. Lee, 4<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry, Widow’s Pension, NARA.
- <sup>24</sup> *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 287.
- <sup>25</sup> Wildes, *History of the One Hundred Sixteenth*, 131; John W. Chamberlin to Mrs. D.D. Terry, July 21, 1864, David D. Terry, 123<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Infantry, WP, NARA.
- <sup>26</sup> Wildes, *History of the One Hundred Sixteenth*, 131-132.
- <sup>27</sup> John W. Chamberlin to Mrs. D.D. Terry, July 21, 1864, David D. Terry, 123<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Infantry, WP, NARA.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> Keyes, *The Military History of the 123<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*, 80.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> John W. Chamberlin to Mrs. D.D. Terry, July 21, 1864, David D. Terry, 123<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Infantry, WP, NARA.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>33</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 363; Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 164.
- <sup>34</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 363; Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 1: 261.
- <sup>35</sup> Full moon, July 19, 1864, accessed November 28, 2022, [moongiand.com/moonphases/July1864](http://moongiand.com/moonphases/July1864).
- <sup>36</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 363.
- <sup>37</sup> Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 1: 261.
- <sup>38</sup> *The Topeka Daily Capital* (Topeka, KS), July 15, 1893. Casualty figures are derived from Meaney, *Cool Spring*, 54; Gabriele, et. al., “The Shenandoah Chanting its Endless Requiem,” 3-29.
- <sup>39</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 287-288.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 288
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> Lynch, *Civil War Diary*, 101.
- <sup>43</sup> Lincoln, *Life with the Thirty-Fourth*, 334.
- <sup>44</sup> *The National Tribune*, May 19, 1892.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1891.
- <sup>46</sup> Greiner, Coryell, and Smither, *A Surgeon’s Civil War*, 225.
- <sup>47</sup> Wildes, *One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 133.
- <sup>48</sup> Lynch, *The Civil War Diary*, 101.
- <sup>49</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 288.
- <sup>50</sup> Wildes, *One Hundred and Sixteenth*, 132-133.
- <sup>51</sup> Keyes, *The Military History of the 123<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*, 81.
- <sup>52</sup> *National Tribune*, June 2, 1892.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*; Manly Wade Wellman, *Rebel Boast: First at Bethel—Last at Appomattox* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), 177.
- <sup>56</sup> Mary C. Murray, Report to Accompany Bill H.R. 3549, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.
- <sup>57</sup> *National Tribune*, June 2, 1892.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>59</sup> Mary C. Murray, Report to Accompany Bill H.R. 3549, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.
- <sup>60</sup> *The Buffalo Commercial*, November 16, 1876.
- <sup>61</sup> Mary C. Murray, Report to Accompany Bill H.R. 3549, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.
- <sup>62</sup> *National Tribune*, June 2, 1892.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> Wellman, *Rebel Boast*, 16-23.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-179.
- <sup>67</sup> William Beavans Diary, July 18, 1864, William Beavans Diary and Letters, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1864.
- <sup>69</sup> Cary Whitaker diary, quoted in Wellman, *Rebel Boast*, 180.

<sup>70</sup> George Whitaker Wills to Lucy, July 23, 1864, quoted in *ibid.*, 182. For a broader discussion of the mood in Early's army at this time see J. Tracy Power, *Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 90-108.

<sup>71</sup> Eloise C. Strader, ed., *The Civil War Journal of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 2011), 37; Wellman, *Rebel Boast*, 189.

<sup>72</sup> Wellman, *Rebel Boast*, 190.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-192, 294; Gabriele, et. al., "Life was Extinct," 23-24.

<sup>74</sup> Gabriele, et. al., "The Shenandoah Chanting," 27.

<sup>75</sup> Gabriele, et. al., "Life was Extinct," 9-10.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*; Gabriele, et. al., "Life was Extinct," 5-10, 17-34.

<sup>78</sup> Sergeant Milton W. Humphreys Civil War Diary, July 19, 1864, Accession No. 1578, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA; Richard R. Duncan, ed., *Alexander Neil and the Last Shenandoah Valley Campaign: Letters of an Army Surgeon to His Family 1864* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1996), 50.

<sup>79</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary*, 442.

<sup>80</sup> Park, "Diary of Robert E. Park," 383.

<sup>81</sup> Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 164.

#### **Notes for Chapter Seven: "Never to be Forgotten"**

<sup>1</sup> Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 164-165.

<sup>2</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 363.

<sup>5</sup> Sergeant Milton W. Humphreys Civil War Diary, July 19, 1864, Accession No. 1578, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

<sup>6</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 288.

<sup>7</sup> Eloise C. Strader, ed., *The Civil War Journal of Mary Greenhow Lee (Mrs. Hugh Holmes Lee) of Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 2011), 383.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Martha R. Brown, *Holding Sweet Communion: Civil War Letters Home* (Winston-Salem, NC: Briarpatch, 2012), 203.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>12</sup> Jake Gabriele, et. al., "'Life Was Extinct': A Roster of Cool Spring's Confederate Dead" *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* (2021): 18-19.

<sup>13</sup> Gabriele, et. al., "Life was Extinct", 18-19; William Thomas Venner, *The 30<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Infantry in the Civil War: A History and Roster* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), 348.

<sup>14</sup> Lincoln, *Life with the Thirty-Fourth*, 334.

<sup>15</sup> William C. Davis & Sue Heth Bell, eds., *The Whartons' War: The Civil War Correspondence of General Gabriel C. Wharton & Anne Radford Wharton, 1863-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 251-252.

<sup>16</sup> Hubbs, *Voices from Company D*, 302.

- <sup>17</sup> Jubal A. Early, *Narrative of the War Between the States* (New York: DaCapo, 1989), 397.
- <sup>18</sup> Hayes, *The Civil War Diary*, 444.
- <sup>19</sup> Sergeant Milton W. Humphreys Civil War Diary, July 19, 1864, Accession No. 1578, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.
- <sup>20</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 364.
- <sup>21</sup> Greiner, Coryell, & Smither, eds., *A Surgeon's Civil War*, 227.
- <sup>22</sup> Keyes, *The Military History*, 81.
- <sup>23</sup> Richard R. Duncan, ed., *Alexander Neil and the Last Shenandoah Valley Campaign: Letters of an Army Surgeon to His Family, 1864* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1996), 50.
- <sup>24</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 289.
- <sup>25</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), 71.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-76.
- <sup>27</sup> Lincoln, *Life with the Thirty-Fourth*, 334; Duncan, *Alexander Neil*, 50.
- <sup>28</sup> Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 74-75.
- <sup>29</sup> William Byron Henry, 116<sup>th</sup> Ohio Infantry, CSR, NARA.
- <sup>30</sup> Lieutenant William Byron Henry to sister, August 2, 1864, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.
- <sup>31</sup> For further discussion see Jonathan M. Steplyk, *Fighting Means Killing: Civil War Soldiers and the Nature of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 54-56.
- <sup>32</sup> Duncan, *Alexander Neil*, 50.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>34</sup> John Hensel, 54<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Infantry, Pension File, NARA. Atchison's statement is part of Hensel's pension file.
- <sup>35</sup> *The Somerset Herald* (Somerset, PA), July 13, 1898.
- <sup>36</sup> *The Republic* (Meyersdale, PA), April 25, 1929.
- <sup>37</sup> Greiner, Coryell, and Smither, *A Surgeon's Civil War*, 226.
- <sup>38</sup> Walker, *Vermont Brigade*, 42; Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 165; Roe, *Ninth New York*, 137.
- <sup>39</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 289.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 423; Richmond Corey, 18<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry, CMSR, NARA.
- <sup>41</sup> Walker, *History of the Eighteenth*, 289.
- <sup>42</sup> This conclusion is based on an examination of the 1870 and 1880 census. The 1870 census lists Corey as having no occupation. The 1880 census lists Corey's occupation as "pensioner." 1870 U.S. Census, Lebanon, New London, Connecticut, January 18, 2023, Ancestry.com; 1880 U.S. Census, Hampton, Elizabeth City, Virginia, January 18, 2023, Ancestry.com.
- <sup>43</sup> *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), July 25, 1887; *The Morning Journal-Courier* (New Haven, CT), July 26, 1887.
- <sup>44</sup> Richmond Corey, National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1866-1938, January 18, 2023, Ancestry.com.
- <sup>45</sup> This conclusion is based on 1880 U.S. Census, Hampton, Elizabeth City, Virginia, January 18, 2023, Ancestry.com.
- <sup>46</sup> *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), July 25, 1887; *The Morning Journal-Courier* (New Haven, CT), July 26, 1887.
- <sup>47</sup> Richmond Corey, January 18, 2023, findagrave.com.
- <sup>48</sup> George N. Carpenter, *History of the Eighth Regiment, Vermont Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Boston: Press of Deland & Barta, 1886), 158. For a broader discussion of lightning striking

soldiers see Brian Steel Wills, *Inglorious Passages: Noncombat Deaths in the American Civil War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 93-96.

<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant William Byron Henry to sister, August 2, 1864, Jonathan A. Noyalas private collection, Martinsburg, WV.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Haines, *The Fifteenth Regiment*, 232.

<sup>52</sup> Walker, *Vermont Brigade*, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Bowen, *History of the Thirty-Seventh*, 364.

<sup>55</sup> OR, ser. 1, vol. 37, pt. 1, 269.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, *Vermont Brigade*, 42-43.

<sup>57</sup> Early, *Narrative of the War*, 397; Jonathan A. Noyalas, “‘Dod’ Ramseur’s Dose of Reality” *America’s Civil War* 19, no. 6 (2007): 51-52; Gary W. Gallagher, *Ramseur: Lee’s Gallant General* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 131.

<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of the Battle of Rutherford’s Farm see Noyalas, “‘Dod’ Ramseur’s Dose of Reality”, 51-57.

<sup>59</sup> *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 28, 1864.

<sup>60</sup> For example see *Daily Ohio Statesman* (Columbus, OH), July 30, 1864; *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 28, 1864.

<sup>61</sup> Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War: With the Leaders at Washington and in the Field in the Sixties* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 232-233.

<sup>62</sup> William B. Jordan, *The Civil War Journals of John Mead Gould, 1861-1866* (Baltimore, MD: Butternut & Blue, 1997), 376.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> *New York Daily Herald*, July 31, 1864.

<sup>65</sup> Simon, *Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, 11: 289.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 260.

<sup>67</sup> Carpenter, *History of the Eighth Regiment*, 159.

<sup>68</sup> Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, 233.

<sup>69</sup> “Reminiscences,” Mil. Coll. CW Box 72, Folder 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

## Notes for Appendix B

<sup>1</sup> *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 22, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> J.H. Newton, G. C. Nichols, and A. G. Sprankel, *The History of the Pan-Handle* (Wheeling, WV; J. A. Caldwell, 1879), 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, February 26, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., April 19, 1862.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., February 23, 1864.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., April 24, 1862.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., August 13, 1864.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., September 27, 1864

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Thoburn to brother, October 4, 1864, in Scott C. Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank: The 1864 Shenandoah Valley Campaign Journal of Colonel Joseph Thoburn* (Charleston, WV; 35<sup>th</sup> Star Publishing, 2021), 107.

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin F. Kelley to E.D. Townsend, January 31, 1864, and George Crook to James M. Forsyth, October 2, 1864, accessed on Fold3. The second letter was not forwarded to the Adjutant General of the Army until October 25, days after Thoburn's death.

<sup>11</sup> *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 24, 1864.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, October 25, 1864.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, July 18, 1865.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1, 1864

<sup>15</sup> Patchan, *Worthy of a Higher Rank*, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Soldier's Certificate No. 39,437, Joseph Thoburn, Colonel, Field and Staff, 1<sup>st</sup> West Virginia Infantry; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and Other Veterans of the Army and Navy Who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War With Spain, compiled 1861 - 1934; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

<sup>17</sup> *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 22, 1864.

<sup>18</sup> *Wheeling Daily Register*, November 17, 1866 and Ellen Bradford McCroskey, "This New Group is on a Mission to Preserve South Wheeling's Historic Buildings," *Weelunk*, March 17, 2023. <https://weelunk.com/preserve-south-wheelings-historic-buildings/>.

<sup>19</sup> These included Ohio Post No. 72 in Martin's Ferry, West Virginia Post No. 2 in Harpers Ferry, and Maryland Post No. 21 in Frostburg. *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, May 31, 1882, *National Tribune*, May 13, 1882, and *National Tribune*, March 19, 1896.

## Notes for Appendix C

<sup>1</sup> The information contained on this roster is derived from Jake Gabriele, Victor Herrera, Jonathan A. Noyalas, Sarah Powell, & Shelby R. Shrader, "'The Shenandoah Chanting Its Endless Requiem': A Roster of Cool Spring's Union Dead," *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 3 (2020): 3-29; Jake Gabriele, Victor Herrera, Brandy N. Noyalas, Jonathan A. Noyalas, Kimberley Vanscoy Oliveto, Nicole A. Roland, Shelby R. Shrader, and Steven Stabler, "'Life was Extinct': A Roster of Cool Spring's Confederate Dead," *Journal of the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era* 4 (2021): 3-34.

## Notes for Appendix E

<sup>1</sup> Edith M. Thomas, *Fair Shadow Land* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1893), 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> *Buffalo Morning Express*, September 17, 1925; Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap), 2: 445.