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# 169<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Newsletter

February 2014

## The Time Traveler.

### Part IX.

Maj. Alonzo Alden assumed command of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. at Folly Island, S.C., as the detachment under Lieut.-Col. John McConihe left to recruit replacements in Rensselaer and Washington counties. Gen. Seymour made an expedition to Florida, capturing the city of Jacksonville on February 7, 1864, in an effort to cut-off supplies of beef and salt to the enemy. A second expedition led by Gen. Schimmelfennig, of which the 169<sup>th</sup> was a part, set off on the 7<sup>th</sup> for Johns Island, S.C., to delay the Confederates in sending reinforcements to Florida. Through no fault of his own, Schimmelfennig's demonstration failed to stop the Rebels, who reached Florida in time to defeat Seymour at Olustee, 50 miles to the west of Jacksonville. To prevent a general route of Union forces in Jacksonville, the 169<sup>th</sup> and other regiments were rushed to the city by Gen. Gillmore to reinforce its defenses against an expected attack by Confederate forces under Gen. Finegan.



The Battle of Olustee, Florida  
Lithograph published by Kurz and Allison, Chicago (1894)  
Collection of the State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee

Once again we begin our sojourn back in time to January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1864, with Priv. Theodore Schutt's report on the festivities held on New Year's Day by the officers and men of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. at Folly Island, S.C. The following article from the *Troy Daily Press* is presented in its entirety:

# The Troy Daily Press.

JANUARY 14, 1864.

## Interesting Letter from the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment.



Camp of the Provost Marshal General, Department of the South,  
Lieut.-Col. James F. Hall, Folly Island, S.C. (ca. 1863-'64)

CAMP OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH REGIMENT,  
FOLLY ISLAND, NEAR CHARLESTON, S. C.,  
Jan. 6<sup>th</sup>, 1864.

### NEW YEAR'S DAY IN CAMP – SWORDS PRESENTED – PRIZE DRILL, &C.

*Editors Daily Press:* – No brighter page will mark the history of this war than that which shall chronicle the confidence, love and esteem that exist between the noble-hearted, heroic commander, and the brave, patriotic men who serve under him. No State in the Union furnishes so many evidences of this as the great commonwealth of New York, whose gallant sons, true to the sacred memories which halo the past, and proud of an untarnished escutcheon, allow not the virtues of bravery and patriotism to seek the shade of that sequestered nook whither unpretentious modesty would fain consign them. Hence, officers and men alike often find the reward of true merit offering itself from sources least expected, and in form tangible as it is grateful. These spontaneous offerings of affection and appreciative discernment, when coming from the humble but not less enlightened grade of the ranks, are never bestowed unworthily. The associations of life in camp, and the stern realities which develop character amid the heat and carnage of battle, constitute an unerring barometer, that either breeds contempt, or unbounded love and respect, not less for the officer who commands, than for the soldier whose duty it is to obey.

One of the most pleasing episodes which can occur in the life of a soldier, illustrative of his ready appreciation of true heroism and worth in a commanding officer, took place in this regiment on New Year's day. Capt. Nat. Wood, of company B, well known to the citizens of Troy for his sterling merits of head and heart and business tact, as he is in the regiment for those enviable attainments in military science which

alone can qualify the good officer and tactician for the proper discharge of the responsible duties of his position, was the recipient, on that day, of a most costly and beautiful tribute from the men composing his company, expressive of their love, regard and respect for one whom they had learned to esteem, not only as an able and gallant officer, but one who ever had the interests of his men at heart, and who allowed no opportunity to pass unimproved, when his advice or personal effort could secure for a single man any favor or mission, advantageous to his particular case.

Although Capt. Wood is no longer in the service, by command of the War Department, owing to certain irregularities imputed to him through some unaccountable misconception of the real facts in the case, he has persistently courted investigation, and only requires *an opportunity* to unbend the arbitrary will, which, for the time, denies him the self-sacrifice and unrealized glory of participating in all the toils, dangers and deprivations of his company and the regiment.

First Lieutenant William H. Lyon, of Sandlake, was also the receiver, at the hands of his company (H), of a beautiful sword, the ceremony taking place immediately after that in company B's street. Sandlake may well feel proud of so brave and worthy a representative in the field as Lieut. Lyon, as the men under his immediate command, by this act, have amply demonstrated that he is not only qualified to command them in a military sense, but that his courage and undaunted conduct under fire have challenged their admiration, and elicited this most appropriate and tangible offering of their unqualified regard.

#### **PRESENTATION OF THE SWORD TO CAPT. WOOD.**

At 3 o'clock P.M., company B were drawn up in line in their company street, and the regimental band, now one of the most excellent in the service, appeared on the ground, and enlivened the occasion by the discourse of some splendid music. The presentation speech, on the part of the company, was delivered by Lieut. William H. Lyon, of company H, and was highly creditable in the speaker, combining the virtue of brevity with eloquence, and couched in language appropriate as it was congenial with the feelings of the donors.

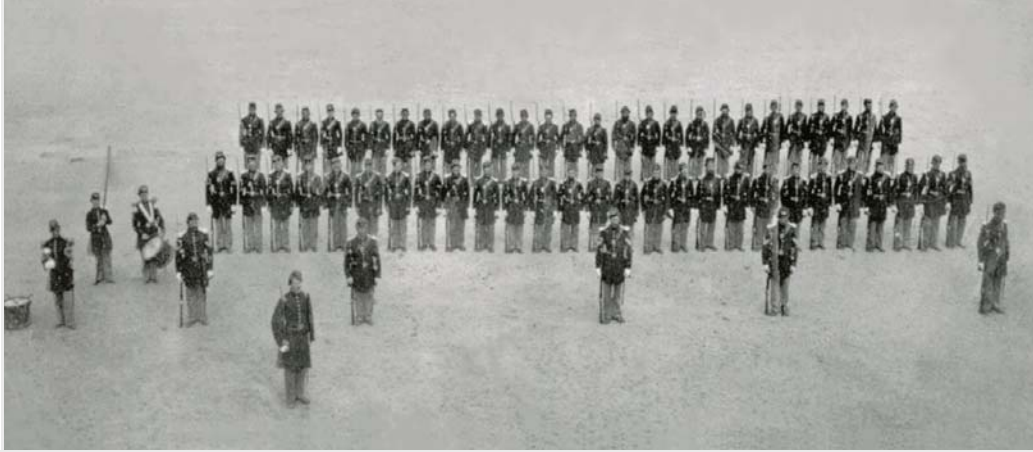
Major Alden and Chaplain Chapman were present, as was Adjutant Kisselburgh, of Gen. Vogdes' staff, and others who were apprised of the affair.

Capt. Wood soon made his appearance, and, taking his position in front of the company, Lieut. Lyon immediately advanced and delivered

#### **THE PRESENTATION SPEECH,**

which was as follows:

CAPTAIN WOOD: – In behalf of company B, I have been assigned the very pleasing duty of presenting you with a token of their love and respect. For fifteen months you have been their leader, the constant and vigilant guardian of all their interests, both as soldiers and as men. They would fain call you "their Captain," even now as heretofore they have been proud to address you, and sincerely regret the circumstances that render the title inappropriate, and the regrets of hosts of their fellow soldiers mingle with their own. The kindness which has always characterized your conduct as an officer in the exercise of authority, and in the discharge of your duty, has endeared you to the heart of every member of company B, and *firmness*, blending with *kindness*, has secured for you the profound respect of the *true soldier*; and you are not now permitted to leave them without some token of their regards, more expressive and more enduring than empty words and unmeaning phrases. The token thus chosen as an expression of their feelings is a sword, with the accompanying



trappings, and if you shall never have occasion to wield it in the defence of the liberties of your country, nevertheless keep it as an earnest regard of an appreciation of your past services. Company B have not forgotten the gallantry displayed by their captain on the Edenton Road, and on all other occasions of danger, and, as it ever has been, so will it ever be, their highest ambition, as a company of your organization and discipline, to acquit themselves in a manner creditable to themselves, to the city they represent, and to "their Captain," though no longer with them, whose example for gallantry, bravery and virtue they will ever emulate.

#### **THE SWORD.**

A most splendid and elaborately designed and finished weapon, and which has already been described by the PRESS, was then taken from an elegant case, and by Lieut. Lyon delivered into the hands of Capt. Wood, who in accepting it, made the following

#### **ELOQUENT AND FEELING RESPONSE:**

LIEUT. LYON: – My company could not have chosen an officer to perform this act of kindness, more acceptable to me than yourself. We have been comrades for nearly a year and a half, and during that time you have shown yourself the true gentleman, the firm, unfaltering friend; and I shall take leave of you and those other officers who have been equally genial and true, with feelings of the most profound regret. My ambition has been to fight for the development of a grand idea; and although I may not be again permitted to draw the sword, or risk my life in the noble cause, its success will ever be one of my dearest wishes. Lieutenant, I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon my company and myself, and sincerely hope and believe that you will add to your already gallant record a future of glory and honor. And to you, my men (turning to the company), who present me with this elegant and fit testimonial,, I can only say, many, many thanks. I need not tell you that this first day of the year is a dark day to me. My short dream of glory is vanished! I may no longer watch over, or lead you in battle! My sword may never again leap from its scabbard to beckon you onward! You will return to our native city, loved and honored by all, but I may not be with you to share your glory and honor. The strength of the ties that bound us together, none but soldiers can know. The pain I suffer in parting, none but a soldier can feel; but though absent, I shall ever be with you in thought, and with the most earnest solicitude for your success and welfare.

This sword, the expression of your confidence and affection, will ever be prized by me above all else – I would not part with it for sums untold.

I need not exhort you to continue, as you ever have been, fearless in the hour of danger, earnest and willing in the performance of your duties; but, bidding you a sad farewell, will cherish the hope that the return home will find none missing from the ranks in which all have so nobly served.

### **ANOTHER PRESENTATION.**

At the conclusion of Captain Wood's response, the band and spectators adjourned to the quarters of company H, where a similar scene was to be enacted by the presentation of a very handsome sword to Lieut. Lyon by the members of his company. Captain James A. Colvin, of company A, had been selected by the company to make the presentation, and did so in a brief and impressive manner, such as should characterize all similar ceremonies, when conducted on the field, within fair range of the enemy's guns, should he feel disposed to turn them against our camp.



**Brevet Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Colvin,  
169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.  
Collection of the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center,  
Carlisle, Pennsylvania**

*Colonel Colvin is shown wearing the badges of the  
X Army Corps and XVIII Army Corps.*

### **CAPTAIN COLVIN'S SPEECH.**

LIEUT. LYON: – I have been delegated to present you with a sword, the gift of your company. During your connection with company H, for the past fifteen months, there has arisen that cordial feeling of sympathy and regard which should characterize the intercourse between an officer and his men. You have shared their hours of toil and privation, you have led them in moments of danger. They have not failed to appreciate your demands as a prompt and efficient officer and courteous man. This sword, then, is given as a recognition of your ability as a man, your patriotism as a citizen, your fidelity as a soldier.



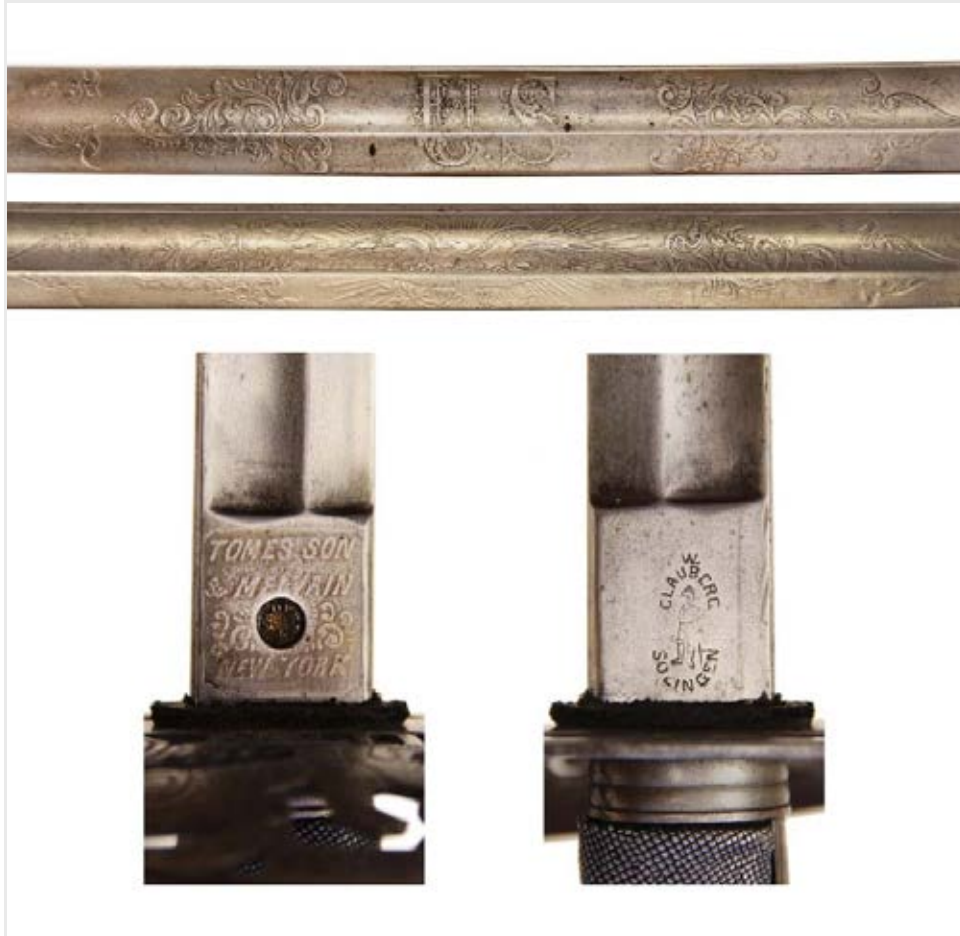
**Non-Regulation Officer's Sword presented on January 1, 1864,  
to 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant William H. Lyon, Co. H, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.**

**Collection of the U.S. Army Watervliet Arsenal Museum, Watervliet, New York**

*This is the popular "Peterson-75" style officer's sword, so-called because half a century ago, sword scholar Harold Peterson assigned this pattern sword the illustration number "75" in his well-respected reference book, "The American Sword." It is also known as the non-regulation officer's sword. This style was patterned on the earlier pattern British infantry officer's sword and produced by a number of German makers to be marketed to U.S. officers by military goods dealers during the Civil War. These non-regulation officers' swords were imported in large numbers and worn actively on field service by officers of all ranks because of their strong construction and tough steel scabbards.*



*The inscription reads, "Presented to Lieut. Wm. H. Lyons, By Members of Company H, 169 Regt. N. Y. V. At Folly Island, S. C., October 28, 1863."*



Take the sword, (here it was presented), and in entrusting it in your hands, we all know that *there* its now unsullied purity and brightness will not be tarnished by the act of a recreant or a coward.

**LIEUT. LYON'S REPLY.**

Lieut. Lyon proved by his reply that deeds and not words were in future to test his worthiness to wear this trusty and serviceable weapon. Drawing himself proudly up, he answered like a true soldier: –

CAPT. COLVIN: – I thank you for your kindly words – and yes, my men, for your gift, grateful alike to my heart and my pride. I will wear this sword (drawing it from the scabbard and raising it above his head), knowing full well that however great may be the danger, when this leads, company H will follow.

**THE SWORD.**

The sword presented to Lieut. Lyon, although not so richly mounted nor so costly as that of Capt. Wood, is nevertheless a splendid weapon, and evidently intended for hard service should occasion demand it. The scabbard bears the following inscription:

*Presented to Lieut. Wm. H. Lyon, at Folly Island, S. C.,  
by members of this company. Jan. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1864.*

**A PRIZE DRILL BY COMPANY A.**

Capt. Colvin, having offered a prize of five dollars for the best drilled man in his company, three dollars for the second best, and two dollars for the third best, immediately after the conclusion of the foregoing



5<sup>th</sup> Sergeant Alfred R. Allen, Co. A, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. (ca. 1862-'63)  
Private Collection

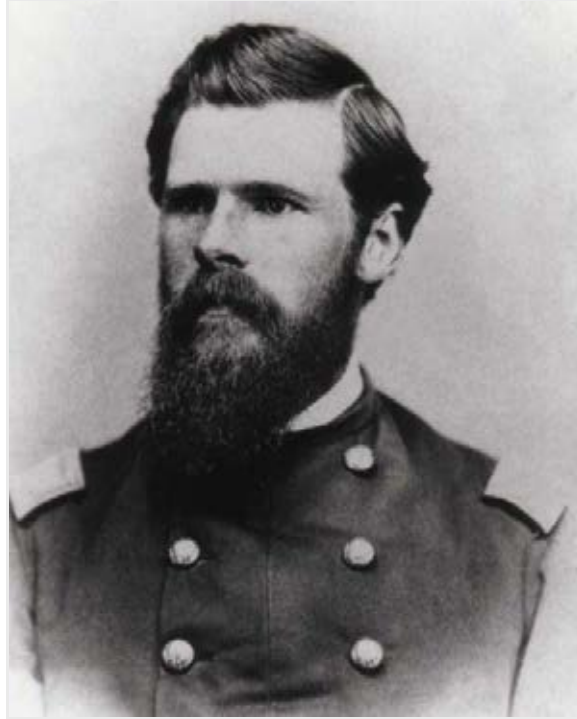
ceremonies, the company was drawn up in line in the company street. Major Alden having kindly accepted the task of acting as umpire, the company were collectively and separately drilled in the manual of arms, and subsequently repaired to the beach, where they were drilled in the facings, marching, etc. In deciding, the Major paid a very high encomium to the entire company, saying that where nearly all were quite unexceptionable, the selection of the best was not so readily made. If he had been requested to select fifteen or twenty, the task would prove easier. He designated the following: Andrew B. Van Buren, private, of Nassau; Cyrus W. Gardner, corporal, of Nassau; Alfred R. Allen, private, of Troy.

Major Alden then said there were others in the company who were deserving especial recognition, and he would take it upon himself to award them prizes from his own purse, upon the spot, whereupon he selected the following named: August Strassman, private, of Troy; Theodore Schutt, private, of Troy; Charles O. Brown, corporal, of Nassau.

#### **OUR REGIMENTAL COMMANDER.**

Col. Buel having returned home on account of indisposition, and Lieutenant-Col. McConihe having accompanied the recruiting detail to Troy, Major Alonzo Alden is now in command of the regiment. I have had occasion in many previous letters to speak of Major Alden, and his





Major Alonzo Alden, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.  
Collection of the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center,  
Carlisle, Pennsylvania

eminent fitness for the position he occupies. Affable and courteous in his general deportment, he combines in a happy degree the qualities of an efficient officer, thorough disciplinarian, and polished gentleman.

#### **PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.**

What real progress, if any, is being made in the prosecution of the siege, very few can offer any satisfactory data, from observation. It is not probable that grand results will now be accomplished until next Spring. There are some signs that a reconnaissance will shortly be undertaken, in what particular direction, however, I do not know, although, of course, it will be in the direction of the enemy.

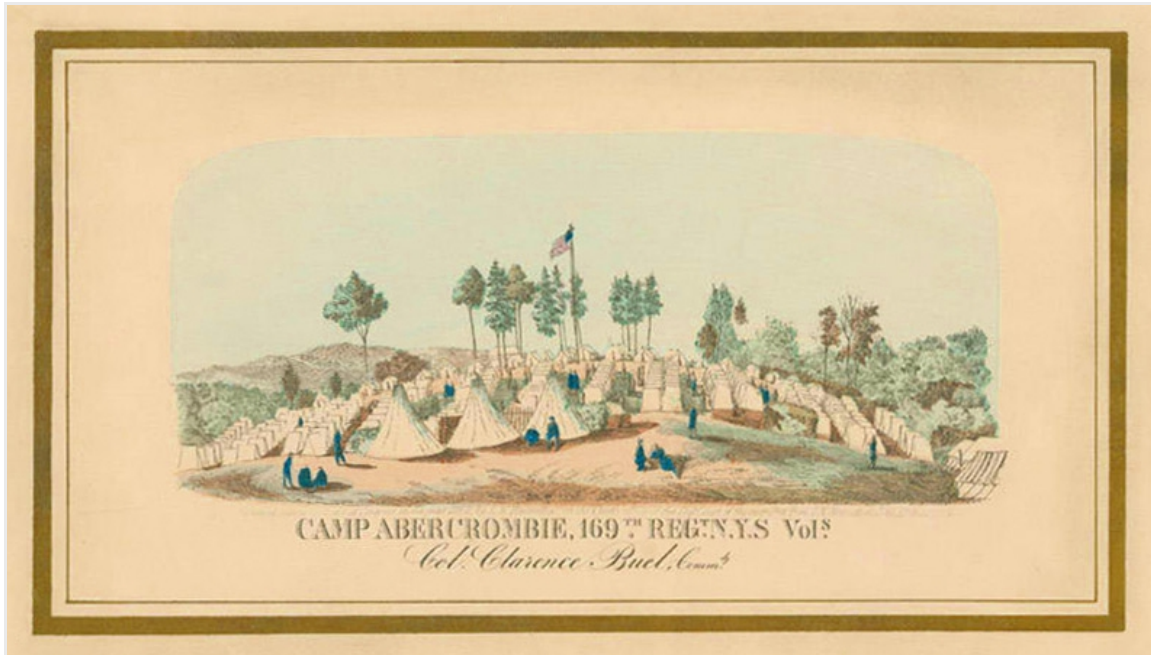
Yours truly,

T. S.

The on-going saga of the dismissal of Capt. Nathaniel C. Wood, Co. B, continued to unfold. The Troy *Daily Whig* decried the disrespect shown by the Federal authorities to this fine officer in an article published on January 4<sup>th</sup>:

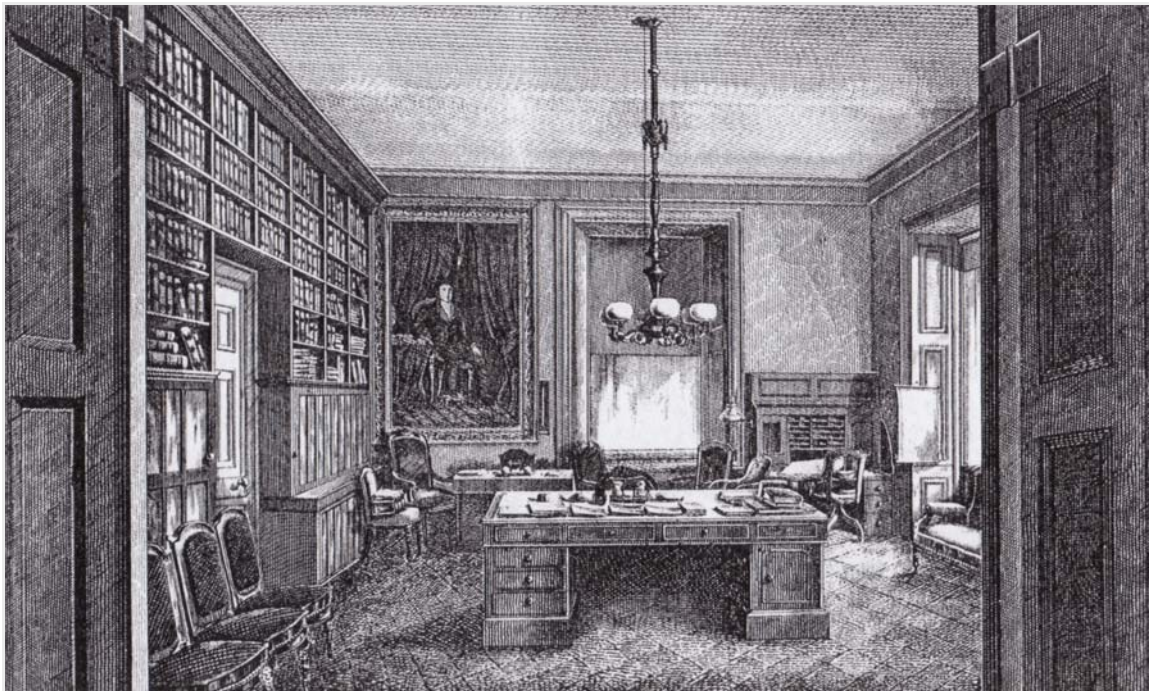
"CAPT. NAT. WOOD, of the 169<sup>th</sup>, may shortly, as we are informed by a letter from Folly Island, be expected home, in consequence of the fact that his muster has been ignored by the Department in a *third* order, on the technical ground that it was done without permission. Capt. Wood is extensively known here, and we know that the field officers of the regiment, and many prominent citizens, among whom we may mention James Forsyth, John A. Griswold, Hannibal Green and Elias Plum, took a personal interest in the matter of his re-enlistment. We therefore give a full statement of the case as reported to us by responsible parties, who have had the best of opportunities for informing themselves in regard to the facts: –

'While stationed at Camp Abercrombie, Va., an agent, claiming to be accredited by the Government, visited the regiment for the purpose of obtaining



**Camp Abercrombie, 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment N. Y. S. Volunteers, Colonel Clarence Buel, Commanding**  
**Published by Louis N. Rosenthal, Lithographers, Philadelphia (ca. 1862)**  
**Collection of The Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

officers' claims for recruiting expenses. – The Captain, when called upon, stated he did not suppose he was entitled to reimbursement, as the State had furnished rations and quarters at Batestown, and although he had, by reason of the distance from his recruiting offices to the rendezvous above-mentioned, for the most part subsisted and lodged his own men, he supposed that the Government would not recognize a claim for such expenses. The agent stated that the State paid contractors for the number of rations *consumed*, and it made no difference to the Government, whether they paid the contractor or the recruiting officer. This seemed reasonable, and the claim, amounting to about one quarter of the officers' expenses, – was made out under directions of the agent, and handed in. Nothing was heard from it until the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, when an order of *summary dismissal* for presenting fraudulent claims, with loss of all pay and allowances, – was received. No money had been received on the claim, no notice had been received of irregularity, no trial had been ordered, and the Captain, surprised at the order, hastened to Washington, to find the claim agent gone, whereabouts unknown. After infinite trouble he succeeded in finding the Judge Advocate who possessed the autocratic power of dismissing officers, and laying before him a written statement of facts, demanded a trial by court-martial. He then proceeded home, obtained the necessary vouchers to prove the validity of his claim, sworn and subscribed to before Commissioners of Deeds, and returned to Washington for trial. On presenting himself thus prepared, and expecting an immediate hearing, he was informed that no trial would be granted, that the vouchers proved all that was necessary, and an order of restoration would be issued in a few days. S. H. Swetland, our former townsman, who was fully acquainted with the facts of the case, was also informed by the Judge Advocate that no fears need be entertained, the Captain *would be restored*. Lieut.-Col. McConihe, equally confident, allowed the position made vacant by his dismissal, to remain unfilled, and the Captain, day after day, besieged the War Department, with the meagre success of capturing directions to call the next day at 10 o'clock. The time appointed found him on hand, and directed to present himself the *next* day at 10 o'clock; – on hand again, and invited to drop around the *next* day at 10 o'clock, – which he continued to do with commendable perseverance for nearly *two months*. S. H. Swetland, the State Agent, then obtained an interview with the Assistant Secretary of War, who informed him that the shortest route the officer could take to his position,



**Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, New York**

would be by way of Albany, and that the War Department would take no measures against his being re-appointed by the Governor, and would recognize his muster-in to the service. On the strength of these statements he returned home, and through the influence of Col. Buel and several prominent citizens, he was re-commissioned in August, immediately returned to his regiment, was mustered-in, has received *no pay in over eight months*, and the government has recognized and repaid his sacrifices and services, by issuing three conflicting orders in regard to his muster; the last one dated Dec. 7, being final, and ignoring his muster on the ground that it was *without the permission* of the War Department.'

"We will say this much for Capt. Wood, on the authority of officers of the 169<sup>th</sup>, now in the city, that he was, and is considered as having been one of the best and most efficient officers of the regiment, and that his dismissal is regarded as a loss to the organization and to the service. It is looked upon as a sort of 'red-tape' affair, which should reflect no discredit upon Capt. Wood."

The saga would not end without the forcing the captain to twist and turn in the wind, as reported by the *Daily Whig* on the 13<sup>th</sup>:

"CAPT. NAT. WOOD of the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment arrived in town yesterday morning. A fourth order was received by Capt. Wood on his arrival in this city, which evidently came in from Folly Island, with the same boat in which the Captain called.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
Washington, D. C., Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>, 1863.

Sir – I have the honor to inform you that the suspension of the muster-in to service of Nathaniel Wood, as a Captain in the 169<sup>th</sup> N. Y. Vols., is revoked, the irregularities causing such suspension having been rectified, and the muster accepted at this office, to date from August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

SAMUEL BRECK, A. A. General.



**Chase of a Blockade Runner**  
Published in "Harper's Weekly" (November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1864)

"The following regimental order was also received:

HEADQUARTERS 169<sup>TH</sup>, Folly Island, S. C.,  
January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1864.

Capt. Nathaniel Wood: Captain – You will report yourself *for duty* to these headquarters immediately. Orders have been received, which Lieut.-Col. W. W. Smith says, reinstates you completely.

By order of Alonzo Alden, Major Commanding Regiment.

S. N. KINNEY,  
Lieut. and Acting Adjutant.

"Of course, Capt. Wood will report immediately, and wait for the fifth order, which, as everything goes, will revoke previous orders conflicting.

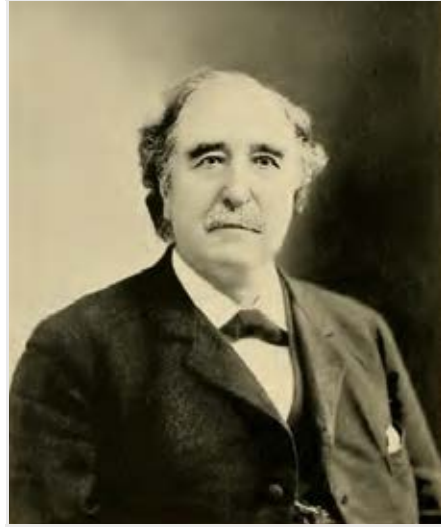
"Capt. Wood came home on the *Fulton*, which had an exciting chase of a blockade runner, on Saturday last, off Wilmington, – the blockade runner running out just as the *Fulton* came along. The runner fired up with tar by day, and banked her fires at night, and finally escaped under cover of darkness."

The official register of the regiment indicates that nothing would come of these orders, stating that Nathaniel's muster-in as captain "was in revoke, December 17, 1863, having been previously dismissed from the service for rendering false accounts to the government."

The recruiting detachment under Col. McConihe opened four offices in Troy and one at Whitehall. The colonel was located at 47 First Street, (at Seminary Park, aka Congress Park), in the law offices of his friends and mentors, Roswell A. and Franklin J. Parmenter, brothers of Capt. Jerome B. Parmenter of the 169<sup>th</sup>.

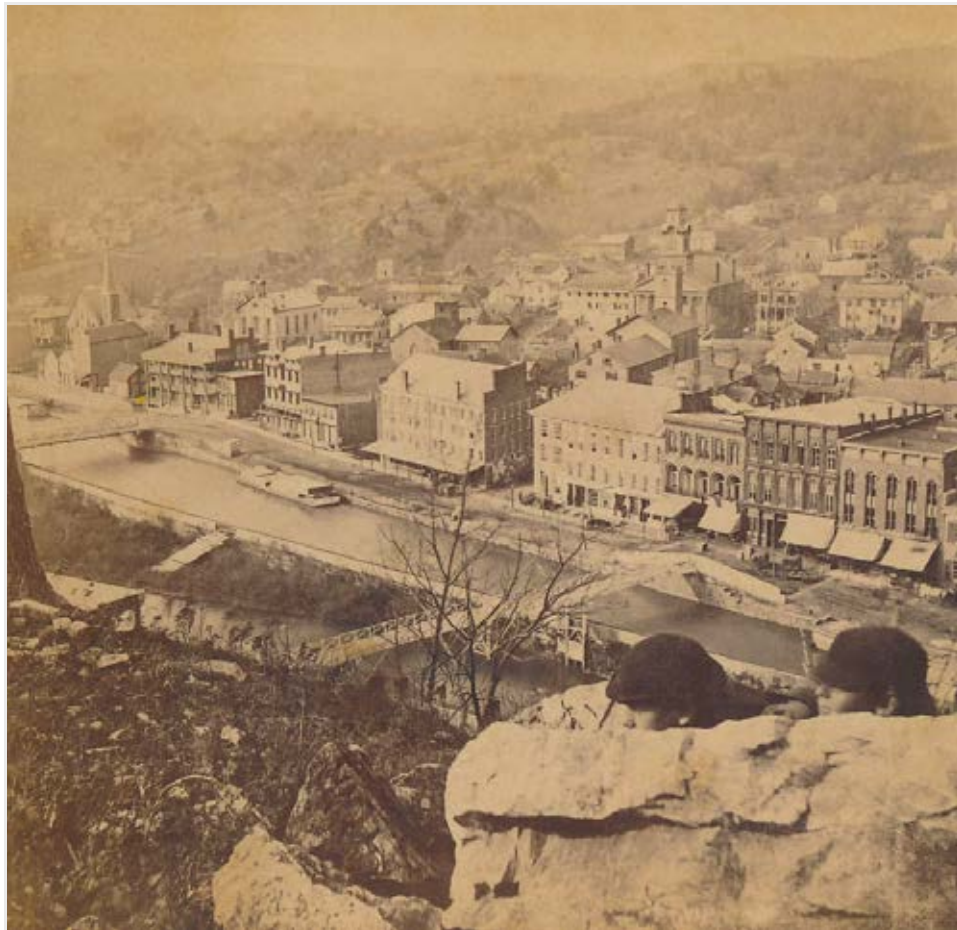


**Roswell A. Parmenter**



**Franklin J. Parmenter**

Capt. Daniel J. Cary manned the post at Washington Square, (now Monument Square), Capt. Frank W. Tarbell was stationed at Carpenter's Hotel, (at Sixth and Congress Streets), Capt. Spencer W. Snyder recruited men from the Troy Iron & Nail Factory, and Capt. Augustus D. Vaughn, at Whitehall, was responsible for all recruitment in Washington County.



**Panoramic view of Whitehall, New York (ca.1860s)**

Enlistment bounties for Rensselaer County in 1864 were sky-high, over three times the level paid to the original recruits of the regiment in 1862. The total for Federal, County, and Town bounties for new recruits, at \$790, equals \$50,000 today. The table below shows the changes in bounties from 1862 to 1865:

Year	Bounty Category	Amount
1862	Old Regiments:	
	• U. S. Government Premium	\$4
	• U. S. Government War Bounty	\$100
	• New York State Bounty	\$50
	• Rensselaer County Bounty	\$50
	• Town Bounty	\$50
	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$254</b>
"	New Regiments:	
	• U. S. Government Premium	\$2
	• U. S. Government War Bounty	\$100
	• Rensselaer County Bounty	\$50
	• Town Bounty	\$100
	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$252</b>
Notes for 1862 Bounties:		
(1.) A U. S. government premium in the amount of \$2 was given to new recruits in new regiments and \$3 was given to re-enlisting veterans joining new regiments.		
(2.) A special incentive bounty of \$10-20 was sometimes offered to recruits by private citizens on behalf of various towns and regiments.		
(3.) Bounty lands were to be offered to volunteers, according to a newspaper article dated July 19, 1862; and according to an article dated August 30, 1862, 160 acres of land were to be given to each volunteer.		
"The bounties are certainly very liberal, almost enough to buy a house and lot. Look at them!" – <i>The Lansingburgh Gazette, September 25, 1862.</i>		
1864	All Regiments:	
	• Veteran Re-Enlistment Bounty	\$965
	• New Recruit Enlistment Bounty	\$790
Notes for 1864 Bounties:		
(1.) The veteran re-enlistment bounty was \$965 and the new recruit enlistment bounty was \$790, according to a newspaper article dated January 14, 1864. These figures included the bounties from Rensselaer County (\$300), the State of New York, and the U. S. Government.		
(2.) According to a newspaper advertisement by the 169 <sup>th</sup> N.Y. dated February 6, 1864, the new recruit enlistment bounty was <b>\$690</b> , with a special incentive bounty of \$10 offered to the first 50 volunteers, making a total of \$700.		
(3.) A U. S. Government Premium of \$15 was authorized for recruits of the 169 <sup>th</sup> N. Y., according to a newspaper article dated February 9, 1864.		
(4.) According to a newspaper article dated April 13, 1864, the new recruit enlistment bounty was listed at <b>\$500</b> .		
(5.) A combined bounty for Troy and Rensselaer County was listed at <b>\$300</b> , according to a newspaper article dated August 10, 1864.		
1865	All Regiments:	
	• One Year's Men Enlistment Bounty	\$300
	• Two " " " "	\$450
	• Three " " " "	\$600



U.S. Greenback, One Dollar (1862)

Inflation in the North took a bite out of the purchasing power of U.S. Greenbacks, at 180% of antebellum prices by 1865, but the financial incentive to enlist remained very strong, especially for farmers and canal workers, as reported by the *Daily Whig* on the 7<sup>th</sup>:

"The impetus given to enlistments by the volunteering and bounty systems seems to be irresistible. Farmers bring in their sons, and the sons send home the county bounty in \$500 county bonds, taking the \$25 State bounty as a sufficiency for necessary wants. It is estimated that the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment, during the 24 hours closing at 9 o'clock last evening, received sixty recruits outside of the Provost Marshal's office, having been accepted through the surgeon of the regiment, and the Albany officers. Capt. Tarbell enlisted 27 men himself; 16 came in a body from Berlin and were sent to Albany, and other officers were proportionately fortunate.

"The incidental inducements to this activity are apparent – the absence of compulsion, large bounties, and the favorable season of the year, when farmers are comparatively easy, and the canals are frozen up. The Administration and Congress appreciate these facts, for under the recommendation of the President, the House, we notice, yesterday passed a resolution for the extension of the Government bounties to the first of March. We cannot doubt but the Senate will concur. Drafts are no longer necessary. – Volunteering suffices for any demand of the government for men – pregnant facts which alone, by showing that our advantages in the resources of men as well of money, are fully available, will do more to discourage the rebellion than a dozen victories in pitched battle."

The *Daily Press* announced the excellent progress of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.'s recruitment efforts in an article on the 14<sup>th</sup>:



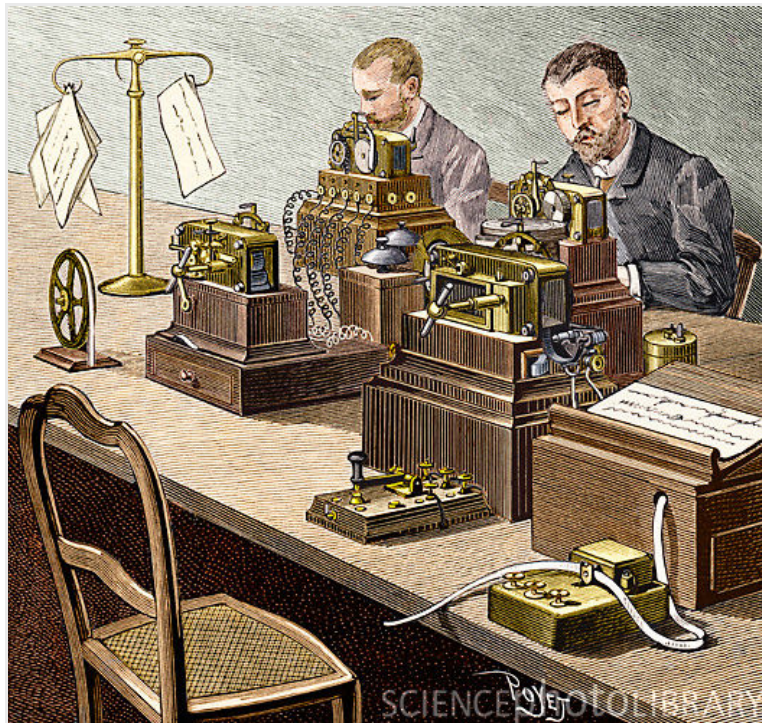
"LIEUT.-COL. McCONIHE, and the recruiting officers in his charge, are meeting with the most encouraging success in obtaining volunteers for the gallant One Hundred and Sixty-ninth regiment. Over one hundred men have already been enlisted, and only about 150 more are required. – To Trojans and citizens of Rensselaer and Washington counties, the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth affords superior inducements for enlisting. The large bounties will be continued, – veterans receiving \$965, and new recruits \$790! Fill up the ranks of the gallant One Hundred and Sixty-ninth!"

The first recruits enlisted by the regiment were sent to Folly Island by the middle of the month, according to an article in the *Daily Whig* on the 19<sup>th</sup>: "Yesterday afternoon United States mustering officer Lieut. Medary mustered in twenty-four recruits for this regiment, who started on their journey southward last evening. The regiment is stationed at Folly Island, and more comfortable and pleasurable quarters could hardly be found."

Men from surrounding counties continued to enlist in the regiment for a variety of reasons, including the reputation of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y., the high bounties available from Rensselaer County, connections to other men in the regiment, etc. Saratoga County provided a considerable number of them, with the *Troy Daily Times* mentioning on the 11<sup>th</sup>, for example, that "four young men have enlisted from Waterford in the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment." In the case of Priv.



Ethelbert E. Herrington, Co. E, the newspaper provided some interesting details about the new recruit in an article on the 6<sup>th</sup>, omitting the fact that he already served as a clerk in the U.S. Navy earlier in the war:



"ENLISTED. – E. E. Herrington, who has been for two or three years past telegraph reporter for the newspapers of the city, and is an experienced operator, to-day enlisted with Col. McConihe in the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment. He will probably remain here until the departure of the recruiting party, and, in the field, be detached for duty as a clerk. He 'passed' the surgeon this morning, and ere this the bounty no doubt lines his pocket with magnetic effect. Mr. Herrington has discharged his duties well, and is personally a very clever fellow, with a good supply of brains, and every qualification to make his mark down South. – We commend his example to others. He leaves a good position and lots of friends, to be one of Father Abraham's 'three hundred thousand more.' Mr. Herrington has written the report of many a victory and copied numerous important 'State papers' for the benefit of the *Times'* readers. We hope he will soon bulletin the downfall of Charleston in that neat handwriting of his, which is so popular with our printers, and so gratifying to the public when it conveys good news. Success to Herrington!"

Writing from "Headquarters, Recruiting Detail, Troy, N.Y.," Col. McConihe wrote a letter on the 4<sup>th</sup> to his friend John Newton mentioning the loss, (by engagement for marriage), of the beautiful Miss Franki Townsend:

"I am indeed here, and Mrs. Newton's letter will be answered at the first opportunity. Only please tell her not to imagine I shall be in danger of becoming suddenly engaged in a matrimonial alliance, as I know of no one that will have me. Miss Franki is undoubtedly engaged to a Professor Mason. This is reliable, I think. He is here now, and is a very fine looking professor of geology; a thick-set, middle-aged, bald-headed, clever, intelligent, and proper man. I think it is a good match, and one that will please Martin I. Whether he is endowed with any



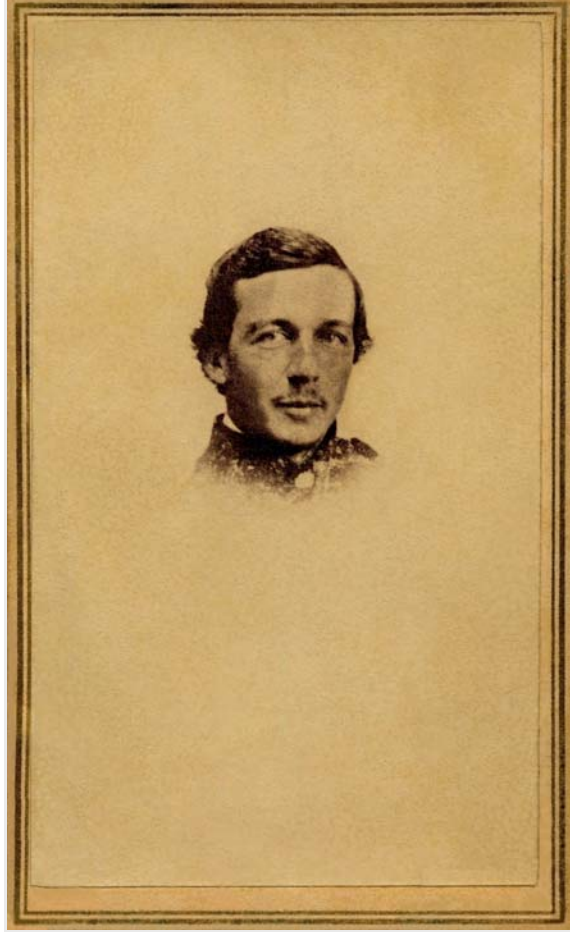
"Les Modes Parisienne, April," Published in Peterson's Magazine (April, 1864)

more worldly goods, that professors usually are, I cannot say. He had on patent leather boots last night."

We find the some background on this subject from a letter John Newton had written to the colonel about Miss Franki's visit to Cincinnati in August:

"Enie has told you how Franki Townsend was here. I like her very much. She is so pretty. And then I found out more in an hour's talk with her about Mose's, Tim's and Martin I's social position than I did out of you for months [Moses Warren, Timothy S. Banker, and Martin I. Townsend]. She was very earnest in her enquiries about you. Very much so. And I told her that when the war closed and you came home for good, that she had better look as pretty and as interesting as she could, and catch you; that she could not do better, &c. I don't recollect her answer."

John McConihe replied to Lavinia Newton on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1863:



**Captain John McConihe, Co. G, 1<sup>st</sup> Nebraska Infantry,  
Cincinnati, Ohio (1862)  
Collection of the Albany Institute of History & Art,  
Albany, New York**

"I omitted to make minute, in my answer to John's letter, of what he wrote concerning Miss Franki's visit, and will now note it both to you and him. I am indeed obliged to John, for pleading my case to her in my absence, but I am afraid some young man will win her heart before I return from 'this cruel war,' if I am fortunate enough to return. Miss Franki is indeed a lovely girl, and I have, from infancy, gazed upon her with much admiration. Her pleasing manners, gentle ways, and good impulses, combined with her intellectual and moral culture, graced by a beautiful form and pretty face, entitle her to the best of husbands, a person whom she could love with her whole heart, and one that would adore her for herself, and herself only. Although I constantly murmur, 'no one to love, none to caress,' yet in the words of the immortal Toodles I exclaim, 'I am the man! Am I the man?' And my trembling heart flutters, like a young bird when flown from its mother, its earliest pinions to try, and I, wearied by aimless thought, despondingly moan, 'there, up there, 'tis heart to heart.' I wish you had seen Miss Franki, as I would like to have had your opinion of her, although I know you would have been pleased with her manners and appearance. Don't forgive John for being so forgettable, as not to send for you on another such occasion. You have promised to select me a wife, and the first time I come to Cincinnati, if spared this war, with life, and no further mutilations, I shall ask you to fulfill your pledge, as I am timorous of



**Ball of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps – Washington's Birthday (February 22, 1864)**  
**Edwin Austin Forbes (1839-1895)**  
**Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

my own success in any such undertaking. My friends must find my wife, as I feel certain 'I long have sought, but found her not.'"

The business of recruiting men for the regiment was described by Col. McConihe as "wearing and fatiguing as hard marching," in a letter to Mrs. Newton on January 12<sup>th</sup>. The hard work by the detachment had paid off, however, the colonel noting that the great pressure upon their arrival seemed to have passed:

"Your splendid letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> ult., enclosing two neat and highly-prized neck-ties, arrived via Folly Island this day and I take the first opportunity to return my thanks for so kind a remembrance of me. Indeed, you and John are too good to me, and hereafter I shall sign myself to you, invariably approvingly. Have I not reason to be grateful to you and John, and do not the most approving recollections cling to all and everything that appertains to you and him? I never can repay you, except in gratitude, and all of that I possess is heartily conveyed to you. Don't ever again reprove me for writing myself down approvingly. The neck-ties will both be used only on extra occasions, and, I can assure you, will be worn. I like them, and although, like you, I prefer the black, still my eye of late has met so many gay colors, that the other looks handsome. It is the only Christmas present I have received, and they are, therefore, doubly welcomed. I thank you again.

"Since my arrival here, I have been very busy recruiting men, and have hardly had time to look in upon my lady friends. Yet I am not totally lost to an appreciation of ladies' society and hope soon – mind you, devoid of care and duties – to enjoy myself in their company. My old friend, Miss Black, sent me to-day her wedding cards, with a neat note; the first I have received from her in a year, and she is now Mrs. Moorhead, and in name, at least, a relation of Harry. So, one by one,



**Farewell to Civil War Soldiers at Railroad Station**  
**David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865)**  
Private Collection

my lady friends, as well as my male companions, leave me to join the service of matrimony.

"One of my captains that I brought home with me was married yesterday, and I granted him a two days' leave to go to New York [Capt. Spencer W. Snyder, Co. D]. May Miss Black and the captain meet with nothing to mar their happiness. I am pleased to have them go the way of the world, and with them rejoice. Col. Buel has not yet returned with his bride, but is expected this evening.

"We have secured about 100 men since we arrived for our regiment and are constantly getting more. I hope to be able to fill up our ranks again. The great pressure seems to be passed, and my detail is now in fine working order. I shall send off those on hand on Monday, and shall feel relieved when they start. Crying sisters and importunate relatives will then resign themselves to their fate, for 'Johnny has gone to be a soldier.'

"This recruiting is about as wearing and fatiguing as hard marching, and I shall be glad when it is over. Nothing but the delight of being at home would ever have induced me to have left the lovely isle to come north on this service."

The *New South* published an evocative letter from Morris Island on the 9<sup>th</sup> from a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, asking its readers, "Will somebody else give that dreary island 'a first-rate notice?'"

"COOPER, in 'The Pioneers,' makes *Leatherstocking* say 'that the best work God ever did was building the Catskill Mountains.' But what shall we say of the 'building' of Morris Island – this waste of sand, this desert of barrenness, this sterile drift of the ocean, upon which no vegetation (except the lowest type), dare grow, and over which the

buzzard flaps his wings with disgust? And yet the siege operations of this army will make it famous in all lands; its camp-fire tales be told to generations yet unborn, and its deeds of blood and conquest be emblazoned on the annals of the great Rebellion. And to-day, in countless Northern homes, how many tearful eyes are looking down across the 'mourning waste of waters' to this dreary islet; looking, in imagination, through trench and parallel, over bastion and parapet, where a brother, husband or father, fought and fell. Alas! looking also along the beach, in the marshes, over the headlands for that *one grave* where the heroic dead reposes.



"I have seen miles of soldier-cemeteries in Virginia, where the Army of the Potomac had buried its fallen heroes, but I have never seen or imagined a more desolate place to sleep 'after life's fitful fever' than Morris Island. The sun does not shine here, it blears or scorches. The breeze does not kiss, but blinds you with clouds of sand; the flora of the marshes brings no fragrance, but malaria; the birds do not sing, but pipe notes of ceaseless sadness. There is no forest to afford you shelter, no green valley to ramble over, no mountains with blue peaks to cheer the vision, and even the sky and clouds appear mean and cheap as you gaze upon them day after day, and night after night. The ocean sighs with a dirge like monotone as it chafes the beach, or howls with rage when the storm drives it headlong and tumultuous against the headlands and sand-drifts. Physically-speaking, this island belongs to the Pleutonic,\* if not the infernal, type; was begun at the last end of creation, and was left for this besieging army to finish. Professor AGASSIZ might write its physical history – your correspondent cannot.

"Geographically considered it is a curiosity. Its first stratified deposits were accumulated centuries before Secession was dreamed of, and yet its organic sand is excellent for building redans and fortifications; also good for trench work, as Gen. GILLMORE demonstrated months ago. Insular as it now is, there is a probability that it once belonged to the adjacent lands; but the tides encircled it, cutting it off from James and Folly Islands, and from which it is now separated by Light House Inlet. The two last-mentioned islands dissolved partnership with it in absolute

disgust, and such is pride in South Carolina to-day that plover, marsh-hens and sand-snipe from Morris are considered vulgar, and rarely if ever associate with the respectable wild fowl of other sea islands. In length Morris is about three statute miles; in width mysteriously uncertain, and in shape like a bologna sausage in Southwark market."

[Note: \*Plutonic is an adjective meaning igneous rock that has solidified beneath the earth's surface; granite or diorite or gabbro.]

Corp. Alfred C. Carmon, Co. H, wrote a letter to his sister on the 10<sup>th</sup> which included instructions for cleaning the seashells he sent her from Folly Island. Characterizing his letter as nothing more than a scrawl, (which in fact is true), his writing was somehow deciphered by your correspondent using a magnifying glass under a good light:



**On picket, Rappahannock Station, Va. (January 18, 1864)**  
**Edwin Austin Forbes (1839-1895)**  
**Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

"The weather has been quite cold for a few days back. The nights have been very cold and the men have suffered a great deal from the effects of it on picket, as they are not allowed to have any fire whatever. The weather has not been cold enough down here to snow any as

yet, but there has been a great plenty of rain in its place, and that was a great deal worse than snow.

"We had most a dreadfully dull time of it down here on Christmas, and New Year's worse yet than it was last year, because then we had some amusements, but this year we had none. But I hope that by the time that another New Year comes around, that we will be in a place where we can enjoy it together.



**Still Life with Conch Shell, Starfish and a Glass of Wine (2001) by Maureen Hyde  
Private Collection**

"If your shells look rusty, just boil them in vinegar a little while and they will look as bright as you please.

"It is no use for me to write anything about what is going on down here, because you know more about it than we do. We don't know what is going on here until we can get a New York paper. The news does not fly very fast down here, and if there is a report around camp, we think that it is nothing more than a camp rumor, so we don't place any confidence in it.

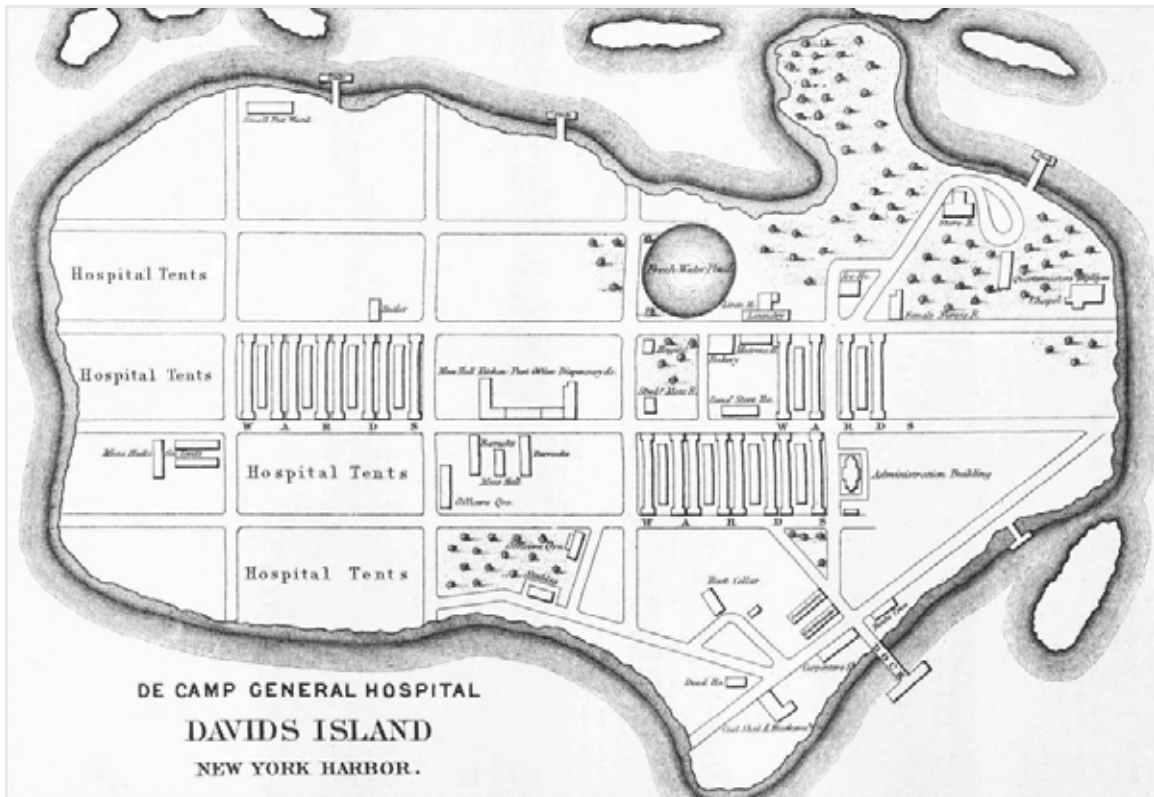
"I hear that they are enlisting men pretty fast around Sand Lake now. The young men must be pretty scarce up there now. The girls must be wanting beaux about this time. I don't suppose that Chet Payne or Pat Arnold has mustered up courage enough to enlist yet. A couple patriotic young men, are they? And I don't think that they have got any more religion than I have got. That is my opinion of the subject, but I may be mistaken, but I was pretty well acquainted with both of them before I left home. If they have got religion, it was so that they might get in with the recruiting of Sand Lake.

"I am well and fat as ever. Ben Bently [Corp. Benjamin F. Bentley, Co. H] has not got that box of his yet, and so I have not got my gloves as yet. I don't know as you can read this scrawl, but I had to write it in a hurry."

Corp. Patrick Murphy, Co. D, wrote about the boys to his friend back home on the 21<sup>st</sup>, mentioning the enlistment by his commanding officer, Capt. Spencer W. Snyder, of "a recruit for his own special benefit." Capt Snyder was married on the 11<sup>th</sup> to Teresa A. Usher at Schaghticoke, N.Y.:

"I received the papers you was kind enough to send me, and I'm expecting a letter from you in answer to one I wrote you some time





Map of De Camp U.S. General Hospital, Davids' Island, New York  
 Published in "The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion" (1870-'88)

since. But I suppose you were so busy with the fair that you had quite forgotten the soldiers.

"The boys are all in good health at present and join me in sending their respects to you. I suppose you have seen Sergeant Frank Biggart [Serg't. Francis Biggart, Co. D] and this time, as he said, he would call on you.

"Captain Snyder, the captain of our company, is home on recruiting service and he has enlisted a recruit for his own special benefit. His time will not expire in three years. I believe he is a little ahead of the times, I think, as it took two ministers to marry him. You will see a notice of his marriage in the *Troy Times* of the 12<sup>th</sup>.

"Patrick Farrell expects to go home on the next boat that leaves here for New York. Sergeant Gowrin will go home when Farrell returns. [Priv. Patrick Farrell and Serg't. C. H. Gowrin, Co. D]

"I think I have sent you *The New South* that is printed at Hilton Head, the headquarters of the Department, and it will inform you what is going on here at present."

Sickness continued to be a problem on Folly Island, although not to the extent experienced in earlier months. The *Daily Whig* reported the arrival in New York on the 24<sup>th</sup> of several men from the 169<sup>th</sup>, including Privates George H. Lewis, Co. C; James H. McGill, Co. F; James Nichols, Co. E; John Shaughnessy, Co. I; Stephen H. Tucker, Co. H; Corporals William F. Hakes, Co. H; and John H. Stickney, Co. E. Most of these men were treated at De Camp U.S. General Hospital at Davids' Island, at the western end of Long Island Sound between New Rochelle and the Bronx. Priv. John Wagner, Co. A, who enlisted at Poestenkill, N.Y., at age 40, died during the passage north.

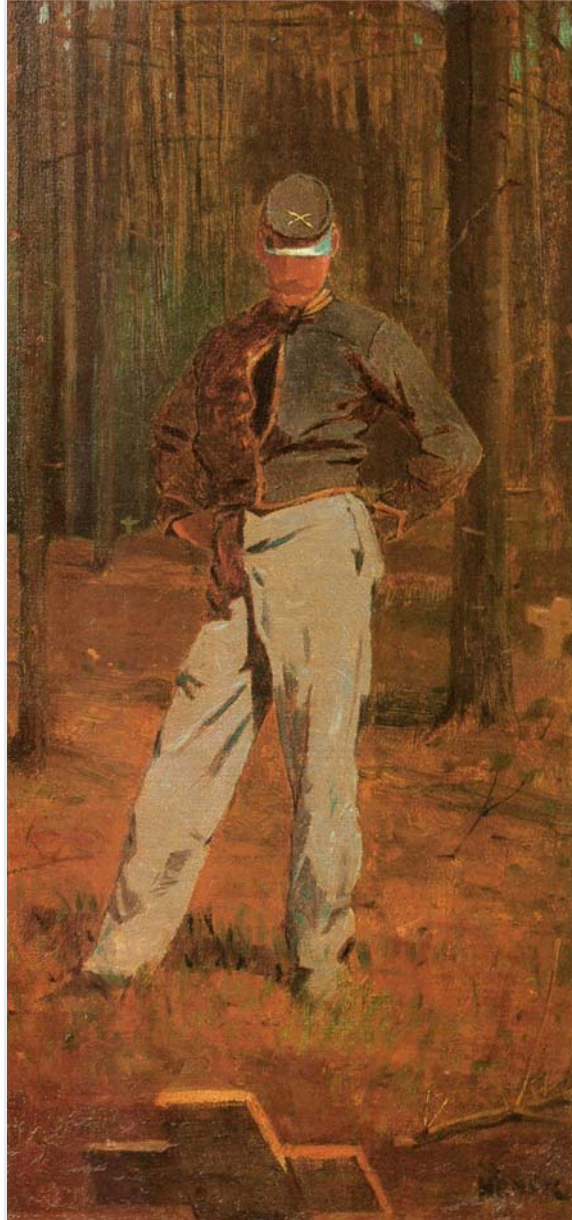


In a thoughtful article published on the 16<sup>th</sup> by the *New South* entitled, "Heroes Not Known," we are asked to remember the common soldiers who gave up their lives in defense of the Union:

"The pages of necrology will be largely increased by the present war. Literary industry will write up the biographies of all who greatly distinguished themselves in battling either for or against the Nation. We shall have a deluge of memoirs, narratives and military histories. (Every Army Correspondent will write fourteen volumes.) Our bookshelves will contain new companions to the old favorites of long ago. Our libraries will dazzle with military portraits, and our curiosity drawers will hold relics and souvenirs of many a battle-field. Our great loyalty, as well as our natural appreciation of heroic deeds, will cause us to venerate and worship the many

'Proud names that were not born to die'

"But while we pay deserved respect to our Commanders, to our Generals, and field-officers, we shall inadvertently overlook the invaluable services, the great hardships and sufferings of the common soldiers – *the million or more of brave, patriotic men*, who sacrificed the comforts of home, the profits of business, the tenderest ties of affection, to uphold "the old flag," and to conquer the enemies of a free, liberal, constitutional government. – The nature of all military organizations is to render the common soldier impersonal; to throw him into the cleft and chasm of battle, and if killed, simply to stop his pay and rations; or as Byron said, spell his name wrong in the newspapers!



**Trooper Meditating Beside a Grave (1865)**  
**Winslow Homer (1836-1910)**  
**Collection of the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska**

"We know something of the poor soldiers' life. We have seen an hundred thousand and more of gallant men in the ill-starred Army of the Potomac, and thousands more equally brave and heroic in this besieging Army – have seen them in camp, on the march, and on the field of battle, and can testify to the severe trials, hardships, exposure and suffering to which they are inevitably allied. Foot-sore, over-wearied, over-burdened and oftentimes, but necessarily, ill-fed; under torrid heat and freezing cold have we seen them perform their duties manfully and cheerfully. And we have also gone over the field of carnage when the grass was yet wet with blood; have heard that saddest of all sounds, the wounded soldier's last sigh; and have counted hundreds of tomb-less heroes shot and mangled almost beyond recognition.



No. 914. Unburied Dead on Battlefield

*"This photograph was made several months after the battle, on the field at Gaines' Mills, Va. At the time of the fight our troops were obliged to abandon the field and leave the dead unburied. The skulls and skeleton remains of some of our unknown heroes are here seen on the spot where they gave up their lives for our country. In the background can be seen the earthworks where, probably, was stationed the battery these soldiers were trying to capture when they were killed." – Photographic History, 1861-1865, published by The War Photograph & Exhibition Company, Hartford, Conn.*

"Those dead soldiers, scattered over meadows, grain-fields and orchards, or in trenches and parallels; festering in the sun or stark and frozen by the winter's frost, with torn and clotted garments, always come back to us when we reflect upon the shocking, terrible realities of the present war. And how many hearts are saddened, how many homes are desolated by the loss of 'the un-returning brave'? A year, or two years ago, those dead heroes were at home, on the farm, in the store, in the workshop or in the manufactory; talking of soldier-life, the camp, the march, the bivouac, and jocosely saying that when 'this cruel war is over' they would 'shoulder their crutch and show how fields were won.' Alas! they will nevermore return to relate campaign incidents or camp-fire tales. Grass is growing over them, the birds sing their lonely requiem, and summer flowers have written their epitaphs in blossoms of red and gold.

"We owe an immense debt of gratitude to the rank and file of our armies. They have borne the great burthens of the war; they have fought our battles, won our victories and rolled back the accursed waves of Rebellion. Thousands have died on the field or in the hospital, and many thousands more have gone home with crippled

limbs or seriously impaired in health. Let us not forget those brave men. Let us not overlook their ill-paid services. We must thank them, and accord to them a well-earned claim to loyalty and patriotism. *They have fought the great battles of constitutional freedom between a Slave oligarchy and a Republican Government.* They are the UNNOTICED HEROES whom a grateful people and nation should respect and honor."

Soldiers from the 169<sup>th</sup> traveled to New York for reasons such as better medical care, furloughs, and regimental business, while new recruits left for the seat of war. The *Daily Times* reported the departure of new recruits on the 28<sup>th</sup>: "The recruiting party of the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment, under Lieut.-Col. McConihe, are meeting with very good success in the matter of procuring recruits. Yesterday, a squad of twenty-four men were sent off under Capt. Vaughn to Folly Island, and many others have at different times been forwarded to the recruiting rendezvous of the State. It is thought that at least one hundred and fifty men have enlisted in this favorite regiment."



U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (February 1864)

On February 1, 1864, a call was made by President Lincoln for a total of 500,000 men for three years' service. In this call was included men raised by the draft in 1863, which furnished 369,380 men. The balance needed to comply with the President's call was estimated by New York state authorities to amount to 200,000 more men. Below is the President's executive order:

*"Ordered, That a draft for 500,000 men, to serve for three years or during the war, be made on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of March next for the military service of the United States, crediting and deducting therefrom so many as may have been enlisted or drafted into the service prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> day of March and not heretofore credited."*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



**The War Spirit at Home (1866)**  
**Lilly Martin Spencer (1822-1902)**  
Collection of the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey

The *Daily Times* responded to the announcement the same day:

"TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE.' – There is some little excitement in the streets to-day, by reason of the President's call, which is interpreted to require two hundred thousand more men. But one sentiment is expressed – that the city of Troy and county of Rensselaer must fill its quota, to the last dollar and the last man. The Board of Supervisors will no doubt be called together, and the liberal bounties, under which our shares of the 300,000 volunteers was raised, be extended. Troy will be required to furnish about four hundred and fifty more; the county about eight hundred.

"The reasons assigned for the new call are very apparent in Troy. They are that thus far the cavalry and artillery branches of the service have been filled to overflowing, while the infantry arm has not been much increased. Among the Troy volunteers, some of the light-waisted have selected the heaviest kind of artillery to serve in. One of the first to make preparations for the new emergency is the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment, John McConihe, now in town on recruiting service. The one hundred and fifty men required to fill the ranks will soon be raised under his auspices. Many will also go to the war-worn old One Hundred and Twenty-fifth.

"It is proper on this occasion to bear testimony to the arduous and successful labors of Supervisors Armstrong, Shehan and Schemerhorn, the recruiting committee of the Board, under whose management the



**Union officer standing next to a recruitment poster**  
Collection of the New-York Historical Society,  
New York, New York

bounties were paid and recruits credited. They are entitled to the thanks of the county and the favorable remembrance of their several constituencies. To Mayor Van Alstyne all honor is due. Twice, his efforts have been mainly instrumental in 'avoiding the draft,' and now that we are 'in the woods' again, we look to him and the Board of Supervisors once more."

Generous enlistment bounties were offered to recruits once again, with calls for a special incentive bounty of \$25 in addition to the Rensselaer county bounty of \$300, as reported by the *Daily Whig* on February 4<sup>th</sup>:

"OUR NEW QUOTA. – It seems to be pretty-well settled that the Board of Supervisors will to-day authorize a county bounty of \$300. It is believed that with this bounty a sufficient number to fill the quota under the last call will be obtained. The friends of the 169<sup>th</sup> and 125<sup>th</sup> Regiments are asking the Board for an extra bounty of \$25 for recruits

## **BOUNTIES RENEWED.**

**BEST CHANCE. GO WITH YOUR FRIENDS.**

### **169<sup>TH</sup> REGIMENT.**

\$10 Cash in addition to all other Bounties. \$690 being County, State and Government Bounties.

**\$700 WILL BE GIVEN TO EACH OF THE FIRST FIFTY MEN ENLISTING IN THE 169<sup>TH</sup> NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.**

Several patriotic citizens of Rensselaer County offer \$10 Cash to each of the first fifty recruits enlisted in the 169<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteers. Your own Regiment, the 169<sup>th</sup> N. Y. Volunteers, stationed at Folly Island, South Carolina, offers you a place in their Veteran Ranks, among your friends, with more inducements than can be offered by any other Regiment in the field. Promotion in this Regiment is for good conduct, and deserving Recruits will be speedily advanced. Young men of character, energy and capacity are invited to come forward and fill up the organization.

**YOUNG MEN! TARRY NOT!**

**THIS IS THE LAST CALL OF YOUR COUNTRY!**

All information will be cheerfully given on application to any of the following Officers, or to any of the Recruiting Agents:

CAPT. DANIEL J. CARY, Washington Square. CAPT. SPENCER W. SNYDER, Nail Factory. CAPT. FRANK TARBELL, Carpenter's Hotel. CAPT. AUGUSTUS D. VAUGHN, Whitehall.

Lieut.-Col. JOHN McCONIHE,  
Com'ding. Recruiting Detail, Troy, N. Y.

**Advertisement appearing in the Troy "Daily Whig"  
(February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1864)**

to fill their ranks, and the application appears to be favorably regarded by the members of the Board. As it is now the most of those volunteering join artillery or cavalry regiments in preference to infantry, and unless some inducement in the way of extra bounties are offered for enlistments in the latter arm of the service, the old infantry regiments are likely to remain with their ranks unfilled. Recruiting is proceeding briskly in the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and should the extra amount of \$25 per new recruit asked for be voted the ranks of the regiment will be speedily filled. Our county quota is stated at 2,012 men, over 1,400 of whom have been already raised under the October call, leaving a balance of about 600 still to be raised."

The special bounty for the 169<sup>th</sup> came out a bit lower than requested, according to the *Daily Whig* on the 6<sup>th</sup>: "EXTRA INDUCEMENTS are offered for recruits in the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment – TEN DOLLARS in addition to all other bounties being offered for the first fifty volunteers. This is the highest premium paid by any regiment – the additional ten dollars having been subscribed by Trojans interested in that organization. It is a crack regiment, well-officered and in good condition, and offers very superior inducements for volunteers to its ranks. See advertisement in our advertising columns."



Priv. William M. Swartwout, Co. G, was promoted from the ranks to 2<sup>d</sup> lieutenant by New York Governor Horatio Seymour, as announced by the *Daily Times* and *Daily Whig* on the 3<sup>d</sup>, the latter newspaper providing the details:



**Brevet-Major and Captain William M. Swartwout,  
Senior Aide-de-Camp, 10<sup>th</sup> Brigade, 3<sup>d</sup> Division,  
New York State National Guard (ca. 1877)**

"PROMOTION OF PRIVATE SWARTWOUT. – When the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment was being formed in this city, some eighteen months since, William M. Swartwout was a bank clerk in this city, and otherwise well-to-do in life – that is to say he was perfectly sure of three meals each successive day, a pleasant pocket competence, and a general companionship throughout every returning twenty-four hours, aside from his honorable labors as a bank assistant. When his personal friend Capt. John T. McCoun announced his intention to raise a company and go to the Union war, private Swartwout having refused immediate straps, not feeling wholly equal to them, enlisted in the ranks of the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth, under Col. Buel, declining the non-commissioned office of Orderly Sergeant of his company (G) which was in the direct line of promotion. His talents, however, at once elevated him to the notice of the regimental authorities, and when he was detached from his company for the purpose of doing certain responsible duties requiring energy and talent, it was observed that he was fully equal to the discriminating trusts reposed in him. This confidence, yesterday, found a very proper expression in the promotion of Private Swartwout, by His Excellency Governor Seymour, to be a Second Lieutenant in Company H, One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment, he having received his commission last evening. This is a rare instance of meritorious promotion, and the example should do its full work in stimulating other privates to earn advancement by unqual-

ified devotion to duty. Lieut. Swartwout will leave on Monday next to report for duty to Major Alden, commanding the regiment."

Notice of Col. Clarence Buel's resignation was published by the *Daily Whig* on the 5<sup>th</sup>, shortly after his return from his honeymoon in New York City:

"RESIGNED. – We learn that Col. CLARENCE BUEL, of the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment, has resigned, the state of his health and other circumstances of a personal character, inducing this determination on his part. Col. BUEL was a Captain in the Harris Light Cavalry, and later Colonel of the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment. In both positions he discharged his official duties most creditably. His bravery was illustrated by his acts in an engagement on the Edenton Road, beyond Suffolk, in which action he received a severe wound from which he has not yet fully recovered. His hand was badly shattered, and only escaped amputation by the narrowest chance. The service loses an excellent officer in Col. Buel's withdrawal."

Col. McConihe's presence in Troy allowed the families of soldiers to request information or favors in person. Off duty, he attended sumptuous parties held at the homes of members of Trojan society, such as William F. Burden, an industrialist whose family owned the Burden Ironworks:



"I intended to write something pretty, but while writing the above, no less than seven individuals have interrupted my thoughts, with the most common-placed affairs. A bereaved mother, whose son lies buried in South Carolina, wishes to bring his body home, and to inquire how it

can be done. The hero belonged to my regiment. A father says his son, a deserter, wishes to give himself up to me, and desires me to assure him his boy will not be 'shot to death with musketry.' A wife intercedes to obtain a furlough for her husband, who she says is dying to come home. She says, 'Colonel, why don't Archie [Priv. Archibald Graham, Co. G] get promoted?' A father wants Richard [possibly Corp. John Richard, Co. C] back again, and asks me to have him discharged.

"So it is, day in and day out, one constant stream of soldiers, relatives, and friends, rushing upon poor me to do something for them. I am glad to see them and to hold out the lamp of hope to *lighten* their aching hearts to their loved ones far away. Besides this, we are constantly receiving and sending forward *loved ones* to join their veteran friends in the South.

"We have obtained about 170 men, and all but forty have gone forward, having said their last farewell and dropped their parting tears, ere they face our country's traitors beneath our good old starry banner. It is hard to see them go, but it is galling to think that Liberty would be crushed if they tarried. No matter how heart-rending, I shout, 'Rally 'round the flag, boys, rally once again. Brave boys, gone at your country's call, brave boys, we ne'er forget some of you must fall.'

"You will please not repeat that bald-headed remark of mine concerning Miss Franki's lover so that it may reach her ears, as she might deem it disrespectful. I have not seen him since that evening.



"Last week was one of dissipation as well as business for me. I attended a party every evening, and one evening was present at two parties. The parties at Mrs. Green's and at William Burden's were most elegant. Flowers and rich dresses in profusion, and at Burden's the camellias on the supper table alone cost \$50.00 [about \$3,000 today]. For splendor, the gaiety of the past week has not been equaled since the

war broke out. There is to be a grand party at Mrs. Roy's on Thursday evening, and I am going. Among all these gay butterflies of fashion, none of them fell in love with me, although I love them all. Isn't it singular?

"I have about given up the idea of attempting to visit the West during my stay up north, as my only rational excuse, the presence of the Nebraska 1<sup>st</sup> in St. Louis, has been dissipated, the 1<sup>st</sup> having gone down into Arkansas. So I fear I shall not have the great pleasure of calling in upon you and John this winter, and can only hope that it will be in my case, that distance will lend enchantment in the future, as presence has friendship in the past.

"That would be a jolly expedition to Texas, and I thank you both for retaining a seat in the wagon. Of course I accept it, and will hurrah for Texas when the war is over.

"Tell John land and lots are going right up at Omaha this winter, and that Kellogg and myself again begin to feel rich. Kellogg is suffering from boils, carbuncles, and abscesses, and in his tribulation I console him as well as I may. Mrs. Kellogg is as pleasant as ever and just as good. She and you think there is no one like their Johns, and when I think of Newton and Kellogg, I think also 'John' is a clever man."

Lavinia Newton's father, George Graham, owned some land on the Brazos River in Texas, purchased before the war. Col. McConihe discussed the possibility of living there with the Newtons after the war, as related in his letter to John Newton on February 2<sup>d</sup>:



**Inclination – The Brazos River in the Weatherford area, by P. A. Jones**

"I have not as yet been able to get my mind sufficiently free from military associations, to fairly consider so extensive a scheme as the cultivation of Brazos River lands and the rearing of sheep in Texas. But the project strikes me favorably, especially so since you and I are to embark in it. Mrs. Newton would be housekeeper; you could be sheep overseer, and I, lamb attendant. We would want a couple of fellows to shear the sheep and raise our garden, and a man to cut firewood. The three latter, I can select out of my regiment when we are discharged from the service, the war being over.

"But does this plan involve the abandonment of our trip in the ironclad? I think we had better take that trip before we settle down on a farm as old folks, and by the time we return, the old folks, called Rebels, will have been fairly *settled* in Texas, so that we can live without sleeping with one eye open each night. Probably by the time we return from our voyage, we could settle in Texas without more danger than we encountered from the attack of the Pawnees at Fremont in 1856. It would be so pleasant not to be annoyed by attacks of a hostile nature earlier than eight o'clock A.M. I do so dislike to be disturbed in the nighttime or very early in the morning.

"What arrangements are we to make with Mr. Graham concerning the realty? I will go to-morrow, if he will guarantee us life, liberty, and title. Another way we might have it arranged: Mr. Graham might make all satisfactory by insuring our lives, he paying the expenses and premium annually, and thus this little difficulty could be gotten over. Upon what conditions are we to obtain the land from Mr. Graham? Cash down? I would prefer to pay so much annually out of the profits, and in case the profits do not pay the purchase money in three or five years, Mr. Graham is to pay us the deficit of the estimated profits, and give us a warrantee deed of the land. Mr. Graham would thus be interested in seeing that the profits accrued each year.

"I think also Miss Sarah Appleton should accompany us, and open a pioneer school for the Brazos region, her establishment being comfortably near our mansion, in order that she might not lose all her wind in walking over evenings to call on us.

"I wish you would nurture your ideas on these various points and submit them to me again, in a more tangible form. It would be well also, to find out what kind of a dicker we can make for Mr. or rather with Mr. Graham. Consider well these things.

"Thank you for inviting me to participate in this affair, and for your many flattering remarks concerning my ability to assist in making the project a winning one, and assuring you of my willingness to go when the war is over."

Priv. Robert Whitcomb, Co. D, wagoner of the regiment, in writing a letter on the 7<sup>th</sup> to his parents on behalf of himself and his brother, Serg't. George Whitcomb, Co. D, discusses his brother, Priv. Melvin E. Whitcomb, who mustered-in the 98<sup>th</sup> N.Y. in December, (and would be wounded on June 3, 1864, at the battle of Cold Harbor, Va.). No mention was made of the raid on Johns Island, the order for which would be received later that afternoon:

"Yours of the 24<sup>th</sup> came to hand last night and I was glad to hear that you was all well, and this leaves me and George in good health at present. I had an ague chill Thursday night, but have had none since and I feel as well to-day as ever I did.

"Sarah says that father came out of the woods sick but I hope not dangerous. I am sorry that Mel didn't come to this regiment, for I know that he will be very lonesome where he is, and it would have been company for me and George if he had come here. But I hope he will have good luck and get back alive, and be a man and that is what his brother Silas never will be the way he is doing things now...

"I am afraid that George won't get home this winter, but he says that he don't ask no odds of them. If he can't come he can stay, but he wants very much to see his wife and little girl and all of you.

"There is no news here at present... My love to you all. Tell Hanny that Robert and George send her a kiss."



Detail from "U.S. Coast Survey, Sketch of Sea Coast of South Carolina and Georgia, From Bull's Bay to Ossabaw Sound" (1863)  
 A. D. Bache, Superintendent  
 Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Fort Sumter still remained in Confederate hands, thus precluding the chance to launch a decisive naval attack against Charleston. Lacking sufficient forces for an assault against Rebel defences on James Island, Maj.-Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, commanding the Dept. of the South, looked for other options for bringing the war to the enemy. He found his opportunity, as revealed in an account published in the *United States Service Magazine*, Vol. II, No. II, August, 1864:

"A certain distinguished citizen of Florida, somewhat anxious to become more distinguished (the United States Senate has attractions for him), obtained the ear of the commanding general of the Department of the South, and urged upon him the importance of the military occupation of the State. The general, desiring some active operation, acceded to the proposition.

"The subject was laid before the President, – the distinguished citizen of Florida keeping himself in the background, but operating through the general, and friends at Washington.

"The argument was put in the most attractive form. Thus. There are many Union men in Florida. A small force can easily occupy and hold it. The State Government will be reorganized, and the State will be restored to the Union. And is not this a war for the restoration of the Union?

"All this was plausible. The expedition was determined upon by the President, and acquiesced in by General Halleck, though with the understanding that the latter regarded the operation as unimportant. The main



**Earliest known photograph of the White House (ca. 1860s)**

purpose of the expedition was avowedly political, – that is, to reorganize the State Government, under the President's proclamation of December 8, 1863. The military features were merely secondary, and so understood by those who conducted it. These secondary objects were the cutting of beef supplies from the enemy, and recruiting both white and black men for our army, and were legitimate military operations. But were they sufficient to justify an expedition of this character?"

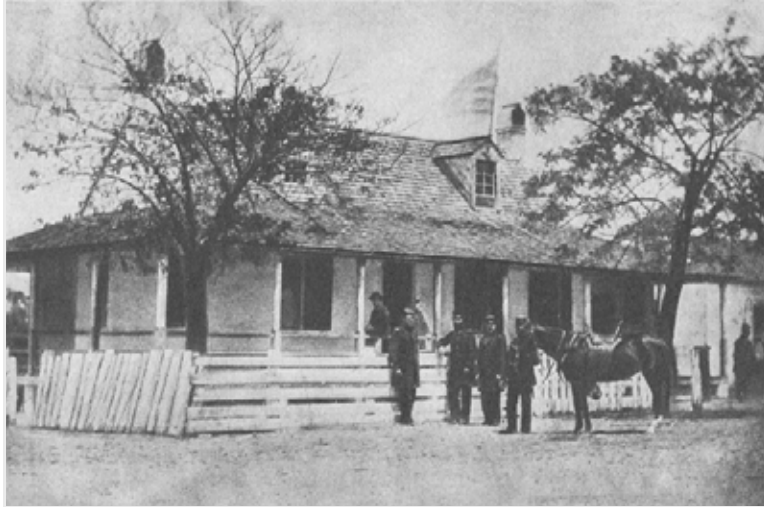


**Brigadier-General Truman Seymour,  
commanding expedition to  
Northern Florida**



**Brigadier-General Alexander Schimmelfennig,  
commanding expedition to  
Johns Island, South Carolina**

Brig.-Gen. Truman Seymour, in command of the expedition to Florida, landed his troops at Jacksonville on February 7<sup>th</sup>. Conducting several raids into the north-east and north-central regions of the state, Union forces met with little resistance, seizing several Confederate camps, capturing small bands of Rebel soldiers and



**Headquarters of Major-General Quincy A. Gillmore  
Hilton Head, South Carolina**

artillery pieces, and liberating slaves. Seymour was under orders from Gillmore not to advance deep into the state.

Informed about Seymour's preparations underway at Hilton Head, Confederate Brig.-Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, commanding the coastal defenses of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, dispatched reinforcements from Charleston to bolster Florida's defenses. A second expedition was directed by Gillmore to Johns Island, to the southwest of Charleston, the objective of which was to strike rapidly across the island to Rantowles Bridge, destroy it and threaten Charleston from the rear, for the purpose of drawing attention from Gen. Seymour's expedition to Florida. Brig.-Gen. Alexander Schimmelfennig was placed in command of this expedition:

HDQRS. NORTHERN DISTRICT, DEPT. OF THE SOUTH,  
Folly Island, S. C., February 6, 1864.

Brig. Gen. J. W. TURNER,  
Chief of Staff, &c., Hilton Head, S. C.:

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of instructions from the major-general commanding to send General Schimmelfennig, with a force of 3,000 or 4,000 men, to make an armed reconnaissance upon John's Island, in such a manner as to alarm the enemy for the safety of the railroad near Rantowles Bridge, and thus draw his attention away from the point to which the expedition of Brig. Gen. T. Seymour is directed.

In obedience to these instructions I have directed Brigadier-General Schimmelfennig to commence getting his men over to Kiawah Island to-night, and I shall hurry forward his preparations as rapidly as possible. I now ask for more definite and precise instructions. In those which I have received I am not informed when the commanding general desires this demonstration to be made, nor during what length of time it should last, and knowing nothing of the character of the movement which this is designed to be in aid of, I am unable to form any opinion of my own in regard to it. In this uncertainty I might commence too soon to have my movement be of advantage, and I might commence it at the right moment but discontinue it so soon as to have no good result, or continue it beyond the period during which it could



be of service, and thus unnecessarily expose my men, or I might be altogether too late. The element of time is entirely omitted from my instructions, and I most respectfully ask that it may be supplied. Meanwhile, and until I can receive an answer to this communication, no delay in preparation will occur.

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

ALFRED H. TERRY,  
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

Schimmelfennig's force consisted of 11 infantry regiments from Gordon's and Vogdes' divisions, supported by Battery F, 3<sup>d</sup> N.Y. Artillery. These organizations are highlighted in blue in the following order of battle, the other regiments remaining at Folly Island:

Troops in the Department of the South, Maj.-Gen. QUINCY A. GILLMORE, commanding, January 31, 1864.	
Northern District. Brig.-Gen. ALFRED H. TERRY.	
Folly Island.	
Gordon's Division. Brig.-Gen. ADELBERT AMES.	
First Brigade. Col. LEOPOLD VON GILSA.	Second Brigade. Col. WILLIAM H. NOBLE.
41 <sup>st</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Detleo von Einsiedel.	17 <sup>th</sup> Conn., Capt. Enos Kellogg.
54 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Bankson T. Morgan.	144 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. James Lewis.
127 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Col. William Gurney.	157 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Col. Philip P. Brown, jr.
142 <sup>d</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Albert M. Barney.	75 <sup>th</sup> Ohio, Col. Andrew L. Harris.
74 <sup>th</sup> Penn., Col. Adolph von Hartung.	107 <sup>th</sup> Ohio, Col. Seraphim Meyer.
Vogdes' Division. Brig.-Gen. ROBERT S. FOSTER.	
First Brigade. Col. JEREMIAH C. DRAKE.	Third Brigade (colored). Col. JAMES C. BEECHER.
13 <sup>th</sup> Ind., Maj. John C. Burton.	55 <sup>th</sup> Mass., Col. Alfred S. Hartwell.
112 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Major John F. Smith.	1 <sup>st</sup> N.C., Lieut.-Col. William N. Reed.
169 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Major Alonzo Alden.	
Second Brigade. Col. SAMUEL M. ALFORD.	<i>Unattached.</i>
3 <sup>d</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Eldridge G. Floyd.	1 <sup>st</sup> Conn. Battery, Capt. Alfred P. Rockwell.
89 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Theophilus L. England.	3 <sup>d</sup> R.I.H.A., Co. A, Capt. William H. Hamner.
103 <sup>d</sup> N.Y., Lieut.-Col. Andrew Wettstein.	
117 <sup>th</sup> N.Y., Maj. Rufus Daggett.	
Light Artillery Battalion. Capt. JOHN HAMILTON.	
3 <sup>d</sup> N.Y., Battery F, Capt. Samuel C. Day.	3 <sup>d</sup> U.S., Battery E, Capt. John Hamilton.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Ind. remained with the defenses of Folly Island, so Drake's Brigade was brought up to strength by the 117<sup>th</sup> N.Y. of Alford's Brigade. The following order describes the preparations to be followed by Drake's Brigade prior to its departure on the night of the 7<sup>th</sup>:



**The Infantryman (ca. 1905)**  
**William Gilbert Gaul (1855-1919)**  
Collection of the Morris Museum of Art, Augusta, Georgia

HEADQUARTERS U. S. FORCES,  
Folly Island, S. C., February 7, 1864.

Brig. Gen. R. S. FOSTER, Commanding Division:

GENERAL: General Schimmelfennig has been ordered on an expedition which will last a few days, and the command of Folly Island will therefore devolve on you in his absence. You will send 1,000 men from your command on this expedition (General Terry suggested Colonel Alford's brigade). The men will be provided with three days' rations from to-morrow (8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> instant), 40 rounds of ammunition in cartridge-boxes and 40 in knapsacks, their overcoats, one blanket and a rubber blanket, and one extra pair of socks. They will be ready to embark at 12 to-night at the wharf at Stono Landing. Horses and ambulance will be at the landing at 8 p.m. There will be sent with each 100 men three axes and three spades. The command will also take with it

one ambulance, stretchers and stretcher-bearers, and signal flags and lights, if they can be had. An officer of General Schimmelfennig's staff will conduct the brigade to the place of rendezvous upon their arrival at Kiawah. The commanding officers of brigades and of regiments will be held responsible for all unnecessary noise. No fires will be kindled and no signals sounded until the enemy has been attacked.

I am, general, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. B. SCOTT,  
Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General.

In an article entitled, *The Johns Island Expedition* (1993) by James W. Towart, prepared on behalf of Dr. Keith V. Holland of St. Johns Archaeological Expeditions, Inc., discoverer of the wreck of the U.S. Army Transport *Maple Leaf*, we find a complete timeline and description of the fighting during the expedition:

"On February 7, the same day that General Seymour's troops were landing in Jacksonville, General Schimmelfennig's troops on Folly Island were told to get ready to march and to take three days' rations. That night they ferried over the Stono River on two steamers to Kiawah Island and when they were all across they marched along the Island until 6 A.M. They rested all day at the Vanderhorst Plantation and moved on at 10 P.M. They waded across the shoal between Kiawah and Seabrook Island at 2 A.M. on February 9. Once across, they resumed the march and emerged from the woods soon after daybreak and passed through the large Seabrook family cotton plantation...

"The Federal forces advanced to the bridge over the Haulover Cut, which divided Seabrook and Johns Island, arriving there early on the morning of February 9. The 142<sup>nd</sup> and the 157<sup>th</sup> New York Regiments sent skirmishers across the bridge and they drove back the Confederate pickets commanded by Major John Jenkins. Major Jenkins had about 150 men under his command to oppose the Federal advance over Haulover Cut on February 9. They were the Stono Scouts, Citadel Cadets, the Rebel Troop, Sullivan's Company of Calvary, and Captain Jennett's Company of the 59<sup>th</sup> Virginia Volunteers. The remainder of the Federal column then crossed over the bridge and advanced about a quarter of a mile along Bohicket Road. At that point, they stopped and began to throw up breastworks as a protection against a counterattack.

"On the next morning, the First and Second Brigades advanced slowly up Bohicket Road, extending their line to the right. The obvious threat posed by these Federal troops outflanking the small force of Confederate defenders led Brigadier General Henry A. Wise to withdraw his troops to the vicinity of a triangular-shaped road intersection called Cocked Hat, about four miles from Haulover Cut. At that point, the Confederates established a new defensive line and awaited reinforcements. However, the Federal force did not follow the Confederates as they withdrew, remaining near their breastworks.

"On the morning of February 11 the Federal forces were divided into two groups. The First and Second Brigade advanced up the Bohicket Road which was the most direct route to the Rantowle's Railroad Bridge. At the same time [Drake's] Brigade was sent off to the right, 'across a bayou and through a plantation belonging to the Legarre family, about five miles.'

"The route that was probably followed was the Old Plantation Road, which ran from Bohicket Road to Legareville Road, south of Abba-poola Creek. [Drake's Brigade] advanced eastward, probably from the breastworks athwart Bohicket Road near the Haulover Bridge and



**Legareville, at the confluence of the Stono and Kiawah Rivers,  
by Portia Burden Trenholm**

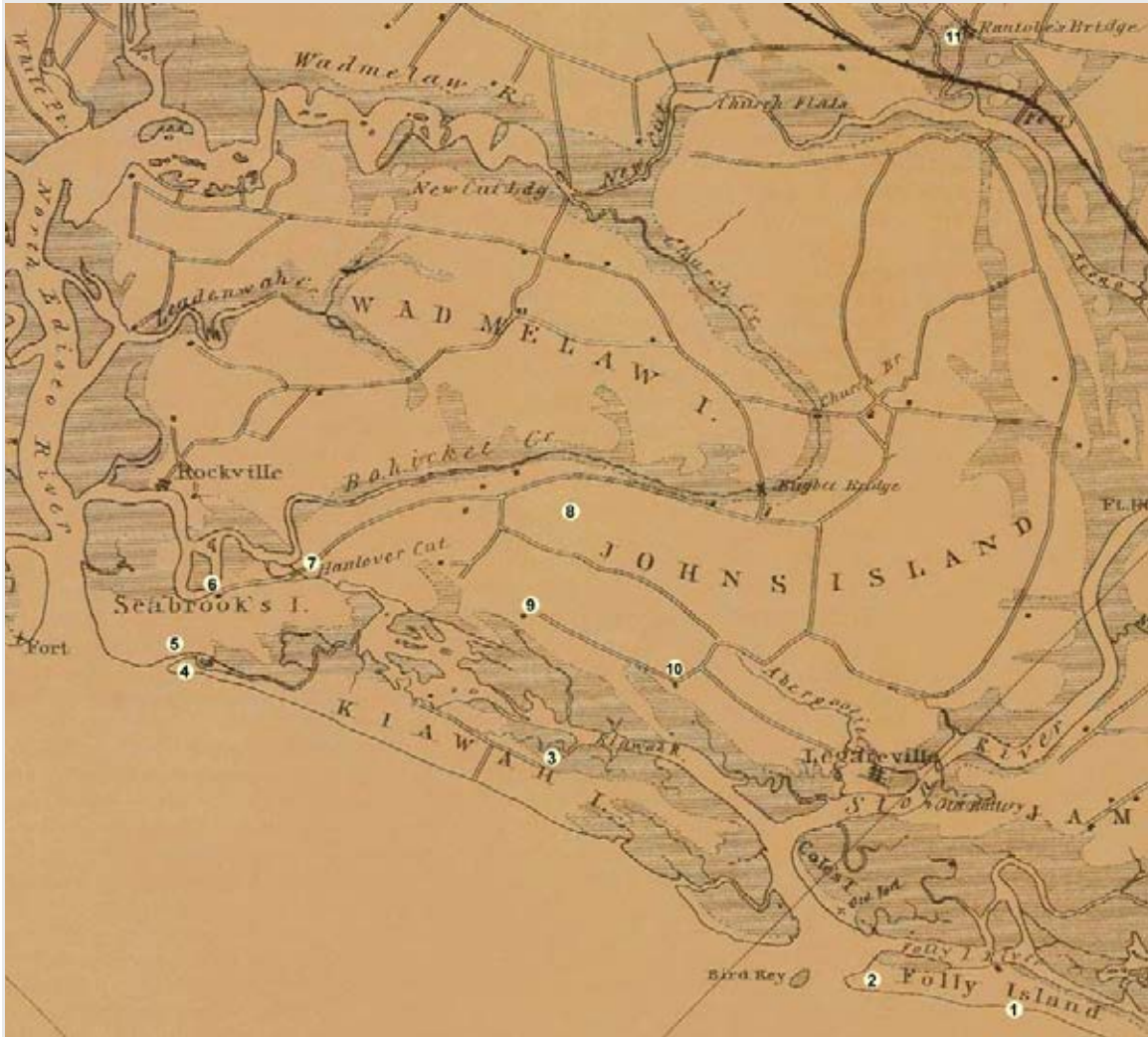
crossed the southern end of Abbapoola Creek (the bayou). They would then have picked up Old Plantation Road at Mullett Hall Plantation, which was owned by Legare family members, and ended their march at the plantation house belonging to Solomon Legare. A short distance from this place was the village of Legareville, located near the confluence of Abbapoola Creek and the Stono River...



**Mullett Hall Plantation, Avenue of Oaks,  
Johns Island, South Carolina**

"[Drake's Brigade] apparently stopped near the plantation house, which Chaplain Hyde [of the 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y.] described as a fine specimen of a Southern gentleman's country residence. This was most likely the plantation house of Solomon Legare (1797-1878).

"That afternoon about 3:30 P.M. the First and Second Brigades encountered the newly reinforced Confederate troops near the Cocked Hat intersection. The reinforcements were Charles' Battery, the 4<sup>th</sup> and 46<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiments, a battalion of the 59<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment, five companies of the 26<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment, and 900 Georgians led by



Detail from "U.S. Coast Survey, Sketch of Sea Coast of South Carolina and Georgia, From Bull's Bay to Ossabaw Sound" (1863)

Expedition from Folly Island to Johns Island, S.C.,  
February 7-12, 1864

1. February 7<sup>th</sup>, 9 P.M.: Departed from the camp of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.
2. 10 P.M.: Boarded transports at Folly Island and crossed the Stono River to Kiawah Island.
3. February 8<sup>th</sup>, 6 A.M.: Reached the Vanderhorst plantation and rested all day, moving on at 10 P.M. The location of the Vanderhorst mansion is pinpointed by stop no. 3.
4. February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2 A.M.: Waded across the shoal between Kiawah Island and Seabrook Island.
5. 3 A.M.: After crossing and moving half a mile, the column halted an hour, an artillery wagon being stuck fast in a sand bank.
6. 5 A.M.: The column halted at the Seabrook plantation, while the advance guard made ready to move quickly across the only bridge, "an old rickety affair," leading to John's Island. The location of the Seabrook mansion is pinpointed by stop no. 6.
7. Early morning: Federal troops crossed the bridge over the Haulover Cut, which divided Seabrook and Johns Island, advancing about a quarter of a mile along Bohicket Road. At that point

- breastworks were thrown up as a protection against a counter-attack. Fighting ensued at the Jenkins estate.
8. February 10<sup>th</sup>, A.M.: The First and Second Brigades advanced slowly up Bohicket Road, extending their line to the right. Gen. Wise withdrew his brigade to the vicinity of a triangular-shaped road intersection called Cocked Hat, about four miles from Haulover Cut.
  9. February 11<sup>th</sup>, A.M.: Arrival of Colquitt's Brigade from Savannah, sent to the left of Wise's line. The Federal forces were divided into two groups. The First and Second Brigade advanced up Bohicket Road, which was the most direct route to Rantowles Bridge. At the same time Drake's Brigade was sent off to the right in an effort to outflank the enemy, "across a bayou and through a plantation belonging to the Legarre family, about five miles," reaching Mullett Hall plantation. The location of the mansion is pinpointed by stop no. 9.
  10. P.M.: Drake's Brigade reached the plantation belonging to Solomon Legare, the men "enshrouded in Egyptian darkness." The location of the mansion is pinpointed by stop no. 10. Fighting continued until about 5 P.M., at which time the Union forces withdrew to the defensive line at the Jenkins estate. At 2 A.M. on February 12<sup>th</sup>, the Union forces withdrew from Johns Island, burning Haulover Bridge and the Seabrook mansion. Wading the strait at night, they marched briskly along the Kiawah beach to Vanderhorst plantation, reaching it at dawn, where they rested. The 169<sup>th</sup> returned to their camp at Folly Island by 3 P.M.
  11. Rantowles Bridge.

Brigadier General A. H. Colquitt. An artillery duel ensued for about an hour. The Federal firing diminished and finally stopped about 5 P.M. At that time all the Federal brigades were withdrawn to their breastworks. The Confederate forces did not pursue them. That night about midnight the Federal troops crossed over the Haulover Cut Bridge and burned it and a nearby plantation house belonging to William Seabrook. They were back in their Folly Island camps by the afternoon of February 12<sup>th</sup>."

Brig.-Gen. Alonzo Alden, describing the march to Johns Island in his memoirs 32 years after the expedition, mistakenly referred to Haulover Bridge as Rantowles Bridge, which was located 15 miles further to the north as the crow flies:

"On the 7<sup>th</sup> of February, 1864, the 169<sup>th</sup>, with other troops from Folly Island, constituted an expedition of about 4,000 officers and men to reconnoiter John's Island, under command of General Schimmelfennig. "The route of our expedition, the remote and immediate prospects, were surpassingly romantic. John's Island was nature's garden in full bloom. The air that we breathed was redolent of sweet-scented flowers. The route from the south end of Folly Island, via transports across Stono Inlet to Kiawah Island, covered about one and a half miles; we then marched about 14 miles on Kiawah through a continuous grove of mammoth, wide-spreading magnolias ornamented with a dense growth of blossoms and twining vines that festooned their graceful trunks, to the North Edisto River, which is as wide as the Hudson at Troy, but so shallow that we forded to Seabrook Island. This island was as picturesque as Kiawah, but gave evidence of some successful attempts at agriculture and especially cotton-raising. On this island we marched about four miles to Sugar Plantation Bridge, where was located the



Photograph by John Folsom, exhibited at the Gibbes Museum, Charleston (2010)

widely-known Jenkins Estate. We crossed this bridge to John's Island and then moved on five miles to Rantowle's Bridge."

Chaplain William L. Hyde of the 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y. provides further details of the march, including the "weird and imposing" scenery of Seabrook Island, in his *History of the One Hundred and Twelfth Regiment N.Y. Volunteers* (1866):

"We started from camp at 9 P.M. After marching a mile, the 169<sup>th</sup> and 117<sup>th</sup> N.Y. joined the 112<sup>th</sup>. Col. Drake was in command of the Brigade, Maj. J. F. Smith in command of the 112<sup>th</sup>. We marched two and a half miles to Stono Inlet. It was a bitter, chilly, dark night, with a wind blowing off the sea. At Stono the force remained until midnight, awaiting their turn to be ferried across the Inlet to Kiawah. The men sweating from the march were obliged to burrow in the sand, to screen them from the intense chill. The inlet here is about three-fourths of a mile wide. Two steamers were busy moving the troops across. Landing on the beach and waiting till all the troops were over, the column moved down a mile, then struck into a fine wide path through dense woods, reaching the place of halting about 6 A.M. Here the whole force rested during the day, which was as much like midsummer as the preceding night had been like midwinter.

"At 10 o'clock at night the column moved on again, taking the night so as to avoid notice, and this late hour so as to strike the shoals between Kiawah and Seabrook at low water when it could be forded. It was 2 o'clock A.M. when the ford was reached, the water breast high. The men stripped off pants, drawers, boots and stockings, and waded.



Photograph by John Folsom, exhibited at the Gibbes Museum, Charleston (2010)

Absolute silence had been enjoined, but it was impossible to prevent men from indulging in frolic, so cold was the water at this season of the year. After crossing and moving half a mile, before they had got warmed up, they were halted an hour, an artillery wagon being stuck fast in a sand bank.

"The scenery, as we marched through the woods across Seabrook in the dim morning hours, was weird and imposing. The huge oaks were festooned with hanging moss and climbing shrubs, and vines of every Southern variety twisted around them. The buds were swelling, and the young leaves were seen bursting from some of the earlier shrubs. Emerging from this wood road soon after day break, the path led through a large cotton plantation. The white inhabitants had all left; a few old negroes only remained. The fields were bordered with live oak, and belts of timber left on the windward side for a screen. On this plantation the column halted, while the advance guard made ready to move quickly across the only bridge, an old rickety affair, leading to John's Island. We moved a mile to the bridge and halted."

Surgeon James A. Mowris of the 117<sup>th</sup> N.Y. wrote about the crossing of the freezing, waist-deep waters of the Edisto River in his *History of the One Hundred and Seventeenth Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers, Fourth Oneida* (1866):

"About 10 P.M. crossed Stono Inlet to Kiawha Island. Soon after midnight we resumed our march southward on the last named island, making some eight or ten miles before halting for breakfast; marched till noon, stopping on a neglected plantation, where we 'dined' and lay quietly amid a young growth of pines, till about 10 o'clock P.M.

"The boys will recall the locality through the passing allusion to the 'rabbit chase.' After filing past the deserted mansion, we went eastward





**Vanderhorst Mansion, Kiawah Island, S.C., by Becky Lee (1974)**

through a wood, emerging, after going about a mile, on the open beach. A rapid march of some two or three hours, brought us to Edisto Inlet. The men were obliged to make the crossing on foot, though the water was nearly waist deep. Those who are informed that the temperature was about freezing point, will have no difficulty in appreciating the magnitude of the obstacle, and it seems, a deeper sense of gratitude toward soldiers, would be excited in the minds of civilians, did they know how cheerfully the soldiers accepted these ills. We had anticipated some opposition at the crossing, but its absence indicated an encouraging lack of vigilance on the part of the enemy.

"The passage brought us to Seabrook Island. Our course was now about north-west, through pine woods and swamps, the latter made passable by corduroy roads, and at length over deserted plantations, which composed the agricultural portion of the island. A little before sunrise, we reached the stream which divides Seabrook and Little Island. The integrity of the bridge was additional proof that Johnny had been caught napping."

Gen. Alden's memoirs continue with a brief account of the fighting by the expeditionary force, followed by an interesting description of the 169<sup>th</sup>'s bivouac in the vicinity of the Legare plantation, "enshrouded in Egyptian darkness":

"At the crossing of the Sugar Plantation Bridge, we encountered the Confederate cavalry, skirmished with them for about a half-hour, when they withdrew, leaving one officer and two men killed, five prisoners, and three horses as a reward for their temerity. We suffered the loss of one man killed and three wounded. One of the Confederates killed was Captain Jenkins, a very handsome young man, the owner of the Jenkins Estate. He fell dead within a few rods of his own mansion.

"When we approached [Haulover Bridge], about 4,000 of the enemy commenced an attack upon our expedition, but upon encountering our artillery fell back and did not press the attack. We immediately pur-



Scene from "Abraham Lincoln – Vampire Hunter" (2012)  
Directed by Timur Bekmambetov

sued them until arriving near their entrenchments, when we halted and gave them a lively shelling as a warning and a parting salute.

"We did not care to annoy them while they were practically secure in their entrenched position, and as it was becoming quite dark, we withdrew about three miles to a retired, largely-screened plantation to rest for the night.

"We found a place in which we could venture to bivouac, but encountered difficulties extremely embarrassing. When we first halted our column, our whereabouts could barely be made out; we were enshrouded in Egyptian darkness. Our expedition, including infantry, artillery, cavalry, army wagons and ambulances, were all inextricably intermingled before their final positions could be adjusted. All organizations became disorganized. Your nearest neighbor was as likely to be a horse, a mule, a piece of artillery, or a baggage wagon, as your own comrade. Whispered orders were passed around not to strike a match or a flint, or light a cigar. These orders were pronounced imperative. An organized division of the enemy was not far from us, and wandering bands and scouts were intent on discerning our purposes and detecting our movements. Our unfortunate predicament could not be known outside of our lines without endangering our expedition. To keep our organizations separate and intact, and to utilize the familiarity of voices and cipher signals among four thousand of a conglomerate body of friends and strangers, possibly intermixed with foes and spies, was practically impossible; for officers to give any orders in a voice that could be heard the distance of ten feet was prohibited; and if permitted, of what possible utility would have been the babble of commands? The problem was solved thus: everyone halted in his position, sat down and rested as best he could, securing his weapon, and patiently awaiting the first glimpse of dawn. The constituent membership of that expedition probably never before or afterwards, orally or

secretly, prayed more earnestly for light than on this occasion so inadequately pictured.

"In the morning light, after recovery from demoralizing effects of the black night, our expedition returned in good order to our camps on Folly Island."

Chaplain Hyde of the 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y. provides details about the brief action at the Jenkins plantation, and paints an evocative scene of the Legare plantation, to which Drake's Brigade was sent when Schimmelfennig divided his forces:



**Confederate Captain Moses B. Humphrey, commanding  
Cadet Rangers, Sixth S.C. Cavalry  
Archives, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina**

"The advance had crossed and brisk firing was going on. In a few moments it was over, and the main column crossed to occupy the works. There was only a small picket force holding the Island – the three videts at the bridge were in a neighboring house having a dance. The play suddenly stopped, and the lively soldiers were turned over to the Provost Guard. Then crossing and pushing on to the reserve picket, who at first showed fight, but soon their heels, they took some prisoners and killed three or four, among them the Captain in command of the picket, who was the owner of the large plantation on which he was killed. Two men of the 142<sup>d</sup> N.Y., who were in the advance, were wounded, one of them mortally; the other a brave Sergeant – late Lieut. Johnson on Gen. Curtis' staff, who had scouted all over the island, lost

his arm. It was evidently a surprise to the rebels, and had our advantage thus gained, been pushed immediately, the railroad bridge might have been reached and torn up, before troops could have been gathered up to oppose our force. But after sending out a small reconnoitering party, the main body of the troops remained and began to throw up earth-works.



**Colonel Jeremiah C. Drake, 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y.,  
commanding brigade**

*The 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. was part of Drake's Brigade.*

"The next day, having made their position secure, the force was divided. Von Glissa's Brigade moving on the left and direct road to the bridge, soon encountered the enemy, and a sharp artillery duel occurred, in which they lost eight men wounded. The Brigade on the right commanded by Col. Drake moved across a bayou and through a plantation belonging to the Legarre family, about five miles. Brig. Gen. Schimmelfennig, who commanded the expedition, accompanied Col. Drake. This plantation was a fine specimen of a Southern gentleman's country residence. It was deserted and had been for a year. In the fields, the last year's wild grass had grown high as the heads of the men, and was standing yellow and dry in the place where cotton was wont to grow. Connected with the house was a spacious flower garden, which showed that a family of taste and cultivation had cared for it in the past. Across the rear was an orange bower, the trees interlacing overhead and covering a wide walk. There were in the garden many rare plants and shrubs, among them two of the American Aloe, twelve feet high, alas, touched by the unprecedented frost of the last month and killed. Also a huge specimen of the century-plant, covering a mound eight feet in diameter. Jonquils were already in full bloom; but these were only vestiges of a beauty which belonged to other days. The house bore marks of the ravages of the soldiers. Many names of Southern soldiers and their regiments were scribbled on the walls.



**Century plant, 85 years old, Seabrook's plantation,  
Edisto Island, South Carolina (1862)**

"Without accomplishing anything, the force retired within their earth-works late in the afternoon, and as soon as dark, the work of preparing to return was hurried on. At midnight the whole force left the Island, burning the house and bridge. The golden moment to have accomplished anything was when we first arrived. Troops were then at Savannah on their way to Florida; and all night we could hear the cars that brought them back to oppose our progress to the bridge."

Surgeon Mowris of the 117<sup>th</sup> N.Y. provides further details about the fighting at the Jenkins plantation on the 9<sup>th</sup>, followed by the fighting on the 10<sup>th</sup> against Wise's Brigade. More fighting took place against Colquitt's Brigade on the 11<sup>th</sup>, which had been rushed from Savannah the previous night to reinforce the Confederates at Johns Island:

"On the opposite side of the stream was a declining mansion, about which, hitched to posts and fences, stood several intensely gothic steeds, equipped with saddles and bridles, the most comically primitive. Plainly enough this was the enemy's outer cavalry picket post, and the unwary rebel sentinels were within, dozing or breakfasting. The advance had crossed the bridge and approached within a few yards of the house before they were discovered by the inmates. The manifestations of alarm, but for the tragic character of the personal conflicts which followed, would have been amusing. They sprang out of the doors, leaped from the windows, and those who could recover their self-possession ventured a random shot. Those who were confronted, in their egress, by a union soldier, made desperate efforts to clear the way by force and fight. One of them, on being opposed, clubbed his musket, killing his union adversary."

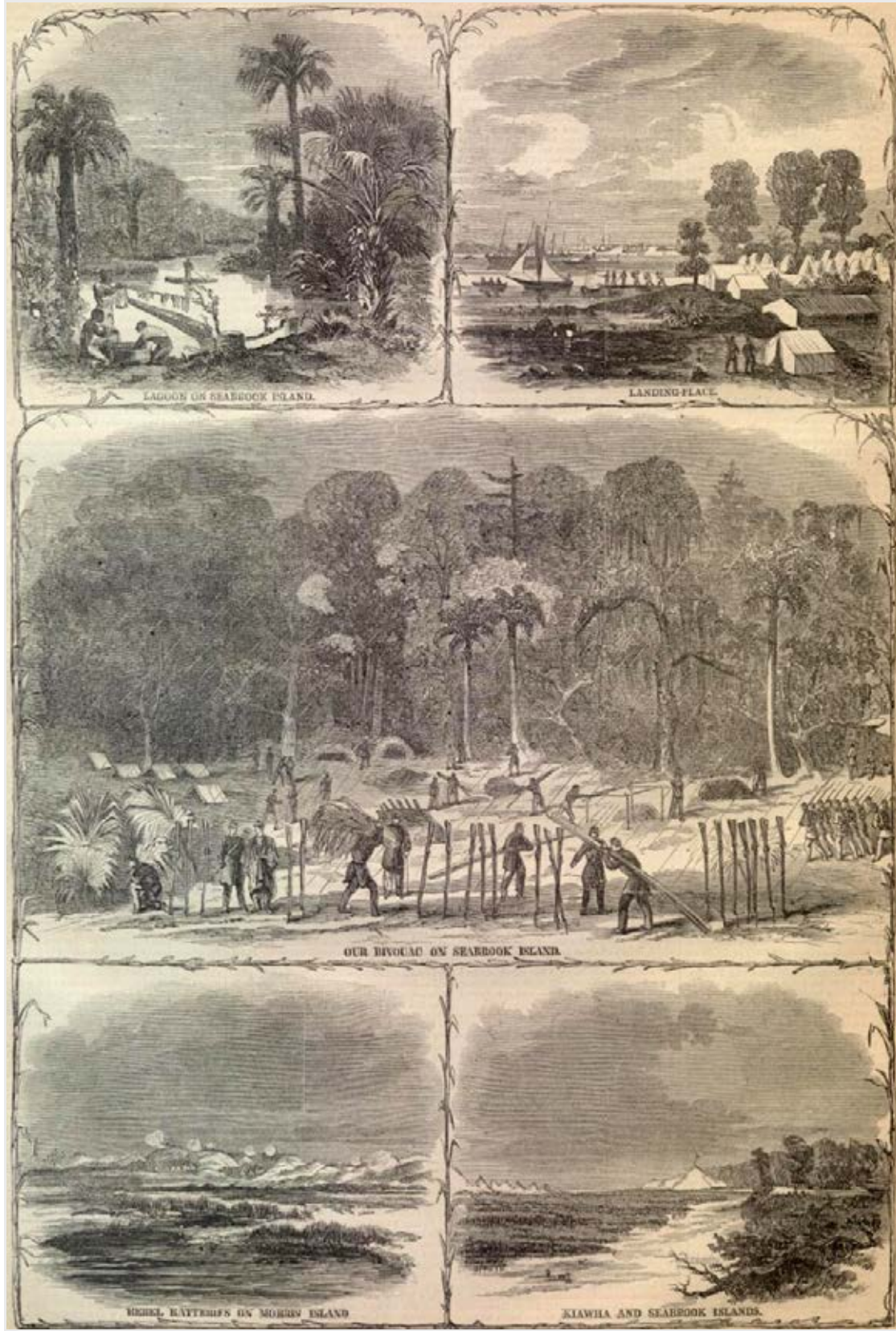


Sergeant John S. Dutart, Cadet Rangers, Sixth S.C. Cavalry,  
killed at the battle of Haulover, aged 20  
Archives, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

"Those who escaped, of course ran incontinently. A little later, they rallied in the edge of a wood about a quarter of a mile from the house, engaging in a brief and feeble skirmish with our advance, during which a profane and reckless rebel Captain was shot, only an instant after shouting to the union skirmishers, "Shoot lower you d — d Yank's, you don't hit anybody!" The skirmish had served the purpose of apprising the main force of our approach, as the musketry could be heard at a long distance, dense as the air was at that early hour.

"The union forces moved on, and after pursuing a few minutes, discovered and destroyed a cavalry camp, reconnoitred during the day, established a line in rear of the house and fortified the same, along, and within which, they retired for the night.

"On Wednesday, the 10<sup>th</sup>, the enemy approached by a wood road in considerable force. Having the advantage of altitude, we flanked them with a well-supported battery. A lively and judicious employment of these guns, for a few minutes, betrayed Johnny into an exhibition of the natural effects of a stimulated discretion. They did not retreat without some loss. On the following day, (Thursday,) we advanced some three miles, when we came upon the enemy. He was entrenched, and concealed from view by a thick forest, where he sat 'grand, gloomy and peculiar, wrapped in the solitude' of secesh originality. Having had some proof that we were eliciting a commensurate force, toward evening, we retired within our defensive line at the mansion. The night was



Seabrook Island, South Carolina  
 Published in "Harper's Weekly" (August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1863)

cold, and, as an attack was apprehended, fires were forbidden; we passed, accordingly, an uncomfortable and cheerless night.



"About 2 o'clock in the morning we moved out to return. After nearly all had marched out over the bridge, the mansion, the out buildings and the bridge were fired, when we retired homeward by the reflected light. The men waded the strait before day; they seemed to suffer more from cold than when we went.



"We marched briskly along the Kiawha beach, and despite the conchological proclivities of the majority of the troops, we reached the deserted plantation by day break, and halted again 'among the pines.' It was a good place to rest, but a poor place to prepare a cup of coffee, the water being so poor that it could not be improved by the admixture of 'B. Commissary.' The experiment was tried in one or two instances, but failed utterly."

From a report submitted on the 14<sup>th</sup> by Col. Philip P. Brown, Jr., of the 157<sup>th</sup> N.Y., we learn that his regiment, part of the Second Brigade at Bohicket Road, linked up with the 169<sup>th</sup> at dusk on the 11<sup>th</sup> to defend against an attack by Colquitt's Brigade:





**Brigadier-General Adelbert Ames,  
commanding division**

"In this position the regiment remained from Tuesday afternoon until Thursday noon, February 11. It was then ordered, with the One hundred and seventh Ohio Volunteers and Seventy-fifth Ohio, to advance in support of columns already advanced. Marching by the flank, this force, under the direction of General Ames, proceeded along the left of the forest to within supporting distance of the skirmishers and batteries previously sent out. The regiment took no other active part in this day's operations until it was ordered at dusk to establish a chain of outposts to connect with those of the One hundred and sixty-ninth New York Volunteers on the extreme right. This was executed as speedily as possible, a line of about forty-five posts of 3 men each being established at intervals of 15 paces, in favorable positions, and a reserve of 30 kept in the rear. At midnight orders were received for the withdrawal of the line, which was effected noiselessly and in good order, and the regiment rejoined the brigade between 1 and 2 a.m. It then marched on the left of the brigade from the scene of action, and reached camp at 4 p.m., Friday, February 12."

An account of the role in the expedition by Battery F, 3<sup>d</sup> N.Y. Artillery, is found in *Cayuga in the Field – A Record of the 19<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteers, All the Batteries of the 3<sup>d</sup> New York Artillery, and 75<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteers*, by Henry Hall and James Hall (1873). Battery F engaged in a duel with two enemy batteries from Colquitt's Brigade, the Marion Battery and Charles' Battery. The New Yorkers were appalled when they discovered they had been left behind due to some kind of snafu while Schimmelfennig and the infantry were in the process of withdrawing from Johns Island:



**Union Battery (2002) by Giuseppe Rava**

"The infantry moved on the night of Saturday, February 6<sup>th</sup>. It crossed the Stono to Kiowah Island, and moved down the ocean beach to Seabrook, the following day and night. Battery F, under command of Capt. Day and Lieuts. Titus and Clark, crossed on the night of Sunday. Remaining at the landing all day, when night came on it made a forced march to join the infantry. At the little creek, separating Kiowah and Seabrook Islands, the teams had to be doubled to get the guns and caissons across the ford. Pushing on, at daylight, Tuesday, the Battery came up with the advance, at Seabrook House, on Seabrook Island, near the bridge connecting that and John's Islands.

"After a halt of two hours for rest, a regiment of infantry was thrown out in advance, Battery F following, and the forward movement began, and at 7 a.m. reached the bridge. Here the first skirmish took place. A picket of 150 rebel cavalry, under Major Jenkins, was in a house across the creek and opened a brisk fire. Our advance charged across the bridge with Battery F. The rebels fell back. Capt. Day opened on them with shell. He had his own four guns and two others manned by colored men. The rebels again retired, skirmishing strongly. Some of them were captured. Schimmelfennig directed the artillery to remain near the bridge. His infantry pushed on up the road a ways and also halted. There was considerable skirmishing during the day, the enemy being reinforced by the 26<sup>th</sup> Virginia, Col. Page. Battery F came into action several times, shelling a piece of woods and a house where the rebels were posted, driving them out in a hurry in both cases, and also shutting up a 12-pound gun that opened fire on us.

"Next morning, the 10<sup>th</sup>, Gov. Wise, in person, with more troops reinforced the enemy, who then became quite demonstrative. Lieut. Clark's and Lieut. Titus's section shelled them at different times during the day. Then, seeing their left flank about to be turned by Schimmelfennig, they fell back to a place called Cocked Hat.

"At noon of the 11<sup>th</sup>, Gen. Schimmelfennig formed his brigades in line of battle, the left flank under Ames resting on Bohicket creek. Lieut. Titus was detached to support the left flank; Lieut. Clark to support the right. At 1 p.m. the army moved forward slowly, a strong line of skirm-



**Confederate Brigadier-General Alfred H. Colquitt, commanding brigade**

ishers beating up the woods in front. At 3 p.m. the rebels were emboldened by the arrival of Col. Colquitt with 900 men to make a stand. They had two batteries of artillery. One of them, the Marion, six pieces, they placed in a redoubt on the road running near and parallel to Bohicket creek, and opened fire on Ames's infantry. Lieut. Titus's section went to the front on a gallop. The road led through a tract of woods, and on each side of the road were ditches, dug according to Southern custom, to answer for fences. The infantry regiments were in these ditches to keep out of the cannonade. Emerging from the woods, the section came in sight of the rebel redoubt, which straightway directed a rapid fire upon it. Titus took his guns into a field on the left and sent in his warmest compliments in return. Capt. Day soon came up with the other two sections, and an artillery duel ensued of two hours' duration. Our infantry were engaged only in small part. The rebel fire was so poor as to inflict no further damage on our artillery than to kill two horses, although the men could hear the hum of nearly every rebel shot, feel the air of some, and hear them go banging and crashing into the woods behind. One cannoneer was just touched on the hand by a solid shot, which glanced from a gun carriage. Another had a shot pass between his legs. The effects of our fire are not definitely known. The rebels admit a small loss.

"About 5½ p.m., an aid-de-camp rode up to Capt. Day, with the astounding news that Schimmelfennig had drawn off his infantry and was marching back to Seabrook. There was not a Union regiment within a mile and a half of the Battery, while the rebels were in force not over half a mile away. Had the latter been aware of the situation and been in possession of a company of cavalry, Battery F would not have taken



**6-pounder Wiard Rifle with Limber, Federal Arsenal,  
Fort McNair, Washington, D.C. (1862)**

*Battery F of the 3<sup>d</sup> N.Y. Artillery was equipped with six Wiard Rifles, according to an article in the "Clyde Times" of New Bern, N.C., published on May 18, 1863. The 6-pounder Wiard Rifle fired a 2.6-inch Hotchkiss projectile.*

back its guns to Folly Island. Capt. Day instantly ordered Titus's section to limber up and go to the rear with all speed. Clark's section was sent off a few minutes later, the colored section still firing rapidly. Then the prolonges were attached to these latter guns. They retired slowly, firing as they went, till they reached the road, and they too went on a gallop in pursuit of Schimmelfennig. As they left the field, they saw in a ditch two Union soldiers, sitting side by side, with muskets over their shoulders, but headless, from a cannon shot. They had not moved. Two other Union infantry men were also killed in the fight."

Confederate Brig.-Gen. Henry A. Wise, a former U.S. Congressman and Governor of Virginia, (as well as being a brother-in-law of the Union's Maj.-Gen. George G. Meade), sent his report of the engagement at Johns Island to Beauregard on the 13<sup>th</sup>, an extract of which follows:

"The infantry already on John's Island and the Marion Battery (one section being already with Major Jenkins) were also ordered down, and I dispatched Charles' Battery all the cavalry I had been, 64 men, under Captain Whilden, from this place; and in the evening, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison, of the Fourth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, who ordered three companies of that regiment from Meggett's and Young's Islands, I followed in person to Church Flats, and thence about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> overtook our force fronting the enemy in line of battle on the Bohicket road, just below Dr. W. Jenkins', about a mile above the Haulover. We had two batteries (Charles' had just reached there), about 200 cavalry, and 550 infantry.

Colonel Page and Major Jenkins both reported the force of the enemy as at least 2,000.

"Before I had time to reconnoiter or make any observations, the enemy were reported to be flanking us on the left. They were distinctly seen deploying their infantry in a heavy forest on a line with our left, while shelling with two pieces on our right and four on the left in front. I instantly ordered my forces to fall back to a triangle in the roads called the Cocked Hat. Above that point took position and sent back for all my reserve at Adams' Run, for three more companies of the Fourth, and for the working parties at Pineberry and Willstown.



**Confederate Brigadier-General Henry A. Wise,  
commanding brigade**

"The companies of the Fourth and Forty-sixth Regiments Virginia Volunteers vied with each other in the rapidity and promptitude of their marches, and they reached me, to their honor, hours before I expected them; but they were much rest-broken and fatigued from night marches and without any rations except a short supply of bread. The men of Major Jenkins also were severely worn from fighting and marching two days and nights. I cannot speak too strongly of their gallantry and the cool and sagacious bravery of their heroic commander. With but about 150 men, composed of the Stono Scouts, the Rebel Troop, the Cadets, and Sullivan's company of cavalry, one section of the Marion Artillery, and one company of infantry (Captain Jennett's company) of the Fifty-ninth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, he held the whole force of the enemy in check; fought and went back some 2 or 3 miles only, and in turn drove them back nearly the whole distance by such repeated charges all day Tuesday that he made them fear he was supported, and he held his ground manfully until night, when he was re-enforced by Colonel Tabb with a battalion of the Fifty-ninth Virginia Volunteers and a section of the Marion Artillery. Before Colonel Tabb arrived he

attacked the enemy at night and stunned him to a pause, capturing 4 prisoners almost within his line of encampment.

"In the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup>, they were re-enforced by Colonel Page with five companies of the Twenty-sixth Virginia Volunteers, who took command, and was under fire in the attack again when I came up and ordered the retreat on Wednesday, the 10<sup>th</sup>. The enemy on that day made no advance, and on the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup>, they had advanced only a few hundred yards to the position we had left the day before.

"In the meantime you had ordered up General Colquitt with two and a half regiments, and my own infantry force had increased to about 1,000 men, when the enemy began to advance, at first slowly, up the Bohicket and Mullett Hall roads, and then rapidly to the Cocked Hat. I made the best dispositions I could, when General Colquitt and Colonel Harris arrived. In the act of showing them the ground I had chosen the enemy came up, and at the same moment one regiment of General Colquitt arrived. I placed my right on the Bohicket River, across the Bohicket road, and extended my line across the open field on a ditch back to the woods on my left, and through them to the Legareville road. I gave the command of the right to Colonel Page, with portions of the Twenty-sixth, Forty-sixth, Fifty-ninth, and Fourth Virginia Volunteers, and the left to General Colquitt, with his regiment of 900 Georgians. Lieutenant-Colonel Kemper commanded the artillery. I placed one section of Charles' battery on the right between the Bohicket road and river, the Marion Battery in front immediately on the left of the road, and the other section of Charles' battery to protect the rear and left flank.



**2.6-inch Hotchkiss shell, manufactured in Sharon, Conn., bearing an imprint of the year 1863, recovered in 2011 from a metal scrap heap at a residential property on Maybank Highway, Johns Island, S.C., one mile northeast of Bohicket Road.**

"Major Jenkins had been ordered in the morning to reconnoiter the left and rear of the enemy across the Bohicket, on Wadmalaw, which he and Captain G. D. Wise, assistant adjutant and inspector general, did, and in Major Jenkins' absence the cavalry were disposed on the right and left. By the time this alignment was made the enemy appeared in the field, and the Marion Battery at 3.20 p.m. opened upon them at about 1,200 yards distance, when they fell back to the woods, at about 1,500 yards distance. The artillery practice was very efficient in

everything except the friction primers. Three-fourths of them at first failed. The enemy soon replied with (I thought) three pieces only, but one of their positions was concealed by a hedge-row, and after their retreat I found they had two positions for field pieces – one on the right and the other on the left of the road. A section of Charles' battery also opened from our right, and was very effectively served. In one hour and twenty minutes their fire began to slacken and be more distant, firing as they retired. By 5 p.m. their fire ceased. We were 4 miles from the Haulover. They had about 1½ miles the start of us, and I at once determined not to follow them, for the following reasons:

*First.* Captain Parker, of the Marion Battery, the most efficient, reported that he had exhausted all his shells and had but a few round shot left.

*Second.* The men were exhausted by rapid, long night marches, want of food, and by constant watching and fighting for two days and nights.

*Third.* Major Jenkins returned and reported that he found they had about 300 men, whom he could see in reserve, well posted, with three pieces of artillery at the Haulover, and there were two large gun-boats and two tugs just off the mouth of Bohicket, in the Edisto, and a small gun-boat was reported in the Kiawah as high up as she could get, and in range, and I was uncertain as to the number the enemy had on Kiawah Island.

*Fourth.* There was no practicable way to flank them, and the lower part of the Bohicket road in front his very narrow, between high ditch banks, dense woods on either side at some places, and tangled hedge-rows at other places, the whole way impassable at night but in columns on the roads, which could be easily swept.

*Fifth.* The possibility of being flanked by boats and barge right and left.

*Sixth.* The lateness of the hour: a pursuit would have brought us to the Haulover in the night.



U.S.S. "Nipsic," drawn by M. B. Woolsley, U.S.N.  
Printed by Major and Knapp of New York

*The gunboats U.S.S. "Nipsic" and U.S.S. "Iris" provided cover for the Johns Island expedition, with one gunboat patrolling the North Edisto River and Bohicket Creek, the other at the Kiawah River.*

*Seventh.* All the lower ground for a considerable distance from the Haulover was in range of the gun-boats on both sides.

*Eighth.* The danger of the enemy getting in my rear at Walpole's or on the Burgess road from Legareville.

*Ninth.* The hazard of withdrawing from John's Island in case of a disaster, there being but one bridge (that at Church Flats), and John's Island Ferry being useless for more than two or three companies in rapid retreat.

*Tenth.* The object of relieving General Colquitt as certainly and soon as possible.

*Eleventh.* Colonel Zachry had not come up, and my force were weakened by a reserve left at Walpole's and by the large number of pickets and vedettes I had to place on the Legareville and Edendale roads.

*Twelfth.* The want of sufficient cavalry.

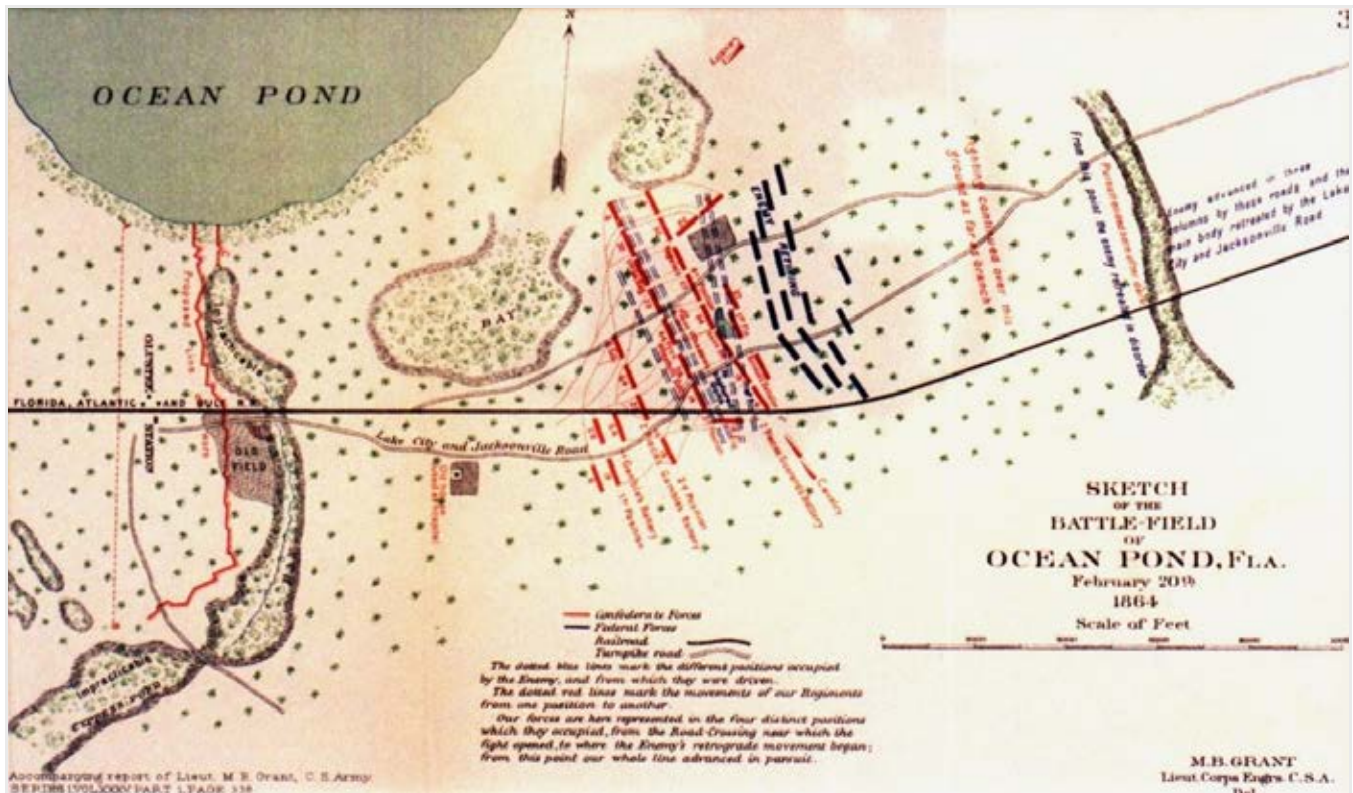
"For these reasons I determined to rest on my lines for the night and move early the next morning. In this conclusion General Colquitt concurred; but I put forward all the available cavalry I had (about 40 men) to pursue and watch the enemy closely and to report their movements; and I ordered a section of Kanapaux's battery (two Napoleons) to be met and sent over Church bridge to Rose Dew, on the Wadmalaw Island, to enfilade their reserve and rear at the Haulover from the opposite side of the Bohicket. Up to about 4 o'clock the reports were that they were strongly picketed about a mile or more above the Haulover. At 4 a.m. on the 12<sup>th</sup>, their gunboats commenced to shell heavily, and I inferred at once they were covering a retreat, and commenced to move as early as possible...



**Dead Union Soldier**  
**Friedrich Wilhelm Heine (1845-1921)**  
**Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin**

"Of the enemy, 4 bodies were found along the road, and some 4 or 5 were found buried. We also found the buried bodies of our dead, and have sent them to their families. We buried the enemy's dead. From the account of the last prisoner which fell into our hands their whole loss was, killed, 14; wounded, 15; captured, 5; total, 34. We found 3 of their horses killed, Captain Humphrey's horse was killed and Major Jenkins' wounded."





**Sketch of the Battle of Ocean Pond, Fla. (February 20, 1864)**

**Drawn by Lieutenant M. B. Grant, Corps of Engineers, C.S.A.**

**Published in the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (1895)**

*The Battle of Olustee was referred to as the Battle of Ocean Pond by the Confederates.*

On February 20<sup>th</sup>, the expedition under Gen. Seymour met with defeat at Olustee, Fla., the *New South* providing the particulars in a letter from its correspondent on the 22<sup>d</sup> and published on the 27<sup>th</sup>:

"In my letter from this place last week I left the main force of our army at Barber's, ten miles beyond Baldwin. On Saturday last at 7 A.M., the column with Gen. SEYMOUR at its head took up the line of march and proceeded on the road towards Lake City. They passed through Sanderson without halting for rest, and pushed forward in regular order. Col. HENRY with the Independent Battalion Mass. Cavalry, the 40<sup>th</sup> Mass. Mounted Infantry, and ELDER'S Battery of four pieces led the column.

"The wood traversed is familiar to your readers from former descriptions which I have forwarded. Suffice it to repeat here that for most of the distance it is of loose sand with intervals of hogs, and at times pools of water reaching a depth of two and three feet. The column marched forward with a firm step and not a man in the line dreamed for a moment that anything but success would terminate the efforts of the day. On Friday night it was not anticipated by the officers of the different regiments that an advance movement would be ordered for several days thence, much more the very next morning. Information, however, had been obtained by Gen. SEYMOUR during the night which disposed him to change his mind in regard to the time the march should be made toward Lake City.

"The enemy's position was believed to be in the vicinity of Lake City. It was also supposed he would have an advance force this side – say at



Union troops advancing through the woods at the Battle of Olustee, Florida

Olustee, 45 miles from Jacksonville and 14 miles from Lake City. With this anticipation the troops were hurried forward so as to be in a good condition to fight the rebels on the following day. It seems, however, the rebels had taken a strong position at Olustee and on that point or rather three miles this side of it the fight took place. The first intimation we had that the enemy was in our immediate front was the report of carbines proceeding from the direction of an old mill on the left of the road as we neared the future battle-field.

"Our troops cannot be said to have been in a fighting condition when they met the enemy. The distance from Barber's to the fighting ground is 16 miles. The simple march alone would seem to have been sufficient for one day's work. But besides the lengthy march, the men had not eaten a morsel since they left Barber's. They had the spirit to meet in battle ten times their number, but their bodily condition, weak and exhausted to say the least, would not sustain them even in meeting an equal force. But at 2 P.M. they had come upon the enemy and fighting was unavoidable.

"The enemy, according to statements of refugees and deserters, was not less than 15,000 strong. He had four pieces of artillery, including a 32-pounder which was mounted on a railroad car and with this particular piece he dealt his full charges of grape at regular intervals. He also had on the ground one regiment of cavalry which was stationed most of the time on our left, but once or twice during the engagement it moved off toward our right. The commander of the rebel forces is believed to have been Gen. MERCER, who has been stationed for some time at Savannah.

"The battle ground was in the vicinity of a point at which the wagon road crosses the railroad. Three miles beyond this point is the station called Olustee. Between the crossing and Olustee the railroad takes a curve in the shape of a horse-shoe, so that as our men advanced they had something like an enfilading fire to contend against. It will be readily seen the enemy had an admirable defence in this railroad,



Confederate line, Battle of Olustee, Florida

behind which he could post his men and pick off our gunners and horses, while the embankment would prevent us from getting the first chance to retaliate. There was nothing like an open space in the vicinity. The battle-ground was surrounded by woods. In consequence of this timber it was impossible to form a line-of-battle, and when Col. BARTON'S brigade went into the fight they took a position, one regiment a little to the right and in the rear of the one preceding. The number of rebels at the mill was five, and when our cavalry dashed toward them they scampered off toward the main force further up the railroad. Our cavalry did not follow immediately, but halted sufficiently long for the remainder of the column to come up. This movement having been accomplished, the cavalry followed by ELDER'S and HAMILTON'S Batteries, and the 7<sup>th</sup> Conn., 7<sup>th</sup> N. H., and 8<sup>th</sup> U. S. – the latter colored – regiments pushed forward. It was believed the five rebel cavalymen had gone up to Olustee – the place at which he supposed the main body of the rebels would concentrate. Gen. SEYMOUR was of this impression, and made arrangements and distributed his troops accordingly. The 7<sup>th</sup> Conn. was the first to get into the fight. Two companies of that regiment were sent off on the right of the railroad to deploy as skirmishers, while at the same time a small body of the Independent Battalion of Cavalry went to the left to feel that portion of the enemy's position. The battle of Olustee commenced with these skirmishers, who found the enemy had been vigilant, and had prepared to meet them with a far superior force. The fire of the skirmishers commenced suddenly and heavily. The few stray shots that are usually heard when two opposing forces are marching toward each other, was merged here into one continuous volley. We may say with confidence that the thick of the fight itself was in full play with the skirmishers.

"The artillery came into position as speedily as possible, HAMILTON brought his pieces into battery on the centre, LANGDON on his left and ELDER on his right. Remarkable as it may seem HAMILTON'S battery at one time was but 100 yards from the enemy's front. Before he could get into position he lost several men and horses. The same was with LANGDON. The enemy was so near he had but to fire and the ball was certain to bring down either a man or a horse. For some little time the three regiments mentioned above were the only ones in the fight. To say that those regiments stood their ground against fearful odds would not be doing them justice. At one time they actually compelled a force,

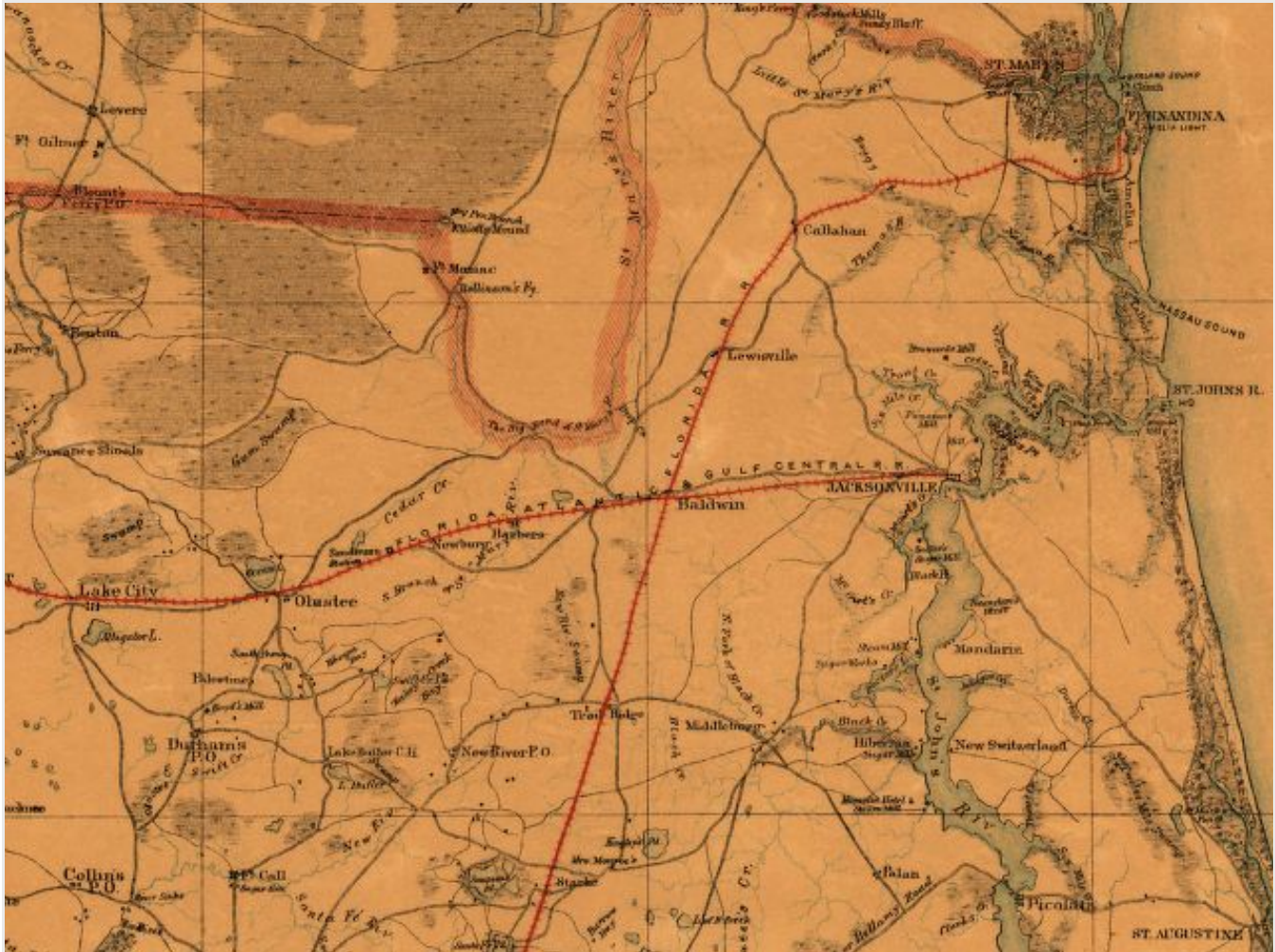


**U.S. Model 1857 Light 12-Pounder Gun (Napoleon)  
Friedrich Wilhelm Heine (1845-1921)**

**Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin**

three times the size of their own, to run from them. But superiority of numbers will weigh in the end. The fire was destructive on both sides and it was not until an artillery had been deprived of more than half of their men and horses that their commanders thought of retiring to the rear. But to bring the guns to the rear in safety, now that the horses were shot, was more difficult than to remain and defend them, although by taking the latter course the enemy would finally succeed in capturing them. Before this movement was commenced, Captain HAMILTON and his five lieutenants were wounded. Four pieces of his battery were brought away by Lieut. MYRICK who was wounded at the time in the foot. Two pieces fell into the hands of the enemy for the sole reason that there were no horses to bring them away. On the left with LANGDON was one section of the 3<sup>d</sup> Rhode Island Artillery. They also had a hard struggle to hold their pieces. The horses in LANGDON'S battery were shot and a large number of his men were disabled. Lieut. T. MCCREA, in command of one of the sections, was severely wounded in both legs. The rebels finally overpowered them and succeeded in capturing three pieces of LANGDON'S battery, making a total number of five pieces taken from us during the engagement. By losing the guns we saved the command. Had the battery commanders retired with their pieces to the rear the moment they saw them in danger of being captured, it would have ended a panic among the infantry which would not only here last us the day but with it an entire command and army materials. Captain HAMILTON'S and LANGDON'S batteries suffered severely.

"The infantry fought well. Colonel BARTON was the second to come into action and Colonel MONTGOMERY, which was the last to advance, did splendidly. Col. MONTGOMERY'S are colored troops, and here they had an opportunity which they improved to show their valor. If the enemy's force simply doubled that of ours I venture to assert the day would have been won by our troops, notwithstanding their jaded condition which they entered the fight and which was by no means improved as the battle progressed. The battle lasted three hours and thirty minutes. Some desultory firing was heard after our troops left the field. At 7 P.M., everything was quiet as relates to the firing.



Detail from "Northern Part of Florida" (1864)  
 Drawn by H. Lindenkohl. Compiled and Published at the United  
 States Coast Survey Office, A. D. Bache, Superintendent  
 Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

"The killed and wounded that were unable to walk were left to fall into the hands of the enemy. As before stated we lost five pieces of artillery. Of course a certain number of small arms and knapsacks were also left on the field. The enemy lost in killed and wounded in number equal to our own. Of this we are positive, for our batteries were in a position to rake their columns tremendously.

"The retreat was conducted orderly and quietly. Nothing like a route or panic was visible. Our men reached Barber's at 3 o'clock Sunday morning. The rear was guarded by Col. HENRY with his column of cavalry and artillery. The enemy pursued but did not press our column. A few shots only were exchanged. At Barber's the troops rested till 9 A.M., and then took up the line of retreat reaching Baldwin at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. At a small station between Baldwin and Barber's was a building containing 2,000 barrels of turpentine; this was fired, as was also a trestle bridge on the railroad between the same points. The troops made but a short halt at Baldwin and then went on toward Jacksonville, some of them reaching this place last night. To-day all the troops will be here. Gen. SEYMOUR left Baldwin at ten o'clock last night. At Baldwin we were obliged to destroy considerable property,

consisting of Commissary stores, officers' baggage and soldiers' knapsacks.

"Col. SAMMONS of the 115<sup>th</sup> N. Y. was wounded in the foot while gallantly bringing forward his men. Col. MOORE of the 47<sup>th</sup> N. Y. was wounded in the arm when at the head of his command. Col. FRIBLEY of the 8<sup>th</sup> U. S. was killed; Col. HENRY had three horses shot from under him; Lieut. JACKSON of Gen. SEYMOUR'S staff had two shot from under him. A locomotive was got in running order so as to leave Jacksonville for Baldwin, at 4 P.M., Saturday.

"Two hundred and sixty-four of the wounded were placed on the *Cosmopolitan* for transportation to Hilton Head. Last night our men were at work on the defences in front of Jacksonville. The enemy may possibly follow us up, but it is believed he will not venture so near our gunboats. At any rate we are ready for the advance of the enemy to this place, and we are quite sure he will meet with disaster should he exercise the temerity. We have been largely reinforced in front of Jacksonville."

The question arises as to whether or not Schimmelfennig's expedition achieved its objective of diverting the Confederates from Florida. The answer to this question is unquestionably yes. But did the diversion accomplish the broader objective of diverting *enough* enemy troops from reaching Florida, for a *long enough period*, to prevent Seymour's defeat? The answer to the second question is no, and therein lies the debate over the success of the Johns Island expedition.

The success or failure of Seymour's expedition was not wholly dependent upon Schimmelfennig. Innumerable factors influenced the outcome at Olustee. Many historians have pointed out that the battle should never have occurred, since Seymour apparently disobeyed Gillmore's orders not to advance deep into the state.

The Confederate order of battle at Olustee indicates that Colquitt's Brigade consisted of 5½ infantry regiments and two artillery batteries. Beauregard's report on the 17<sup>th</sup> to the War Dept. in Richmond stated that 3½ regiments from that number were diverted:

"On being informed on 9<sup>th</sup> instant that the enemy had appeared in force on John's Island and attacked Major Jenkins' force, stationed to guard the approach from Seabrook Island, via Haulover Causeway, I suspended to orders issued 8<sup>th</sup> instant, sending General Colquitt's brigade to Savannah en route for Florida, directing three and a half of his regiments, still awaiting transportation, to repair by shortest route to the assistance of General Wise, then on John's Island. This order was obeyed with great alacrity, and these troops arrived in time to re-enforce General Wise at the critical moment, but at too late and too much fatigued to permit a vigorous pursuit of the enemy."

Gen. Alden viewed the Johns Island expedition as a success, at least as far as having diverted and delayed the Confederate troops reinforcing Finegan in Florida. Although his assessment may have been technically correct, it did not address the fact that Colquitt *did* reach Florida in time to fight at Olustee:

"We accomplished, however, the purposes of the expedition in some measure. We did not destroy the enemy. We burned no bridges, nor did we tear up any railroad tracks, but we did accomplish a diversion and delay of the enemy's forces intended as re-enforcements to the Confederate column operating against General Truman Seymour's forces at Olustee, Florida.

"According to the history of the Florida campaign, General Seymour's defeat at Olustee by General Finegan's Confederate forces was not attributable to Finegan's re-enforcements, whom our expedition delayed, but whose mission we did not defeat."

In Schimmelfennig's defense, it should be pointed out that he carried out his assignment, but was not given precise instructions as to when his demonstration was to be made, how long it was to last, or the exact character of the main operation his movement was designed to aid. His attack, therefore, was made too early to be of any use to the Florida drive. Only a more protracted effort by the expedition, one which would have required re-supply, could have occupied Colquitt long enough to prevent his appearance at Olustee.

Corp. Lyman Ostrom, Co. A, in another of his excellent letters, wrote to his parents on the 15<sup>th</sup> about his experiences during the expedition:



Maple sugar candy

"The box sent by you so long ago arrived with everything in it in fine condition today, though the sugar woman's head was broken off, which I hope may be a symbol of whatever ill feeling there may have been heretofore between any of us, in other words that it is dead, and that too past resurrection. I think I shall now feast for a few days to come. The boots suit me well and fit very well, though one of them seems some longer than the other. I'll try and not eat myself sick. Colvin [Capt. James A. Colvin, Co. A] at first thought the box was for him until it was opened, but I knew Henry's writing and noticed the way it was directed.

"Winters, E. Brown, and the Hoags reached here Saturday... [Privates David F. Winters, Edgar Brown, Charles P. Hoag, and Jonathan Hoag, Co. A, all from Nassau, N.Y., were mustered-in January 27, 1864.]

"You may remember my last was written mostly in the night. I was then so tired that I could hardly keep my thoughts together to write intelligibly and left out some things I had intended to have written, and little imagined I should be called on to endure all the fatigue I was required to between that time and Friday night, and perhaps to face danger and death. That we faced the former none can deny; of the latter, let others judge; I'll not say.



**Charleston & Savannah R.R. Through the Swamps**  
Published in "Harper's Weekly" (March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1865)

"Sunday afternoon, orders came for us to immediately get ready for an expedition. We were to go with 80 rounds of cartridges, three days' rations, knapsacks, change of socks, and whatever else might be necessary, and to hold in readiness to march at any moment. We started that night about 9 o'clock. There was from 6,000 to 8,000 in all, and the object was, it seems, to make a raid on Johns Island and threaten the bridge across the Edisto River, and on the line of the Charleston & Savannah Railroad, for the purpose of keeping the attention of the Rebels from another expedition in another direction and of greater importance.

"The reason of our taking a change of socks was that we were to ford the Edisto at a place where two expeditions that had preceded us had been driven back and defeated, and we were told if we crossed at all it would in all probability be under heavy fire, though when we did cross, if a Rebel was anywhere near we were not aware of it. The most of our marching was done in the night, in order not to be observed, and before we returned, the men who had before been regarded the most enduring were obliged to fall out. The man who was in rear of me, it was said, could stand a march the best of any in the company, and yet Friday morning he was obliged to fall out before breakfast, and when he came up to where we had halted it was sometime before he could speak.

"The raid is regarded as having been the most fatiguing of any the regiment has yet gone through, and when we reached camp we were so footsore it was only with difficulty that we could walk. This was perhaps caused by our fording the river before daylight while the water was to the middle. The first time we crossed it was in the night also. The morning after we started we halted at 8 o'clock, and remained until 10 P.M. At 3, we crossed the river and halted until 5, Tuesday morning. At daylight, we stopped for breakfast on a fine plantation. I have seen





**Kiawah Island, South Carolina**

such fine land since I have been away that I am almost sick and ashamed of our Northern land, not our Northern people, understand though.

"Another object of our halting was to learn the success of a part of the expedition which had gone by another route, and which here met us. The river where we crossed separates Kiawah from Seabrook Island. Between Seabrook and Johns there is a sort of a river or rice marsh, which is crossed in one place by a bridge. This it was necessary to get possession of in order to proceed further.

"The man who was our guide was a scout also and had been over the ground. He had received a promotion as lieutenant only a couple of days before. Early in the morning, he rode across the bridge to reconnoitre, and finding the Rebel picket off their guard, took two of them prisoners and brought them in. Skirmishers were then sent forward from the 142<sup>d</sup> N.Y. and 17<sup>th</sup> Conn., and soon their cheers and the sound of their rifles told us they were engaged with the Rebel picket.

"Our guide again rode forward to give instructions and soon fell mortally wounded, and in a short time we saw him borne on a stretcher across the bridge, as well as two others of our men wounded and five Rebels. A rebel captain was killed, shot twice through the neck, and one of his men, and the remainder of their picket fell back when we crossed the bridge, our brigade taking the right of the line and a part of the 112<sup>th</sup> N. Y. ahead of us as skirmishers.



**Haulover Creek, Johns Island, South Carolina**

"We went about two miles and halted until night, when a part of our regiment, (myself one of them), was thrown out as picket. We had not been there long before our picket, almost halfway between us and where most of our forces lay, became engaged with the Rebels. Our brigade fell back to a more secure position, and we were ordered to fall back also, though by this time the firing had ceased. We were put on a run with knapsacks on over ridges where cotton had been planted, and running every way for over a mile, when we found the brigade and were ordered to deploy again as picket on a new line. I never suffered



**Federal Troops Deployed as Skirmishers  
Published in "Harper's Weekly" (July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1861)**



**The swamps of Johns Island, South Carolina**

as much from either fatigue, want of sleep or cold as that night, and so said all the men of themselves.

"Before daylight we fell back to headquarters, there having been considerable picket firing during the night. We ate our breakfast, and about sunrise, those of us who had been on picket were ordered out as skirmishers. We went as far as to where we had first been the night before, and there remained until 2 o'clock P.M., when we fell back to headquarters again and where the regiment had been all day.

"That day at one time the Rebel artillery opened on our picket, about a mile to the left of us, and that distance nearer headquarters than we were, but I was so worn out that as soon as our artillery replied, I went to sleep and slept for hours. That night we had a good night's rest. The next morning we went out again in the direction of the day before and when we got where our brigade lay the first night we were on picket between two rows of Negroes' houses and the Rebels were in sight. We were ordered to unsling knapsacks and then away we went, as we supposed, for a rough time. We had to cross rice swamps over dykes running in every direction and could only go slowly in single file, and had the Rebels known our situation, they could have easily cut us off.



"About 12 we halted near a very fine place, from the garden of which was picked the flowers I send and which I think is garlic. Fruit trees were in blossom. The flower and cotton seeds are for Jane, as she wished

me to send her some curiosity. The cotton was got in an old cotton gin mill. Over the mantel in one room of the house was written 'I behold the devastation of this war, but the people have brought it upon themselves.' You can have no idea how fine the grounds are around some of these Southern places. There was a good deal fine furniture left in the house, though the finest had in all probability been carried away. Had the words 'true desolation' followed devastation, it would have been more appropriate, as every house was unoccupied.



**Officer on horse (ca. 1861-'65)**  
**Alfred Rudolph Waud (1828-1891)**  
Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

"About one o'clock we again went forward over a beautiful road lined with trees, vines and shrubs, and halted as we neared a fort of the Rebels. Gen. Schimmelfennig, who commanded the expedition, rode by to where our field office was, and a few moments after, Major Alden, having received orders, rode up to where we were lying to keep hid from the Rebels and said, 'Captain Colvin, take your company and Lieut. Lyons and deploy one platoon of each company there ahead 300 yards in the woods, but if you meet the enemy main lines, your position at all hazards be the consequences that they may.' The major's voice trembled while he gave the order, though we all regard him as a very brave man, and this caused the men to feel there was serious work ahead, but we obeyed orders and in fifteen minutes were in position, though we met no enemy. But our artillery, a little to the left of us, did, and it is said lost some of their horses, and after expending all of their ammunition, at five o'clock we again fell back to our old picket line as pickets and at twelve started for headquarters, and from there for camp, burning the bridge behind us, and reached camp, as I have stated, Friday P.M., about 3 o'clock.

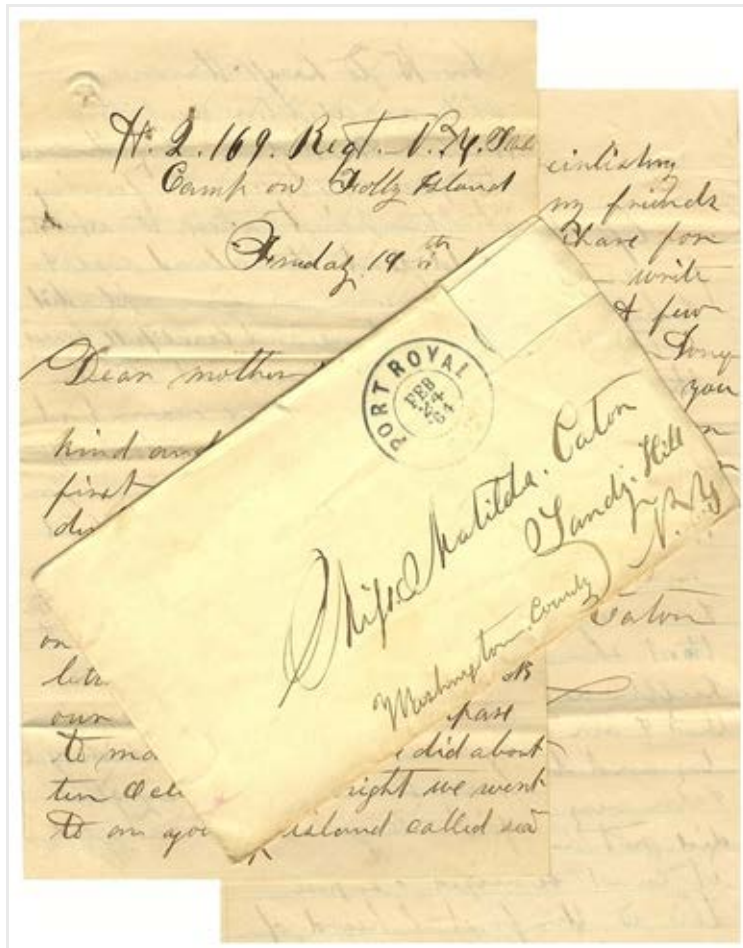
"Two or three times I thought I must fall out of ranks, and others thought I would, but my pride or ambition, I don't know which, kept me up, though many a strong man did fall back. Our gunboats covered our

retreat while we were leaving Seabrook Island, while at the same time we heard heavy firing caused by the Rebels trying to land a force on Morris Island, but getting defeated. The reason of their making the attempt is said to have been that a Penn conscript deserted and told them our forces were nearly all drawn away on raids.

"Last night there was heavy firing again, caused, it is said, by one of our gunboats being on picket and going beyond Sumter, when the Rebels opened up on her.

"Tonight it has become cloudy and is raining some. We expect to remain here for some time, and I think you may safely expect that we shall, though I will not prophesy as to other brigades besides ours, but leave that for time to tell. We are doing all the picket duty done by the darkies and ourselves in part before."

An extract from a letter on the 19<sup>th</sup> by Priv. James Caton, Co. D, to his mother and sister, tells of the burning of Southern plantation houses and the capturing of enemy prisoners:



Letter from Private James Caton, Co. D, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y., February 19, 1864, to his mother and sister in Sandy Hill, Washington County, N.Y.

"We received orders to pack our knapsacks and prepare to march. We went to an island called Sea Brook to harass the enemy while an expedition went from Hilton Head down along the coast to prevent their reinforcing. The island was very handsome on which were some splendid plantations and beautiful houses, all of which we burnt. There

we encountered the enemy and drove them, capturing a battery and some prisoners. From there we went to John's Island and marched around there for four or five days."

Corp. Alfred Carmon wrote an interesting letter to his sister on the 14<sup>th</sup> about his recent excursion into enemy territory:

"I received your letter last night and was very glad to hear that you were all well. You asked me why I did not write oftener. You said that you had not had a letter from me since Dick went home [Serg't. Richard J. Horton, Co. H]. I have written three letters since I had received any from you. I have not had a letter from you in three mails untill last night, so I don't see who is to blame – me or the mail.



**The Stragglers (1882)**  
**William Gilbert Gaul (1855-1819)**  
**Collection of the National Academy Museum, New York**

"I would have written before, but we have been off on a raid for about a week, and just got back Friday afternoon, and I was almost tired-out, as we had to be 'on the go' most all of the time. We did not have scarcely any time to sleep, as we had to march or be on picket every night but one. We crossed over three or four islands on to John's Island where we came across some Rebs. We threw out some skirmishers who drove the Rebs back, with some loss on their side in killed, wounded and prisoners. We only had one or two wounded at that time. We cap-



**Confederate Battery**  
**Friedrich Wilhelm Heine (1845-1921)**  
**Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin**

tered several of their men. We did not go any farther that day. That night the pickets skirmished a considerable amount, but it did not amount to much.

"We laid there a couple of days before we made another movement on Thursday morning. We started out and we could not move very fast because we had to keep a pretty sharp lookout for the Rebs, as we did not know where they were. There was one column that went one way, and we went another. At about two o'clock in the afternoon the other party came up with the enemy. They were laying back in behind their breastworks. They opened on our forces with their artillery and our battery returned the fire. Our party kept advancing and we had to throw out skirmishers as fast as we advanced to guard our flanks. So by the time that we got up where they wanted to commence work, there was only two small regiments left to fight, and as that was not a large enough force to do anything with, so we had to fall back.

"I heard the major say if we could have had one thousand more men, we could have flanked the Rebs' battery and captured it. As we were on the left flank of their battery, and only a little ways from them on the other side of a small piece of woods, and they had not seen us, but we did not have men enough, so we had to fall back.

"That night, we commenced to retreat towards camp at about four o'clock the next morning. We had to ford a river. The water was only waist-deep, but it was most mighty cold, though it fairly makes me shiver to think of it. We marched all of that night and the next day, until about three o'clock, when we arrived at camp. I think and take it all through that we were pretty lucky, as we only lost four or five men out of five thousand.

"There was two regiments of colored troops that left here this morning for Florida. There has a great many of the troops left here lately, to go on an expedition with General Gillmore down in Georgia, but what success they have had, I do not know."

In another letter by Alfred, of which only a fragment exists, he mentions some sea island cotton, a souvenir from Johns Island which he planned to send to his sister in Sand Lake, N.Y:



"Cotton" by Andrea Nutt

"I got some cotton in its natural state, just as it grows, and I thought that I would send you some in the place of a Valentine, as it is pretty hard work to get them down here, as I have not seen any as yet.

"We get some new recruits by every steamer that comes from New York. The weather is quite warm here in the daytime, but the nights is quite cold – at least I found it so out on the raid. I should think that the young men were getting pretty scarce around Sand Lake, as I don't hear of any enlisting around Sand Lake. And I wish that they would draft every man between the age of eighteen and forty-five in the town, as I think they are the most cowardly set that there is in the State of New York.

"Nelson Clemmence stands here in the tent [Priv. Nelson Clemmence, Co. H]. He is getting ready to go on guard now. He is so fat that he can't hardly see out of his eyes! He is the fattest boy in the company!"

The recruiting business continued in New York, Col. McConihe receiving authority to pay a premium to anyone bringing a candidate to the regiment, according to the *Daily Whig* on the 9<sup>th</sup>: "Attention All! – Col. McConihe received authority last night to pay the premium of \$15 to anyone who may bring a recruit to his regiment – the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth. Here's a chance for anybody and everybody to enter into the recruiting business without going through the formality of receiving an appointment to that office." The *Daily Press* provided further details the following day:

"The money will be promptly paid on the acceptance of the recruit. Only one hundred more are required to fill up the regiment, and this number ought to be soon obtained with the help of such favorable circumstances.

"By an order just issued, any citizen who shall hereafter present an acceptable volunteer at any rendezvous within the limits of the State, will be paid the sum of fifteen dollars for each recruit, and twenty-five dollars for each veteran. Here is an opportunity for every citizen to not only put money in his pocket, but to render efficient service to the city. Every recruit furnished lessens the probabilities of the draft, and by persistent efforts the quota of Troy may be filled before March 1<sup>st</sup>. But



every citizen must awaken to a sense of his responsibility in the matter, and take such action as will best tend to promote the desired result."

Bounty jumping was a problem, though not nearly as bad as in 1862. The *Daily Times* reported one such occurrence on the 10<sup>th</sup>: "Col. McConihe has received eighteen recruits for the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment since Saturday. This morning a deserter named Woodward, from Company F, was arrested." Two more "skedadddled" on the 24<sup>th</sup> while on their way to the Albany Barracks, as reported by the newspaper the following day.

The barracks near Albany on the Troy road was established for the purpose of relieving Riker's Island. Capt. John McCoun, Co. G, "with an associate officer," was ordered to take charge of the post, reaching the barracks on the night of the 25<sup>th</sup> with 150 men, the *Daily Times* reporting that he would remain in the locality "for some time to come."

Priv. Charles Manning, Co. A, one of the new recruits, was a member of the regimental band. His great-grandson, D. E. Martin, recorded the following information about Charles in a family history:

"Charles Henry Manning enlisted on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1864 in the 169<sup>th</sup> New York State Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Colonel John McConihe commanding, as a private in Company A. At the time of his enlistment, his father, Joseph Manning, lived at 812 River Street in Troy, New York. Charles was mustered into the service for three years, or the duration of the war.

"Private Manning was a member of the regimental band, playing the tenor horn, and in his words, 'was liable to take a gun and fight at any time when ordered to do so.'"



**Charles H. Manning, shown wearing the National Badge of the Grand Army of the Republic, in a photograph with his family at Tacoma, Washington Territory (July 23, 1885)  
Provided by Patricia Manning Johnston**

*Front row, from left: Grace Leavenora, Josephine Louise, Rose Ellender (sitting), Carlotta Josephine (standing), Charles Henry, Sr., and Charles Henry, Jr. Back row, from left: William Palmer, Clara Cornelia, and Joseph Atwater. The two eldest children were born in New York, three in Kansas, and the two youngest in Washington.*



**Private Stephen Aberton (aka Abberton),  
Co. K, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.**

The detachment had recruited 250 men by the 18<sup>th</sup>, according to the *Daily Whig*. Another of the new recruits, Priv. Stephen Aberton, Co. K, enlisted in Troy on the 18<sup>th</sup>, and is shown above wearing a U.S. regulation four-button sack coat. Col. McConihe's letter to Mrs. Newton on the 16<sup>th</sup> admits a smaller number than that mentioned by the *Daily Whig*, but it all depended on you counted; men who had just enlisted, in the pipeline, waiting for physical examination, etc.:

"Your sentiment about recruiting a young lady to fight 'the battle of life' with me is a good one, and I applaud it. I do not think I shall ever succeed in getting one myself. But when I return from the war, I shall locate somewhere in the United States or in Brazil, and if I can do no better, will marry a native of either of said countries. Would it not be romantic to marry a Brazilian?"

"But I never shall consent to go into a half-civilized region, even to Texas, unless in company with John and you. I will take your advice in case we go to Texas, and select a muscular woman, one that can do our washing, and, in case of necessity, cut wood for the morning fire. Wouldn't that be a jolly wife?!"

"Recruiting for the 169<sup>th</sup> goes on briskly, and I believe this month will secure us all the men we want. We have obtained 164 men since our arrival, and average now five each day. Sixty-three more will fill our ranks to the minimum, but I shall try to reach the maximum, 1,044 men. I am gratified at our success.

"Of course, while I am writing this letter, more than a dozen 'folks' must come in to interrupt me. But when I return to camp life, I will

endeavor to write of events more interesting than the annoyances incidental to the recruiting service.

"I hope to be able to get away before the 5<sup>th</sup> of next month, and to return as full-colonel. Colonel Buel has sent forward his resignation, but it has not yet been accepted, although I look daily for it."

Another letter by John to Lavinia on the 23<sup>d</sup> mentioned that his likeness would soon appear in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, a leading literary and news magazine founded in 1852:



"Passing a 'gem miniature' yesterday, I called in and had my picture taken for you and John, and send them in this letter.

"The one in the card is for you, but you can change it and place the other in its stead, if you think the one with the cap off any better. After you have chosen, give the other to John if he cares for it.

"Mr. Crane, artist for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* weekly, wrote me per last steamer, that he had sent my photograph to said pictorial for publication in the issue of the week. In case it should appear, I will send you a copy for inspection.

"Nothing new here. I am busy recruiting, and shall remain here until about the 5<sup>th</sup> of March. The 'gems' were expressly taken, that you and John might see me 'at home.'"

The 169<sup>th</sup> wasn't the only regiment recruiting replacements in Troy, as may be seen in the following report by the *Daily Times* on the 16<sup>th</sup>:

"THE RIGHT SPIRIT. – The boys of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Regiment, we are told, think they are not sufficiently appreciated and honored, and imagine that our citizens give the preference to the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth, which has had a Colonel in the city for some time on recruiting service, and has received quite an accession to its ranks. As a party from the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth is now in town, headed by *its* Colonel, we hope that the 'honors will be easy,' and that Col. Crandell will have good reason to appreciate Troy patriotism. The following spirited extract from a letter sent home by a private soldier in the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, (W.C.L.) breathes the right spirit:

'We have just returned from a visit to the Johnnys, which resulted very favorably to us, and in which our brigade did nobly. I think we will send home a regimental recruiting party soon, and I hope we will get some of the 200,000. I think we deserve them, and if they want to get in a first-class organization, and among men (not boys) who understand how to behave under fire, and who have the courage to do it, let them join the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth. You may think that I am given to exaggeration, but it is not so. It takes brave men to fight, and I think none of our present number ever ran. If you see anyone standing around with their hands in their pockets, inquiring for a situation, just sound them on 'love of country,' and if they have a spark, tell

them to join us. Tell them we know what we are about and our leaders know what they are about. We will yet conquer a peace; and ask them if they, when peace, like an angel, shall once more smile upon our country, will not wish to thank God that they aided in the work of rescuing the country from the power of tyrants."

The Trojan Club held its annual reunion at Griswold Hall on the 22<sup>d</sup>, as reported by the *Daily Times*. Colonels McConihe and Crandell, representing the 169<sup>th</sup> and 125<sup>th</sup> N.Y., were in attendance:



**Döring Military Band display at the Rensselaer County Historical Society, Troy, New York**

*Members of the Döring clan played in a court band for the kings of Prussia. In 1857 Charles Döring assumed leadership of the Troy Arsenal Band and the name was changed to "Döring's Kapelle." They were in high demand for parades and many other occasions.*

"COMPLIMENTARY.' – The terpsichorean entertainment last evening, given by the members of the Trojan Club, supposed to be related to Hook and Ladder Co. No. 3, was one of the finest affairs of the kind that it has been our good fortune to attend. Griswold Hall was neatly decorated with flags and other ornaments for the occasion. On the walls were, 'Our Seventh annual reunion' and, 'Welcome friends of Trojan Club.' The company being composed entirely of 'invited guests' was of the most select character possible – although the room was crowded to its utmost dancing capacity. Döring's Band furnished music fit for a royal quadrille, and Prof. Manual superintended the dancing arrangements. From the upper gallery the scene presented on the floor was most brilliant. Some of Troy's best-looking daughters were present – their gay dresses contrasting with the black clothes and white kids of the gentlemen. Among the guests were Col. Crandell, Col. McConihe, several other army officers, and Mayor Van Alstyne. The floor-managers were D. W. Cuthill, Wm. Kemp, C. L. Stickney, T. E. Eddy, S. Wright, A. J. Allendorph, A. Daggett, E. Warner, B. F. Tasker, P. Sieger. The arrangements were all that could be desired. Dancing was kept up until a small-sized hour, when the goodly company departed. It was the most successful of the many splendid gatherings that the 'Trojans' have had. Capt. J. C. Green and the members may well feel proud of it."

Two more enlisted men of the 169<sup>th</sup> received their officer's commissions from Governor Seymour on the 10<sup>th</sup>, including Serg't.-Maj. Eugene Van Santvoord and 1<sup>st</sup> Serg't. Michael Ryan, Co. B. The *Daily Times* reported the promotion of the regiment's senior NCO the following day:



State Capitol, Albany, New York

"Gov. Seymour issued a commission yesterday, to Sergeant-Major Eugene Van Santvoord, brother of the late Hon. George Van Santvoord, promoting him to the rank of Second Lieutenant in the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment. The document was received by Lieut. W. H. Merriam, and will be forwarded by him to Folly Island, where Lieut. V. S. is stationed. Gov. Seymour has not only performed an act of justice towards a deserving officer, whose claims were entitled to recognition, but has honored the memory of an old friend, whose sad death is still fresh in the public mind."

The *Daily Press* announced the promotion of 1<sup>st</sup> Serg't. Ryan the following day:

"DESERVED PROMOTION. – Gov. Seymour yesterday placed in the hands of Assemblyman McKeon, a Second Lieutenant's commission for Orderly Sergeant Michael Ryan, of Captain Nat. Wood's company, One Hundred and Sixty-ninth regiment. Sergeant R. was recommended for the position by Colonel Clarence Buel, who spoke of him in the highest terms, and also by Capt. Nat. Wood. During the absence of the latter, he had command of the company, and discharged his duty in a most creditable manner. He is a son of the late Constable Ryan, of the Ninth Ward. – His commission, which has been secured by the efforts of a few disinterested friends, will take him entirely by surprise."

We learn from the *Daily Whig* of the same date that Serg't. Ryan accomplished something very rare for a soldier in the Civil War, "never having been a day ill or away from roll call since he enlisted":

"MICHAEL RYAN, of this city, formerly an employe in the *Budget* office, who enlisted in the 169<sup>th</sup> Regiment as a private in Co. B, and was subsequently promoted for bravery and unexceptionable conduct to Orderly Sergeant, has, we learn, been commissioned by Gov. Seymour to the rank of Second Lieutenant. He is represented by his superior

officers as one of the best soldiers in the regiment, never having been a day ill or away from roll call since he enlisted. Modest, unassuming and every way and at all times ready to do his whole duty, he has, since he has been acting as Orderly, on several occasions taken command of his company (Capt. Nat. Wood's) and conducted himself in a manner that has elicited encomiums from the officers of the regiment. His promotion is justly deserved; it is among the most meritorious that has yet been made."

On the morning of the 22<sup>d</sup>, as Gen. Seymour's forces were still retreating to Jacksonville, the 54<sup>th</sup> Mass. was ordered to counter-march back to Ten-Mile Station. The locomotive of a train carrying wounded Union soldiers had broken down and the wounded were in danger of capture. When the 54<sup>th</sup> arrived, the men attached ropes to the engine and cars and manually pulled the train approximately three miles to Camp Finegan, where horses were secured to help pull the train. After that, the train was pulled by both men and horses to Jacksonville for a total distance of ten miles. It took 42 hours to pull the train that distance.

Gillmore ordered reinforcements to be sent to Jacksonville. The 169<sup>th</sup> was included, and started in light marching order, leaving tents and baggage behind. The regiment boarded a transport in early morning of the 23<sup>d</sup> which carried it down the coast and up the St. John's River to Jacksonville, arriving in the early evening. Gen. Alden's memoirs describe the journey:



"At 8 o'clock P.M., on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1864, we received orders to take transports to Jacksonville, Florida. All camp equipage and extra baggage were to be left behind, the same to be in charge of an officer to be detailed by the adjutant, and to be restored to the regiment at some indefinite time in the near future.

"On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, we proudly celebrated the natal day of the father of his country, and of which we all took cognizance before the hour of sunrise. We celebrated by intensifying our consciousness of the significance of the day, while we impatiently awaited the arrival of transports to convey our troops to Jacksonville. They did not arrive, however, till three o'clock on the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. With other troops, we speedily boarded the steamers, making a quick journey as far as Hilton Head, where we reported at the headquarters of General Gillmore. After a quarter-hour delay, we steamed up the serpentine St.



**The St. Johns River, Florida**

John's River to Jacksonville, where we debarked about nightfall, reported to a staff officer, and received instructions.

"Before we bivouacked for the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, we formed line of battle, just beyond the western limits of the city, intrenched ourselves in readiness to meet General Finegan's forces, which were pressing the retreat of General Seymour's demoralized troops. Momentarily they were expected.

"In the early morning of the 24<sup>th</sup>, General Seymour's fragmentary column began to arrive from their ill-fated raid. They were bedraggled, discouraged, weary and worn by excessive fatigue; an exhaustion that was intensified and rendered more unendurable by disappointment and defeat. When they learned that the pursuit by the enemy which had been pushed many miles had ceased, the tired soldiers rested physically and nervously. The main columns occupied the entrenched lines that were just vacated for their particular benefit by their comrades from Folly Island; while others, including the sick and wounded who had not already been cared for by the hospital department, were provided with accommodations in the city.

"The enemy had halted in their pursuit at Barber's Station, seven miles west of Jacksonville, and fortified; we, who were intended for reinforcements, formed camp about a mile northwest of the city during the afternoon of February 24<sup>th</sup>.

"Jacksonville before the war was evidently a thrifty business town and aristocratic village, situated on the west side of the St. John's River, which is historically interesting and a beautiful stream of water, navigable over a hundred miles. It is a manufacturing town of no inconsiderable importance, but all the factories were destroyed by fire before the arrival of our troops and nearly all the citizens, excepting old men and boys, skedaddled when our army approached. The Confederates applied the torch. Some left their families unprovided with the simplest necessities of food, trusting to the characteristic humanity of the Federals for their care and comfort; others took their livestock, human and animal, with them; vacating their comfortable homes, barns, pigsties, and henneries, apparently without expectation of ever beholding a readjustment of affairs. Many stores, offices, dwellings and other struc-



**Detail from "Map of Jacksonville and its Vicinity and Defenses, created by the U.S. War Dept. from a U.S. Coastal Survey" (April 1864) Collection of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.**

*The ring of fortifications and trenches constructed by Union soldiers is depicted surrounding the city.*

tures were burned, but many of them were left, partially furnished, providing excellent headquarters for military officers.

"A beautiful grove of oaks and towering pines furnished an attractive and refreshing camp for the 169<sup>th</sup>. Immediately beyond and westerly was a wide stretch of woodland covering several hundreds of acres, without the usual obstruction of tangled underbrush. Through this it was the delight of the writer, as evidently of the whole regiment, to practice the skirmish drill by aid of the bugle. In the use of their instrument, the writer himself, in that particular grove, acquired considerable practical knowledge.

"About a hundred yards from the camp, between it and the village, was a deserted planter's mansion situate in the midst of beautiful grounds, with a setting of lawns, orange trees, rare flowers, cactus and century plants; everything needed to grace and beautify the private grounds of a Vanderbilt. Across the whole front of the mansion extended a wide piazza from which we could enjoy the view of the grounds which I have described. Beyond, separated by a picket fence, a large meadow of about ten acres, gently sloping toward the river, afforded a magnificent parade ground. From this piazza and grounds hundreds of spectators, including the elite of village society and the wives and sisters of many Federal officers then in Jacksonville, found pleasure in witnessing the regimental parades and different military manœuvres, and listening to the music of the regimental band, than which I believe there never was a better in the army."





**Bird's-Eye View of Jacksonville, Fla.**  
 Drawn by Augustus Koch, Published by Alvord, Kellogg & Campbell, Jacksonville, Fla. (1876)  
 Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

*The location of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.'s headquarters, the mansion of the Winter Plantation, is indicated by the red dot in the lower left corner of the bird's-eye view.*

Col. James A. Colvin affirmed Gen. Alden's opinion of the 169<sup>th</sup>'s new camp in his historical sketch of the regiment:

"The location was delightful, overlooking the beautiful St. John's River. These were the brief halcyon days of the regiment. It had never had a better selection of ground for an encampment. The picket-line, distant less than two miles, was easily reached, and the luxuriant vegetation and balmy weather of the Southern midwinter excited a feeling of contentment and repose quite novel to the soldiers. Tactics were taken up theoretically and practically, and the pomp of war was put on with all the fullness required by the regulations compatible with the equipment of the command. Frequent expeditions were made upon the river. The orange-groves, loaded with fruit and blossoms, enhanced the luxury of the hour."

The regiment bivouacked in the city the night of its arrival on the 23<sup>d</sup> and at a second location before settling in at its permanent camp around the 28<sup>th</sup>. In Corp. Carmon's letter to his sister on the 28<sup>th</sup> we read, "the regiment moved while we were out on picket and to-day we have moved again." Alfred expressed dissatisfaction with Jacksonville, but that would soon change:



**Arming Ourselves with Picks, Shovels, and Axes**  
**From the Diary of Alfred Bellard (1843-1891)**  
**The Alec Thomas Archives, Clark's Summit, Pennsylvania**

"Since I wrote my last letter, we have had marching orders. We left Folly Island last Tuesday and went on board of the transport, and arrived here on Thursday night, all safe and sound. Last Saturday, our forces had an engagement with the Rebs and were whipped, so we were sent down here to reinforce them. We are engaged in fortifying the place now. I don't know whether we will make an advance on them or not, but I don't think that we will at present. Our forces feel pretty confident of success, that is, if we make an advance on them. But from what I can find out, I don't think that we will trouble the Rebs.

"I heard to-night that we would be back on Folly Island by the 10<sup>th</sup> of next month, but I don't know how true it is. This is a great country down here. Every place that we go to is deserted by the inhabitants. There is only a few families here in the village. This used to be quite a place here once, before it was burned. There is a railroad that runs into this place and the river is navigable for pretty large vessels, and I guess by the looks of the place that there used to be considerable business done here before the war, but they have no chance to do any here now.

"We have no tents here besides our small shelter tents, but it is so warm down here that there is no need of larger tents at present. If we are a going to go back to Folly Island, I hope that they will not disturb them, for we had them fixed up pretty comfortable. We came away and left them standing. That is one reason why I think that we are not a going to stay here, because all the rest of the forces from Folly Island struck their tents and brought them along. But our brigade did not bring a thing besides their knapsacks and I think that was about . . .

March the 2<sup>d</sup>, 1864.

"I forgot what I was writing about. I had to stop writing the other night, because the bugle had blown for us to put out the lights, and the next day I had to go on picket. The regiment moved while we were out on picket and to-day we have moved again. There is no sign of us leaving this place as yet, but I hope that we will leave it pretty soon, as I don't much like this place.



Union soldiers relaxing at Jacksonville or St. Augustine, Florida (ca. 1862-'65)

"It is as warm down here now as it is up North in June, but the nights are pretty cool. I don't like this style of living – as soon as we get a place fixed up to sleep in, we have to move our camp. We got a mail last night and I received the newspapers that you sent me, and I was very glad to get them, as we cannot get anything to read down here."

The location of the regiment's camp at Jacksonville was unidentified by name in any of the various newspaper articles, letters, and memoirs researched by your correspondent, but the following sources did provide several clues, in addition to those provided by Gen. Alden and Col. Colvin:

1. The *Troy Daily Times*, April 26, 1864: "The regiment is just now most fortunately situated in reference to locality, having the most convenient camp, and accessories to health and general comfort, ever known to its history. The location is within full and near view of the town of Jacksonville."

2. The *Troy Daily Press*, April 28, 1864: "An eager throng soon surrounded the house occupied by Lieut.-Col. Alden and the staff officers, and lined the avenue by which the Colonel was obliged to make his approach to the building. The band, not a whit behind this spontaneous eruption of our devoted soldiers, made a contemporaneous demonstration, with their instruments, in front of headquarters, and as soon as the Colonel's black charger, bestrode by his well known rider, appeared, the band first touched the inspiring notes of welcome, which were seconded by a storm of applause from the men."

3. The *Troy Daily Times*, February 19, 1874: "JACKSONVILLE, Feb. 12. – I thought that a few lines from our old 'camping ground' would be of interest to you. I have been here about two weeks, and the first thing that I did was to walk to the mansion that was the headquarters of the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment in 1864. The mansion has not changed much; the same lovely grove of live oak, with its fine drapery of moss, still surrounds it; the grounds around are not much changed – even the 'company streets' can be fixed as we had them when we camped here." – *Capt. Spencer W. Snyder*.

*Captain John McConihe Collection*, Schaffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York:

4. April 14, 1864: "Monday morning we landed at Jacksonville, I got upon my horse and rode out to camp. I trust you will not call me vain when I tell you I received a most cordial welcome, both from officers



and men... Our camp is a very healthy one, just on the edge of town, with headquarters in a large, two-and-a-half story frame house, with several adjoining houses. Myself and the Lieutenant-Colonel occupy the two front rooms, the Adjutant and Quartermaster the back rooms, the Doctor and Chaplain the second story. The Major has an adjoining building, and we use one as a kitchen."

*Correspondence of Colonel John McConihe, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. Infantry Regiment, 1863-1864*, Special Collections, Albany Institute of History & Art, Albany, New York:

5. April 15, 1864: "We are encamped in the edge of town and our quarters are a fine, two-story mansion, with garden in front planted with orange and magnolia trees and in the rear with live oak and magnolias. The air is fragrant with perfume and the climate is delightful."

6. April 16, 1864: "On my return, I found the regiment in good condition and received a very cordial and impressive greeting from all, both officers and men. My horses were at the landing, and as I approached the camp, the band struck up a welcome, and the men shouted in lusty cheers."

7. April 18, 1864: "My stay in Jacksonville has been short and pleasant, and I almost hate to leave Headquarters Mansion with its orange trees, magnolias, and grand old live oaks. We are occupying a large, two-story house just in the edge of Jacksonville. The house stands in the center of a garden, surrounded by a picket fence and beautifully shaded by magnificent oaks, with long, grey Southern moss drooping from their branches, and by symmetrical magnolias, perfumed by the ever-blooming, rich-looking orange blossoms."



**Union camp at Jacksonville, Florida**

*The Papers of Alfred C. Carmon*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.:

8. April 4, 1864: "I like the place here first rate! We are not camped in the city. We are out about a quarter of a mile. Then you think that we might stay in the houses. The houses are most all of them occupied. What there is are most all of them small. The large ones are used by the generals as their headquarters."

*Correspondence Collection of Corp. Lyman Ostrom, Co. A, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.*, The History Center in Tompkins County, Ithaca, N.Y.:

9. March 9, 1864: "In the stream about here are large quantities of fish, though not fish alone, but alligators, serpents, etc. ... Well, after all, Jacksonville itself has been a beautiful place. We are not stationed in Jacksonville exactly, however... I forgot to mention among the not very pleasant things in this vicinity, that within a few miles are a plenty of panthers, catamounts and crocodiles."

*History of the One Hundred and Twelfth Regiment N. Y. Volunteers*, by William L. Hyde:

10. "The Regiment marched into a vacant field within the city, and a hundred men were detailed to work all night, throwing up earthworks along the front occupied by our Brigade. A like detail from other regiments was employed in the same way. These works were afterwards enlarged and made formidable for any force likely to be hurled against them. On the afternoon of the 28<sup>th</sup>, the Brigade moved outside the works across a marsh, about three-fourths of a mile from the business part of the city, down the river. The location was a pleasant one; the camp but a short distance from the bank of the river; near it a steam saw mill built and owned by men from the eastern part of the State of Maine.

Four vacant dwelling houses furnished ample quarters for the Colonel and Staff; and a pile of old boards at the mill, with the fences about the fields where our camp was located, enabled the men to fix up their quarters comfortably... There were several boats around the mill, and many pleasant excursions down the river and across to the opposite side, are remembered."

Joel McEachin, City Planner Supervisor in the Planning and Development Dept. for the City of Jacksonville, stated his opinion on the matter: "I believe the location was probably the plantation of Philip Dell, who later sold it to James Winter. Winter died in 1857 but the property was owned by his children at the time of the start of the war and was later acquired by his son-in-law, Miles Price."

In the *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924*, by T. Frederick Davis (1925), we find the following history of the plantation:



**Detail from "Bird's-Eye View of Jacksonville, Fla." (1876) showing the Brooklyn section of Jacksonville to the left of the city proper**

"On February 11, 1801, Philip Dell secured a concession from Governor White of 800 acres, extending along the riverfront from the mouth of McCoys Creek to a point about halfway between Barrs and King Streets – the bend in Riverside Avenue between these streets is where the line cuts through. It embraced the present Brooklyn and Riverside sections. For many years the tract was known as 'Dell's Bluff' and was often referred to in the records by that name.

"The Dell's Bluff tract was acquired by John H. McIntosh January 11, 1805. Title was confirmed to him by the land-grant commissioners. John H. McIntosh on October 4, 1823, deeded it to Francis J. Ross. Ross gave Joseph B. Lancaster a quitclaim deed to these 800 acres, December 6, 1833, the consideration mentioned being \$2,000. Lancaster held it a little more than ten years, selling only six acres in the meantime, three of which were sold to Blanchard & Rider for a mill site at the mouth of McCoys Creek; on May 1, 1844, he deeded the

remainder back to Francis I. (J.) Ross, the consideration being \$2,500. Francis J. Ross conveyed it to William B. Ross March 24, 1845, and William B. Ross sold it to James Winter February 6, 1847. Winter died in possession of the property and his estate descended to his heirs. On April 23, 1866, Uriah Bowden bought a portion of these lands from the commissioners of the Winter estate. Miles Price finally acquired the bulk of the Winter estate, and on June 8, 1868, he conveyed 500 acres to E. M. Cheney in trust to be conveyed to John M. Forbes (a Boston millionaire) for \$10,000 in gold. The property was platted for Forbes into lots February 1, 1869, and named 'Riverside,' provision being made for a park of 14 acres, now Riverside Park."

Examining another bird's-eye view of Jacksonville, published in 1893, we find a property which shows a 2 or 2½ story house at the intersection of McCoy Street and Winter Street. The Winter family owned the property during the war, so it makes sense that the street leading to the house would be named after them. James Winter's son-in-law, Miles Price, may have had something to do with that.

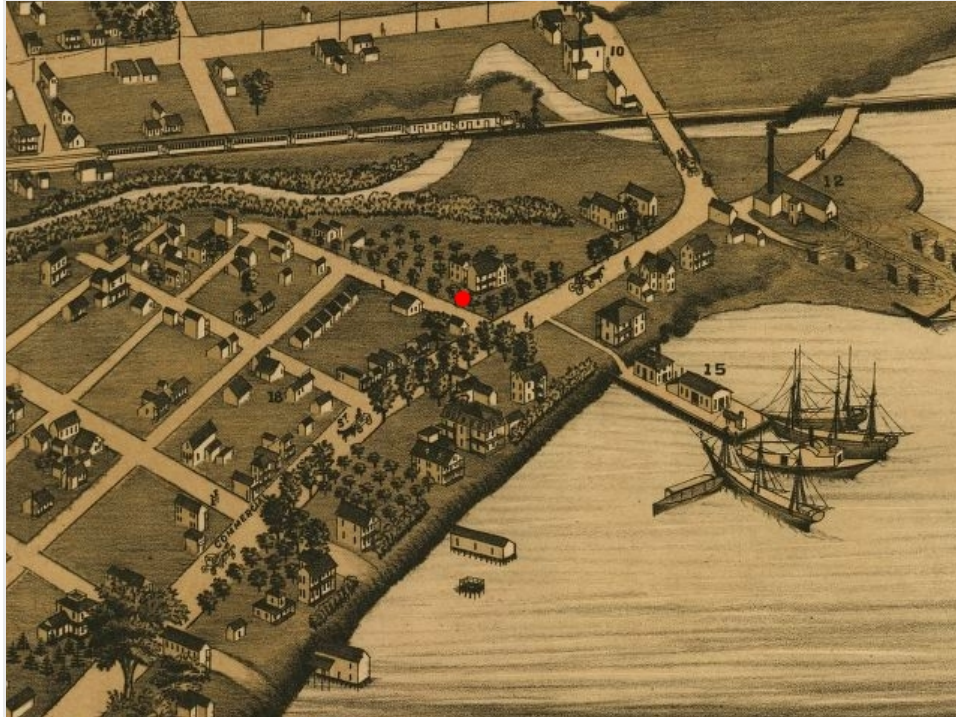


Detail from "Jacksonville, Florida"  
 Drawn by Augustus Koch, Published by Hudson-Kimberly Pub Co, Kansas City, Mo. (1893)  
 Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

*The location of the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.'s headquarters is indicated by the red dot.*

Everything else seems to check out, including the Bradbury Saw Mill near the St. Johns River, where the 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y., in the same brigade as the 169<sup>th</sup>, was encamped.

The tents of the men would have been located in the near vicinity of headquarters, but their exact location has not been pinpointed. The grounds of the estate show empty space to the rear of the mansion and the side towards the train tracks which could have been used for this purpose, although the area across McCoy Street presents another possibility, as it was not as developed during the war years as is depicted in the 1876 bird's-eye view:



Detail from "Bird's-Eye View of Jacksonville, Fla." (1876)

*The Bradbury Saw Mill, near site of the camp of the 112<sup>th</sup> N.Y., is depicted as Item No. 12 in the upper right-hand corner.*

The mansion is gone, and a modern map shows that McCoy Street no longer exists and Winter Street has been renamed as May Street. The former grounds of the mansion are bounded by present-day May, Leila, and Magnolia Streets.

Left behind at Folly Island for the time being was Wagonmaster Robert Whitcomb, responsible for looking after the regiment's camp equipage and extra baggage until it was removed to Jacksonville. A letter on the 23<sup>d</sup> to his parents mentions his loneliness and fears for the future:

"It is with but little pleasure that I write you to-night, not because we han't well, for we are in the best of health; but it is very lonesome here to-night. The regiment sailed this afternoon for the battlefield at Jacksonville, Florida, which they expect to reach on Thursday, and brother is with them. I wanted to go but the quartermaster wanted me to stay here to see to the things. But I expect to be sent for in a few days and I hope it won't be long, for it is too lonesome here for me when George is not here. And if they should have a fight, I want to be with them, and if George should fall, I could see him buried decently. But God knows, I hope, it won't be his fate to be shot by a Rebel. He went away feeling good and I hope when I get down there he will look and feel as well. Our troops have had a fight there last week and got whipped, but General Gillmore is a going to try them again and I hope that he will fix them this time. You must not let it worry you, for I think that the 169<sup>th</sup> can whip them...

"Father, I never felt so lonesome in my life as I do to-night. The quartermaster has gone with them and there is nobody here in camp but me and a few sick men, but I shall get rid of the property as soon as possible and sail for Florida. I suppose we shall stay there or to Georgia this summer. I hope they won't put us on a barren island like this one.





**Quartermaster's storehouse, Folly Island, South Carolina**

I want to be where I can see a woman once in awhile. There han't anything wrong about that, is there...?

"George felt very bad last night when he heard that his little daughter was ill. Father, you don't know anything about this cruel war, but when you see an army of men wading rivers and creeks and hunting the woods all through to find a man to shoot at... I guess I will wait until morning before I finish this.



**1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant and Quartermaster  
Sidney N. Kinney, 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y.  
Post-war photograph**

February 24<sup>th</sup>, 5 o'clock in the morning.

"Father, the quartermaster returned last night and stayed here until 4 this morning. The boat that took the officers did not leave last night. When he left this morning he shook hands with me and bid me good-bye, and told me that if he got killed what to do with his things. But I hope that it won't be his fate, for it would be almost like losing a brother.

"I stood in the door of my tent and saw ten of our officers on their horses and their swords by their sides, starting off to meet the enemy, and it made me feel lonesome to be left here. I don't know as I am prudent but I had rather be with them, for I have got some warm friends



**Men on Horseback (ca. 1861-'65)**  
**Charles Gulager (1826-1899)**  
**The Fenwick Collection, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and  
State University, Blacksburg, Virginia**

that are with them and I may never see some of them again, but I will live in hopes.

"I went out and stood on the steps last night and looked off on the blue waters in the direction that the boat went that bore brother George away for the battlefield, and how do you suppose I felt? But father, such is the fate of war. George and I haven't been far apart before, and it seems worse, and it seems to me that he is all the brother I have got. At all events, he is a good brother and he han't no coward if he is still alive now.

"Father, I have told you about all I can this time, and I hope you won't be uneasy about us. Brother will probably write as soon as they get to Florida. If he don't, I shall when I get there, but I am afraid that I shall have to stay here two or three weeks. The quartermaster said he would write to me as soon as he got there and tell me if there was any chance of a fight. He told me to send his best respects to Sarah and all of my folks.

"Tell Mr. Toole that Hugh is well and has gone to Florida, and the boys of Company D are all well and in good fighting condition [Corp. Hugh W. Toole, Co. D].

"Father, news has just come here that Gillmore has had another engagement and has whipped the Rebs like hell, and I hope it is so and then our boys are all right again for the present. There is a going to be a great deal of bloodshed this summer and we shall see some of it.

"Father, write and direct as before until further orders. Please let Sarah see this... A kiss for all. Good-bye. If this should be the last, don't mourn our loss, for many have gone before us since this cruel war began."



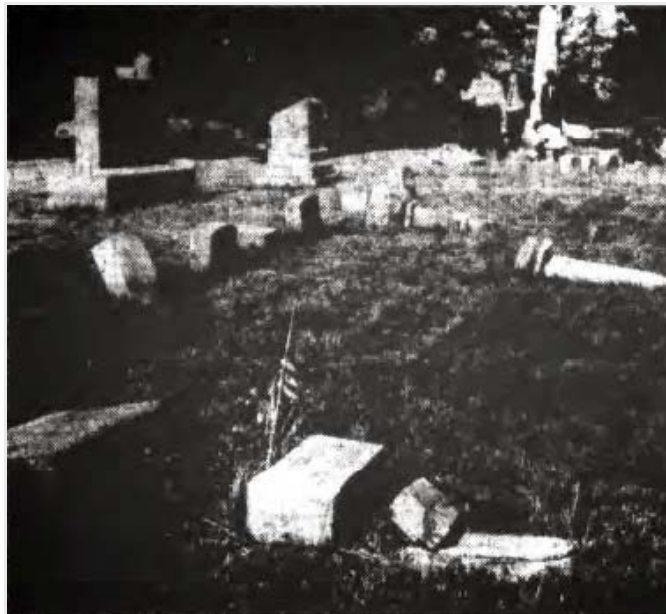
Your correspondent has disturbing news to report from Oakwood Cemetery in Troy. On January 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014, more than 100 cemetery monuments and headstones were damaged or tipped over by vandals in an area northwest of the cemetery pond, at the top of the hill and east of Knickerbacker Junior High School. The gravestones of two soldiers from the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. were damaged in the attack, including those of Capt. Daniel J. Ferguson, Co. K, and Priv. George Lester, Co. C. Capt. Ferguson, a native of Lansingburgh, N.Y., was killed in the magazine explosion at Fort Fisher, N.C., on January 16, 1865. Priv. Lester, who enlisted in Pittstown, N.Y., died on April 19, 1867.



**Capt. Ferguson's gravestone lies in the foreground.  
Photograph by Christopher K. Philippo**



**Captain Daniel J. Ferguson, Co. K**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**The gravestone was also toppled and damaged by vandals in 1966.**



**Private George Lester, Co. C**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Photograph by Christopher K. Philippo**

Presented for your review and contemplation are photographs of additional gravestones of soldiers from the 169<sup>th</sup> N.Y. at Oakwood Cemetery:



**Brevet Brigadier-General and Colonel John McConhe**

Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Brigadier-General Alonzo Alden**

Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Corporal John Gass, Co. K**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



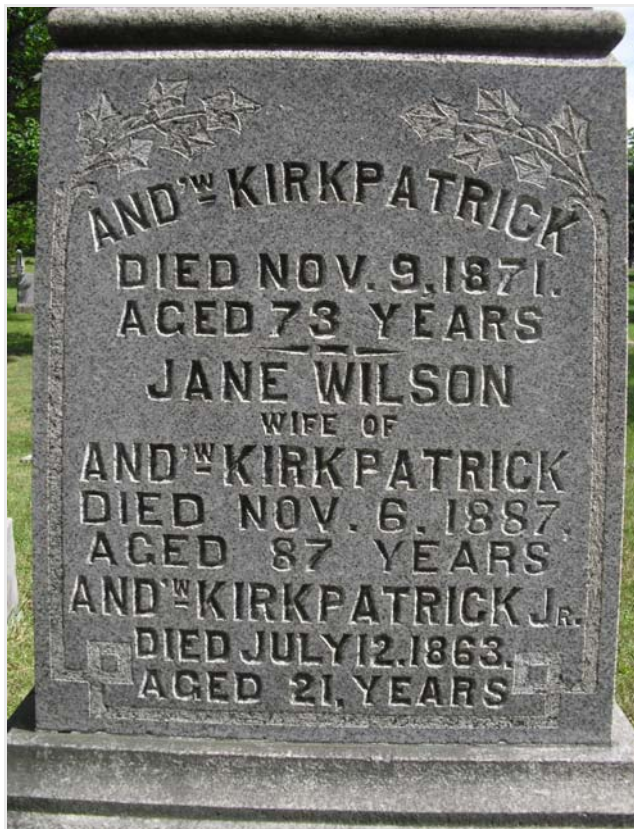
**1st Lieutenant James H. Straight, Co. F**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Private Samuel Lawrence, Co. C**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Brevet Major and Captain Edwin R. Smith, Co. K**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



Private Andrew S. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Co. K  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.





**Private Francis Delair, Co. K**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.



**Private William H. Freeman, Co. B**  
Oakwood Cemetery, Troy, N.Y.

Yours truly,

- Steve Wiezbicki

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<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nyrensse/169ny2.htm>