

Cover of the Commemorative Booklet Produced by the Civil War Biography Project

Creating a Class Around the Lives of the Civil War Dead:

The Worcester Soldiers' Monument Biography Project

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Abstract: This article describes a Civil War Biography Project and its resultant commemorative booklet, For the Unity of the Republic: The Men of the Worcester Soldiers' Monument. Undergraduate students, along with three graduate assistants and a few volunteers, were assigned the task of researching the lives of the 398 Civil War soldiers listed on Worcester's Civil War Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines Monument, which resides on the city's common and was dedicated in 1874, writing brief biographies of each man. Linda Hixon is an adjunct Professor of History at Worcester State University. She holds degrees in History, English, Communications, and Paralegal Studies and has worked in the media. She has presented her research on the women of Hopedale at New England Historical Association meetings and before the Communal Studies Association.

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When a once-in-a-lifetime research opportunity arises for historians and teachers, they must be ready to capitalize on it. It was the refurbishment of the Civil War Soldiers' Monument in Worcester, Massachusetts that provided me with the rare chance to conduct an unprecedented, studentdriven, public memorial history project at Worcester State University. But how to create a class out of what seemed like a game: choosing random names from the monument and finding the details of a life lived and a death due to war? This article encapsulates my attempt to build a biography project based on a public monument and to teach students how to research and write a commemorative rededication booklet that would excite a city.

The class was like a parlor game: pick a random name and discover, sometimes from scant information, how this unknown person lived and died. Only this was not a game. It was the beginning of an academic undertaking that included graduate and undergraduate students from Worcester State University, research volunteers, and sporadic contributions from the community. Furthermore, nothing like it had been taught on campus before. Although I had only been an adjunct history professor at Worcester State University for a short time, I had not come across anything that even resembled the complexities of this particular project. Without having a proper model to use as a guide, I envisioned the Civil War Biography Project as a group independent study. But even this quasi-oxymoron does not accurately represent the many intricate challenges that were involved with conducting a study of this kind.

The project had a simple premise—write short biographies of the men who are listed on Worcester's Civil War Soldiers' Monument, located on the city's common. The idea came to the History Department at Worcester State University as a request from Dan McAuliffe, the chair of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Board of Trustees. Since Worcester was refurbishing the monument, originally dedicated in 1874, the board and a panel of city officials thought that telling the stories of these men's lives and deaths would be a great way to once again honor their sacrifice. The names of the 398 city men who perished during the conflict had become obscured and City Manager Edward M. Augustus, Jr., pushed for the restoration to bring "a new sense of historic relevance to the Worcester Common."¹ The renovation project was funded with money earned from the sale of the GAR Memorial Hall on Pearl Street.²

In the midst of all the elaborate planning to restore and rededicate the Soldiers' Monument, McAuliffe's idea to research and write biographies of Worcester's Civil War dead filtered down to me. When I asked him how the concept for this project originated, McAuliffe said it all came back to the public: "Thousands pass by the monument daily and very few know what it really represents. There are 398 names of real men who gave their lives for a just cause, what better way to honor them but to tell their stories in a commemorative booklet that will be available to many for all time."³ That seemed, at first, a simple prospect: find a bit of information about these men and produce a pamphlet that could be given away as a souvenir at the monument's rededication ceremony scheduled for the summer of 2016.

But the task would not be that simple. The 398 men on the monument served under fifty distinct infantry regiments, five cavalry units, fourteen separate artillery batteries, and for several different states besides Massachusetts.⁴ Further complicating matters was the fact that my research expertise lies in nineteenth-century female progressive abolitionism and pacifism, not the Civil War per se.

Although the project was indeed outside of my comfort zone, I needed to set aside my own historiographical preferences and make this kernel of an idea become the basis for a legitimate Worcester State University history course. It was my hope that the class would not only offer students the opportunity to conduct genuine historical research, but also allow them to contribute to a community-based project with deep meaning and long-lasting significance. Moreover, although Worcester's Civil War Soldiers' Monument is located on public land and freely accessible, like most public monuments, it lacks context and interpretation. Rarely noticed, it often functions as little more than a backdrop to our busy lives. But thanks to Dan McAuliffe and the GAR Board of Trustees, our class was given the extraordinary opportunity to bring the Civil War Soldiers' Monument back into the foreground of public awareness. Part public history project, part research project, and encompassing many different forms of writing, this project seemed to have it all. Even if our direction was loosely defined, the end product was clear.

COURSE DESIGN

The class was set up practically as an independent study, although it was listed in the university's course offerings as an undergraduate history class. There was no scheduled class time, as it was decided to teach the class as a quasi-independent study. Instead, I was teaching the course by Doodle poll and hoping the students would be able to meet with me at pivotal points over the course of the semester. Mostly, it worked. At an almost-full first class meeting, the students and I got to know each other and attempted to understand this project as best we could. I felt that I was holding a growing balloon, filling with excitement but also on the verge of exploding. I had to corral fifteen people, get them to choose their biographical subjects, help them understand the resources, and hope that they would show up for meetings and off-campus gatherings. The logistics were difficult, and the task of discovering exactly who these dead soldiers were was even harder.

There were 398 names on the monument that needed to be reclaimed. But with only eleven undergraduates, two graduate assistants, and two volunteers, one of whom completed only a single biography, the hopes of reviving the memory of Worcester's Civil War dead appeared unrealistic. I did not want to overwhelm my undergraduate students and had promised them no more than twenty soldiers apiece, and even that brought looks of panic to their faces. Naively, as the deadline approached, I decided to research and write biographies for the remaining lives myself. Yet as overwhelming as the project was, all of us were buoyed by the importance of the work we were doing. The monument had stood on the common for 142 years before its condition called for repair. Once cleaned and refurbished, it would not need to be fixed and rededicated again for another century or more. These students clearly understood the significance of performing a service that would not be carried out again for a long, long time—if ever.

THE ROLE OF WORCESTER'S GAR

Worcester's Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) chapter grew out of what we might now call a "support group" formed by veterans of the nation's bloodiest conflict. Within a year after the end of the war, former soldiers were finding themselves isolated and unsettled. Benjamin Franklin Stephenson of Springfield, Illinois, had an idea—he gathered together other local veterans who met in Decatur on April 6, 1866, to share their experiences. Within six months, the idea had spread to ten states and Washington, D.C. The group had its first big "national encampment" at Indianapolis in November of that year.⁵

By 1890, the GAR boasted over 400,000 members in over 7,000 posts, with some of the greatest Civil War heroes involved, including several presidents: Ulysses S. Grant, James Garfield, and William Henry Harrison. The members had uniforms and called each other "comrade." They recounted their years in service, sang songs, relived battles, reminisced about lost friends, and boasted about their time during the war. They held national encampments, some of which were captured on film toward the end of these Union soldiers' lives. Former Union soldiers put their power to work, helping those left behind when comrades had fallen during the war, raising money for widows and orphans. Many local GAR posts also raised money for monuments to those fallen men and preserved relics brought back from the battlefield.⁶

Worcester's fraternal order of the GAR, the George Ward Post 10, was named after Colonel George Ward of the Massachusetts 15th Infantry Regiment. A true hero, Colonel Ward lost a leg early in the war. Injured at the Battle of Ball's Bluff in October, 1861, his leg was later amputated. When he could travel, medics sent him home, where he remained active as an army recruiter. In 1862, he was promoted to colonel. He closely followed news of his regiment and, after learning of the heavy losses suffered at Antietam, he returned to the 15th as colonel, reporting for duty on January 31.7

In late June of 1863, Colonel



Colonel George Ward in 1861

Ward wrote to his wife Emily expressing his trepidation that the war would last much longer and be far more devastating than anyone could have imagined: "We have not seen the worst of this rebellion yet, and I almost shudder at the thought of what we are to pass through before the struggle is over."⁸ Within a few days he led his men into combat at the battle of Gettysburg, where he was shot. He died the next day. George Ward's name is among those listed on Worcester's Civil War Soldiers' Monument, and graduate student Laura Sutter was charged with writing his biography.⁹ Unlike many national posts, the local GAR post did not raise money for the Soldiers' Monument on the Common—those funds came from city coffers. But the GAR post was active and, like the monument itself, integrated at a time of racial division, albeit with some restrictions. Local "colored" Union veteran Amos Webber belonged to the George Ward Post and pushed for integration but found the "coolness of white members" held African American members from full participation.¹⁰



Bull Mansion in Worcester

But history was shifting, and the nationwide posts began to disband after World War I. By the early part of the twentieth century, Union veterans were getting old. In fact, Worcester's Civil War heroes were reaching beyond their seventh decade and, literally, "feeling the cold." Historian Frank D. Tappan noted in *The Passing of the Grand Army of the Republic* that, by 1920, the men "were sensitive to air draughts" and that something had to be done. During a meeting that fall, it was decided that two thermometers should be purchased "and placed in the smoking room and reading room respectively and that the temperature be kept at 75°." By 1925, the oldest member of the local GAR Post 10 was ninety-seven and the youngest eighty-eight.¹¹

Worcester's GAR Board of Trustees was formed in 1930. Created to protect Confederate artifacts taken as prizes of war, the board still oversees souvenirs that GAR members acquired during the Civil War. One of those keepsakes was the "Bell of the Rebel Ram Albermarle," a ship captured in the Roanoke River in the spring of 1864.¹² The ship's bell was placed in Bull Mansion, home to the George Ward GAR Post 10, and was rung regularly at GAR meetings. Although Bull Mansion now functions as a high-end restaurant in downtown Worcester, the bell still hangs proudly in the eatery's main lobby. Other artifacts included a large flag that flew over Worcester during the Civil War¹³ and three Confederate flags brought back to the city after being captured by the 25th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment during the Battle of New Berne in North Carolina.¹⁴ Many of the soldiers that my students researched as part of the Biography Project had died in that battle on March 14, 1862, or from injuries received during that battle.

The Confederate flags are not currently in the board's hands, however, they are loaned to "reputable Southern museums and institutions."¹⁵ To keep a bit of relevance to a Board of Trustees that could easily die for lack of purpose, and to preserve a sense of community, today's members serve as reenactors at local Civil War events. The board has also created several different educational programs about the war and its impact on the city for local schools. But, without question, the largest and most significant project that the Board of Trustees has undertaken since its inception in 1930 is the refurbishing of the Worcester Civil War *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* on the city's common. Little did I know when Dan McAuliffe approached me to research the memory of the fallen soldiers listed on the monument that it would develop into the incredible teaching and learning experience that it has.

RESEARCH CHALLENGES AND STUDENT RESPONSES

Sometimes in the search for these soldiers, sailors, and marines, we ran up against deficiencies in the "facts" reported in the original Soldiers' Monument dedication. We had received a list from one of the GAR members, taken from the original dedication ceremony booklet, with the men's names, broken down by regiment, then by rank, and then alphabetically.¹⁶ We used the list to create a spreadsheet, but realized within a month that it was missing over

thirty names. Despite our best efforts, we never discovered why these names had been omitted from the GAR list.

The unpredictability of this project was part of its appeal, but it also created many unforeseen challenges. The students quickly learned that some of the soldiers' names yielded masses of information, while some could not be found at all. The men on the monument shared something horrible in common—they all died from one cause or another during the American Civil War. They supposedly also shared another tie, having called the city of Worcester, Massachusetts their home at some point or another. Both of these facts seemed indisputable, but both proved not necessarily to be true. A few men, or at least one for sure, survived the war; one deserted and disappeared, never to be seen again; and several had no discernable tie to the city that we could find.

The students had certain guidelines they needed to meet which we called "The Basics." Each soldier needed a minimum of information, including birth basics—date and place of birth, parents' and siblings' names if possible; life basics—where they lived, their occupation, whether they married and had children; and death basics—where and how they died during this bloody conflict. For most of the 398, this was all we could find, and sometimes even these basic facts were difficult to locate. Men like John Powers, whose name is on the Worcester monument but who served in the 73rd New York Infantry Regiment, became, after copious research, one of what we started calling "orphan soldiers." Whether it was because of his common name, or the fact that his last name could be easily transmogrified – for example, to Power, Powers, Tower, or Towers—no one who perished in that regiment had a name even similar to anything we found. We listed all three possible men and their stories and had to move on.¹⁷

Other discoveries brought the problems of administrating such a bloody conflict home for the students. Although research websites like *Fold 3, Ancestry, Family Search,* and others often yielded the basic facts, some of the men could not be found. Luckily, graduate student and class volunteer Zachary Washburn had significant experience conducting genealogical research. He was working on the project without credit, helping me coordinate the sources and edit the final work. Able to see beyond the basics, Zach quickly realized that many of the men's names were listed on the monument incorrectly. Although we had suggested to the students that they try alternative spellings or different middle initials, they often grew frustrated with the conflicting or erroneous information they found on these men. But Zach was usually able to look at the names and initials with a penetrating eye and see the errors we



Gravestone of Joseph Eaton, spelled Heaton

could not, thus helping students find the information they needed to write their biographies.¹⁸

Those spelling issues followed the dead soldiers home. Many of the names on the monument's brass plaques were also spelled incorrectly. This was not necessarily the fault of those trying to pull together a list of the dead a decade after the war ended. In some of the military records, men's names could be spelled in several different ways. Joseph Eaton, who immigrated with his family to Worcester from England, is a case in point. In his records, his name is spelled both Eaton and Heaton. On the back of a photograph found in a local collector's archive, he clearly spelled it Eaton, yet Hope Cemetery, the city-owned graveyard that houses dozens of Civil War burial sites, shows the family stone marked Heaton. The basic facts regarding this soldier's birth, life and death—the names of his parents, the fact that he served in the Massachusetts 25th Infantry Regiment and died at "Drury's Bluff"—are beyond dispute.¹⁹ But the cause of the confusion over his last name remains unresolved.

Was this a case of an English accent, an H getting added or dropped by the slip of a tongue? In the case of Daniel Maghan, an Irish immigrant, a brogue and a few shenanigans may have led the private to become what graduate student Ann Lane labeled "the man of many names." The official records, some typed and some handwritten, show him alternately as Maghen, Meaghen, McCarty, Maghnie, and even Magnie. After reading the documents she felt that this Irish lad may have reveled in dropping whatever Irish-sounding name he could on his superiors, and she thought he probably did it with a smile. It did not save his life, however; he died from wounds received in the Spotsylvania campaign.²⁰

Graduate student Ann Lane became almost obsessed with some of her adoptees during this project. A mother of two, her accordion folder grew incrementally during the semester; she eventually had to buy a second folder to house the documents she acquired. Lane knew she wanted to study history, but doing this project cemented in her the idea of public history as a future career. "It gave me the opportunity to look through the lens of history on a very personal level, in a gratifying way. I was given access and learned to use research tools that I had no previous experience with and now know that I will be able to use these skills as I go forward with my education and later my career," she said. Lane also admitted that she became very attached, not only to the men she researched, but also to the research process: "I have to admit that digging out information and bringing to light connections and information that no one had before, made me feel not only exhilarated but also humbled that I was breathing life back into these soldiers' lives."²¹

Lane was not the only student who solidified their decision to study public history as a result of working on this project. An undergraduate in his last semester on campus, Marc Speroni, told me that originally this class held nothing of interest for him on the surface, but that the idea of working on a project that would be used by the city as a publicity tool drew him in. "The challenge here was to flesh [the soldiers] out and introduce Worcester to the men they were beyond their uniforms. That was an incredible thing to do," Speroni said. Moreover, he noted that he almost had to disregard a lot of what he had been taught about historical research while working on his degree and step far outside of his comfort zone.²² He concluded:



SAMUEL SOUTHER, 1st Sergt. Co. B, 57th Mass.

This project allowed me to flex my research muscles in unfamiliar territory and showed me that I am prepared for all kinds of research, not just nineteenth century decorative arts. . . . I am much more prepared now to dive off into a subject matter that I am not comfortable with. I am working towards a career as a museum curator and I know that there are going to be times when I have to be an expert on things that I may not be passionate about. Now I know that I can tackle them with the same attention to detail.²³

Speroni found himself drawn to the drama of this project. The soldier he found most fascinating was Samuel Souther, a minister from Worcester who served as spiritual adviser at both the county jail and the local asylum for the insane. Souther also began an industrial school in the city with over two hundred students, and represented Worcester in the Superior Court of Massachusetts during the war. Although considerably older than a lot of soldiers, this minister joined the Union cause in 1864, not as a clergyman but as a sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry, a Worcester regiment.²⁴



Charles Everett Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society

Speroni's attraction to Souther came through the soldier's death at the Battle of the Wilderness in May of 1864, just months after enlisting. His parishioners and admirers around the city could not believe Souther was dead, in part because his body was never found. "The affection that the people of Worcester felt for Reverend Samuel Souther is most evident in the rumors and stories about him starting a new, exciting life in various European Countries. Even if it were just in their minds, people felt the need to spare this man the horror that was the Wilderness," Speroni wrote about his subject.²⁵ This was an historical figure he would not soon forget. Speroni's experience reflected that of most students.

THE IMPACT OF INDIVIDUAL STORIES

Initially, I took a detached methodical approach to the men I had to research. Having to write biographies for more than 60 men, I often included only general information about each one and simply churned out generic profiles. That ended when I visited Mark Savolis, a collector of Civil War images. As the archivist at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Savolis opened his massive collection of Civil War soldiers' photographs for us to use in the final booklet. I visited him on a steamy day in late May, just before the final draft was due to go to press. After scanning about two dozen pictures, I was stopped dead in my tracks. Before me was one of the sweetest baby faces I'd ever seen, and not the face of a youthful-looking eighteen-year-old. This was an actual child.

I went home to search for the name in our database and found that Charles F. Everett was listed in the Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War as an 18-year old student and musician who died at the Battle of the Wilderness after he "voluntarily, and against orders, left his post in the rear with the wagons to fight."²⁶ The fact that he was listed as a drummer and only five feet, four and one-half inches tall clearly demonstrated that the primary source record was wrong. When I saw that child's face, the facts and horror of this war finally hit home for me.

Charles Everett was a student living in Worcester who was born around 1849. His father had died that same year and possibly never saw his baby son. His mother, Abby, lived in the Dedham area of Massachusetts, about 50 miles from Worcester, and worked as a housekeeper to pay for Charles to go to school in the city. The young Civil War soldier looks as young as twelve or thirteen years old in the two photos I was able to find. In both of them, the one from Mark Savolis' collection and the other housed at the American Antiquarian Society, Everett sits in his drummer boy uniform, looking sweet and just a little bit sad. Charles Everett served with the Massachusetts 57th and probably died before his fifteenth birthday. Abby Everett received a mothers' pension after his death. Two different stories explain how her son had died. The first has him dying at the Battle of the Wilderness, a story told in a notarized letter from a lieutenant colonel of Charles' regiment whose name remains illegible.²⁷ The other version, from the official Company Muster-out Roll dated July 30, 1865, has him taken captive by the Confederates before he perished. "Wounded," the card reads, "was captured and is supposed to have died of his wounds" on May 6, 1864.²⁸ As a mother, I can't imagine either account made Abby Everett's heart any lighter, but due to our efforts over 150 years after his death, young Charles had his photograph on the front page of the local newspaper.²⁹

Civil War historian Michael Baker had heard stories like this one before. He was a great help with the project, giving the students tutorials on the structure of the U.S. Army in the mid-nineteenth century and the rigors of being a Civil War soldier. One of the advantages to having him on the team was that the research was not simply about anonymous names, obscure dates, and dry historical facts. Baker's expertise helped students to see each one of the soldiers as human beings, which allowed them to understand their lives and deaths on a much more personal level. However, Baker did worry that some students might get too caught up in the human drama of individual soldiers to the exclusion of the broader issues and dimensions of the conflict. "I feel that if the class did not force them to confront the historiography of the war, they would have been mired in the information they were researching for lack of understanding the background of the American Civil War," he said. This reminded me of our shared frustration over pointing students in the direction of local brick-and-mortar sources, only to have them turn to the Internet for the bulk of their facts. Baker also felt that his own expertise was only used incrementally. "People can provide clarification or help or leads that may be difficult to do by computer only," he noted, adding, "I think it's par for the course that students are apprehensive about talking to a living person for one reason or another."30

My frustration with the students was a result of their lack of participation in our scheduled field trips. The undergraduates were offered a behindthe-scenes, private tour of Worcester's famed American Antiquarian Society (AAS) and received reader cards and promised access to the AAS's renowned Civil War collection. Assembled by former AAS librarian Samuel Foster Haven, Sr., the collection is used by prominent scholars the world over. Foster Haven's son, S. Foster Haven Jr., was killed while working as a surgeon for the 15th Massachusetts Regiment. Although ordered to stay back at the surgical tents, Foster was determined to be as close to the injured men as possible. Struck in the leg by a shell, he died Fredericksburg, Virginia, at in December of 1862.³¹ His father never recovered from the loss and made it his mission to collect Civil War-related material for the archive. Only six of my students came on the AAS tour, and few of them took advantage of this amazing resource, which led me to form my latest mantra: You can lead students to sources, but you can't always make them think.

S. Foster Haven Jr. was yet another of the men who became an obsession for graduate student Ann Lane. After the Biography Project



S. Foster Haven, Jr.

was completed, she continued to research his life and death and the impact it had on his father. Lane is currently working on an article that explores the relationship between the Civil War surgeon and his heartbroken dad. Unlike Ann Lane, undergraduate Cynthia O'Neil found herself drawn more to the research and writing process than she was to the soldiers themselves. Although she was working on a double major in History and in English, biographical writing was not a genre she had much experience with. "Since this was a new type of writing for me it allowed me to write more, but also take my writing seriously. This project was more meaningful than just writing a paper, and I felt that this made my writing better," she said. O'Neil added that one of the other important aspects for her was the research itself: "One of the biggest things that I took away from the course was the importance of primary sources. I always knew they were important, but I think at times in the past I did not know exactly how to use them."³²

The commemorative book, the stories, and the number of images grew almost on a daily basis. After a meeting with the Worcester State University Printing and Publishing Services department, it was decided that our "booklet" would max out at sixty double-sided pages and needed to be on the presses by early June to make the July 16 rededication deadline. In an incredible act of generosity, the university's publishing department offered to print 150 copies free of charge. "As long as the WSU logo can go somewhere on the cover," Assistant Director Mark LaCroix said. I was absolutely thrilled and told him he could put photos of his children on the cover if I did not have to look for grant money to pay for the printing.

But this also meant that the booklet had to be written and edited in final draft form, including proper layout for photos and pages, all within two weeks of final exams. Fortunately, my eldest son, Tristan, a talented graphic artist, layout editor, and photographer, offered to help bring the project to fruition. Amazingly, and exquisitely, he finished all 120 pages and edited over 130 photographs and images in just a few days. In fact, WSU was so impressed with the final product that they have since printed an additional 500 copies and counting. Using the Biography Project primarily as a promotional tool, the university has also given numerous copies to the public, to veterans' groups, and to local libraries and schools. "We have distributed over seventy copies to Worcester Public and Parochial schools, and several colleges," Dan McAuliffe said, adding, "Many have responded that the book will be an excellent reference and addition to their libraries."³³ Although he would never draw attention to it himself, I know for a fact that Dan paid for some of those extra copies out of his own pocket.

The Civil War Biography Project and its resultant commemorative book, For the Unity of the Republic: The Men of the Worcester Soldiers' Monument, was considered such a success at WSU that Tona Hangen, History Department Chair, offered me a chance to oversee a similar project on World War I soldiers. With the centennial anniversary of the United States' involvement in the Great War having occurred on April 6, 2017, my new class will research and write about the 353 men and two women listed on a wall of heroes in Worcester's Memorial Auditorium. Maybe this new project will give graduate student Zach Washburn a chance to fix some of the issues he saw with the Civil War class as he viewed it through a non-student lens. As the lead researcher on the project, Zach grew frustrated when students found conflicting information on the soldiers, often leading to rewrites as the publishing deadline approached.

"I think this was the perfect project to show students, undergraduate and graduate, about publishing deadlines in the real world. It made sure everyone had time-management skills," Zach said. However, he also pointed out that he wished we had more time: "Another frustration was finding so much information after the project was published, with relatives coming forward and giving us records and stories that I wish could have made it into the book."³⁴ One descendant whose relative's name is listed on the monument contacted me after the Biography Project had already gone to press, informing me that she had fifty-four letters and two photographs of a man whose undergraduate biographer barely found a paragraph of information on him. Maybe it's time for volume II?

USING DEATH AS A RESEARCH TOOL

Many experts argue that modern American society—young people especially—has become extremely desensitized to violence and death. I would argue, however, that when students see a photo of a fourteen-year-old drummer boy who was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness, one of the most horrific battles in the nation's bloodiest war, that their eyes will widen and their jaws will drop.

That was one of the many positive aspects of choosing to take on a research project of this kind. Learning about this group of men who were linked only by the death and destruction of the Civil War had a powerful impact on my students as well as myself. While most of the soldiers lived what we would consider ordinary lives, they were all willing to die for their country and the preservation of the union. Several students were deeply moved after writing the biographies and viewing photographs of soldiers who were as young as they were. To be sure, some were much older, but the majority of the men listed on Worcester's Civil War Soldiers' Monument were only in their late teens or early twenties when they died. One, as we have seen, was a babyfaced child who looked no more than thirteen years old.

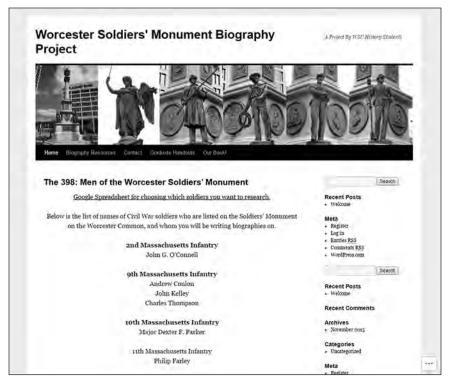
This class gave students the chance to actually experience the shift from a mostly Christian tradition of the "good death," a death at home surrounded by loved ones and followed by familiar rituals, to a death in a strange land surrounded by strangers. The soldiers they researched had mostly died away from home, away from family, and some of them never reunited with loved ones even in death, as either their bodies could not be found or their families could not afford to have them returned home for burial. During this period, the "good death" was what these men would have seen and expected for themselves.³⁵ Many of these men were memorialized in Worcester, but few of their bodies ever made it back to the city. Through their stories, the students learned about the raw wounds of war, death on the battlefield, succumbing to illness, and the horrors of the Confederate prison camps. This course laid history bare.

I showed my students a presentation that I created of "mourning portrait" photographs taken during the period, including some of Civil War soldiers, their bodies posed with their grieving parents, to drive home the point that this attitude towards and intimate familiarity with death was a mindset the modern viewer cannot easily comprehend. Post-mortem photography (also known as memento mori—memorial or mourning portraiture) is the practice of photographing the recently deceased. Photographs of deceased loved ones, sometimes posed to look as if they were still living, were a normal part of American and European culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One of the first important decisions we faced in our effort to research and write the biographies of Worcester's Civil War dead was determining how best to manage our content. Being that undergraduate and graduate history majors at WSU typically set up their own WordPress websites as part of their historiography classes, we figured these would be good places to begin. As the world's largest open Internet website, WordPress allowed us to store biographical content and organize photographs, categorize the unique details of the soldiers' lives, and catalog the names, regiments, and ranks of all 398 men in the same way that they appear on the monument. Our particular WordPress website—which clearly spelled out what was necessary for the class to succeed—was organized and built by graduate student volunteer Zach Washburn. But the real value of using WordPress lay in the internal workings of the website.

The Biography Resources page gave every student links showing them exactly where to start and what they needed for this project. The students were encouraged to get member cards at local facilities, such as the American Antiquarian Society, the Worcester Public Library, or their local library. Students were also urged to acquire an e-card from the Boston Public Library, which gave them access to articles found on academic journal storage websites like JSTOR and primary source material located in historical newspaper databases.

Actual libraries and archives are an underused and undervalued resource. Most college students today conduct research through the Internet only and often get discouraged if what they are looking for does not magically appear after doing a quick Google search. I hoped with this class to encourage my students to use library and archival websites, often staffed by experts and sometimes even with people holding history degrees. But the deadline on the end product for this course was so tight, the access to online books so tempting, and the sheer scope of the project so overwhelming, that I did not make a visit to an actual repository mandatory. Using Worcester's Civil War



WordPress Website for Civil War Biography Project

dead to create a legitimate university history course quickly became a matter of trial and error.

Vital Records, the government-created paper trail that follows a person from birth to death, was linked to and explained on our *WordPress* website, a choice we made in part because it seemed to us the domain most likely to be used by subscription-based genealogical websites. This turned out not to be the case. The Worcester Public Library website offers cardholders access to the online vital records website *Heritage Quest*, something that many libraries nationwide currently offer their patrons. This website can be accessed at home, while subscription sites like *Ancestry.com* and *American Ancestors* can only be accessed through the library's genealogy computers. The links on our class webpage also included one to *FamilySearch*, a nonprofit "family history organization" run by Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints (i.e., the Mormon church) in Salt Lake City. It proved an invaluable tool for the basic research on our soldiers.³⁶ A section on military records showed students what military-related resources were available online, including government websites and some non-professional websites published by Civil War buffs. The National Park Service has a *Soldiers and Sailors Database* with information on both Union and Confederate troops and the regiments they fought with. This site also provides information few in my class had time to access—information about battles, monuments and cemeteries, the medals the men received, and lists of men who were captured and imprisoned at Fort McHenry in the North and the notorious Andersonville prison camp in Georgia.

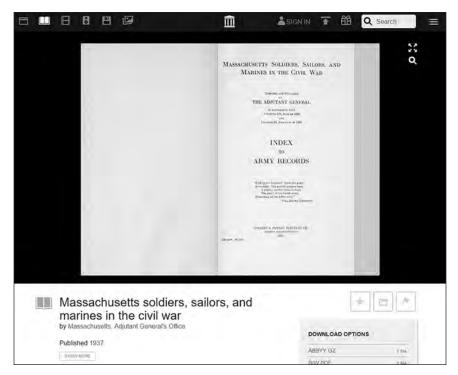
The Civil War has such a following that there are also personal websites useful for research, such as *MilitaryHistoryOnline.com*. This database proudly proclaims itself as a "webzine of community-submitted articles." But *MilitaryHistoryOnline.com* is much more than just a deep archive of military-related essays. It is also a good source for locating the living relatives of Civil War veterans.³⁷ Our project only discovered about seven families of the 398 men on the monument, with about a dozen descendants of all ages attending the re-dedication ceremony on that warm summer day in June of 2016.

The Executive Director at WSU's Learning Resources Center, Matt Bejune, was able to find funding for an institutional account with the site *Fold 3*, the military records arm of *Ancestry.com*. This database proved to be an invaluable resource for conducting the kind of research we were doing on Worcester's Civil War dead. Although sometimes limited because of confusion over handwritten documents, *Fold 3* offers a tremendous amount of primary source information through its rich archive of pension records. Dead soldiers' families, whether mother or wife or even child, were able to apply for pensions once a soldier was officially pronounced dead. These documents often told the stories of the deaths, or of the lives of those who had been affected by the loss of the soldier. The reasons given for a family's needing money could be as heartbreaking as the details of the loved one's death.

We found that there were many volumes written in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, many of them available through sites like *Archive. org.* The most important resource for Massachusetts dead is *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, a record compiled by the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, Charles H. Cole, in 1937. The many volumes of this record included most of the men we searched for, though not all. Sometimes, either due to the commonness of the name or confusion in the record, a person simply could not be found.

Survivors of the conflict often wrote regimental histories-basically accounts of the regiments they served in, from the first soldiers who enlisted voluntarily to the last soldiers to muster out of the Civil War. The Massachusetts 54th Colored Infantry Regiment, made famous in the movie *Glory*, has an excellent regimental history written by Luis F. Emilio, who served with Captain Robert Gould Shaw before Shaw died with his men at the Second Battle of Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863.³⁸

An important discovery of our research was that there were three African-Americans included on Worcester's Civil War Soldiers' Monument —an integrated monument dedicated in 1874, a time of deepening racial prejudice. John H. Johnson had served in the Massachusetts 54th and died accidently while on picket duty in South Carolina.³⁹ But the 54th wasn't the only "colored" regiment—the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry was also composed of African-Americans, and two soldiers from the state died while serving in that unit. Henry G. Garner, who was promoted to sergeant, died of disease in Virginia after the war ended, and John Cheesman (1841-64) also succumbed to illness in Virginia.⁴⁰



Screen Shot of Massachusetts Soldier, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War from www.Archive.org

Zach Washburn also included links to other online books and library databases and, most importantly, links helpful in locating soldiers' graves. Many of the men were buried or at least memorialized somewhere in city graveyards, such as Hope Cemetery, Rural Cemetery, and St. John's Cemetery, to name only a few. The students needed to locate the bodies of their research subjects, and websites like *Find a Grave* were extremely helpful in accomplishing this difficult task. Office administrators at these cemeteries were also instrumental in our searches, often going above and beyond simply revealing the location of the graves. They provided us with lot cards, maps, and information about the soldiers' families.

To help provide students with some historical context, I assigned several readings on Civil War battles and numerous firsthand accounts of the horrendous conditions endured by Union soldiers at the Confederate prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia. I also required students to read guides, including The Information-Literate Historian by Jenny Presnell and On Doing Local History by Carol Kammen,⁴¹ on how to research and write using local history sources, something many historians do not often consider. While both undergraduate and graduate students had already taken their required historical research and writing class, few had looked at history through a local lens. Rarely given the respect it deserves, the work of local historians is sometimes entirely dismissed by academic scholars. Yet the key to successfully executing a complex research assignment like the Civil War soldier's biography project was using a balanced analytical approach that included local genealogy, scholarly inquiry, modern technology, and traditional investigative techniques. Modern secondary sources, including The Civil War Dictionary by Mark Boatner and How to Read a Civil War Letter by Gregory Jones, helped round out the research.⁴²

Writing biography was also a new process for many of my students. "I'm not particularly interested in military history, biography, or the 1860's in the United States," undergraduate Marc Speroni told me, "but I am very interested in thorough research." Speroni was energized by the unique challenges offered in this particular class. "This project was different," he said. "There was no ready information on these particular soldiers as men. Yes, they were noted in the regimental histories, and had we wanted to merely record their service and their deaths, this would have been a simple project."⁴³

Often believing that biography falls outside the parameters of historical scholarship, many historians do not engage in biographical writing at all. Dual English and History major Cynthia O'Neil said that she had done few biographies in her student career and hoped that the class would help her with future projects. "I think having the Civil War biography class as an

example will be helpful," she said. "I wish I had more examples of biographies and how to write them."⁴⁴ And even with his reservations about the subject, Marc Speroni not only persevered in class, but also flourished. "It was much more difficult and time consuming than I had imagined it would be. My standard organizational techniques were useless and I had to devise new ones," he said, noting that the depth of the primary source research pushed him beyond his comfort zone.⁴⁵

The *WordPress* website allowed for almost instant updates regarding the discovery of potential sources. There was nothing fussy here; if a student found a good Internet source, Zach Washburn was able to quickly post it and alert the other students. "Having worked with *WordPress* in the past," he said, "I felt it would be the best platform to create a user-friendly site where the students and volunteers could go to find information in researching their soldiers." Zach added, however, that he would take a different approach for the next project on the soldiers from Worcester who died in World War I.⁴⁶

"With the World War I Biography Project, I created another *WordPress* website that I have tailored a little differently," Zach said. "This site was designed for a larger audience that includes students, volunteers, and the general public, so it had to be user friendly and easy to understand." Zach also expressed regret that the students did not take advantage of linking their own *WordPress* websites to the one created for the Civil War project. "One thing I would change about the *WordPress* website," he said, "is to have the students and volunteers design pages on one or two of their soldiers for the public to see."⁴⁷ Still, Zach was very happy with the overall education outcomes accomplished with the Civil War biography project. "I think the students learned more about the Civil War than they would have in a regular lecture-based class," he said. "They were able to connect on a deeper level with the soldiers, and got to know each soldier's story."⁴⁸

I was also very happy that students were able to form a stronger relationship with their subjects than they would have in a more traditional academic setting. As someone who usually teaches only survey classes in U.S. history, I seldom see my students make a significant connection with the subjects we study. It happens occasionally, particularly if they write a paper about a topic they love, but it is rare. This project, however, clearly shows how deeply students can connect to history when given the opportunity. Learning firsthand about the sacrifices made by the anonymous heroes listed on Worcester's Soldier's Monument allowed students to directly link the events of the Civil War to their own lives. Indeed, most students became very attached to the soldiers they studied, and that is an historical lesson they will never forget.

Civil War Primary Source books used in this project:

- Anderson, Captain John. *Fifty-Seventh Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion*. Boston: E.B. Stillings & Co., 1896.
- Bowen, James, L. *Massachusetts in the War 1861-1865*. Springfield, MA: Clark W. Bryan & Co., 1889.
- Civil War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Boston, MA: Published for the Commandery, 1900.
- Denny J. Waldo. Wearing the Blue in the Twenty-Fifth Mass. Volunteer Infantry, with Burnside's Coast Division, 18th Army Corps, and Army of the James. Worcester, MA: Putnam & Davis, 1879.
- Emilio, Louis F. A. Brave Black Regiment: The History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865. Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1891.
- Ford, Andrew E. *The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War 1861-1864*. Clinton, MA: J.W. Coulter, 1898.
- Nason, George W. History and Complete Roster of the Massachusetts Regiments: Minute Men of '61 who responded to the First Call of President Abraham Lincoln, April 15, 1861, to defend the Flag and Constitution of the United States. Boston, MA: Smith & McCance, 1910.
- Roe, Alfred S. Monuments, Tablets and Other Memorials Erected in Massachusetts to Commemorate the Services of Her Sons in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865. Boston, MA: Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1910.
- Tappan, Franklin D. The Passing of the Grand Army of the Republic. Worcester, MA: 1939.

SYLLABUS HI 250 – 03 Special Topics: Civil War Research Project

Course Description: Short biographies need to be written on the lives of the 398 soldiers listed on the Soldiers' Monument, a Civil War memorial located on the Worcester Common. The memorial, dedicated on July 15, 1874, is being restored, and the biographies will be used as part of the rededication ceremony, slated to happen on July 15, 2016. The rededication is being overseen by the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Memorial Auditorium Board of Trustees with the hope that these biographies will be published in a booklet for that ceremony. Students will get credit in the publication for the work they do on the project. Goals: This class is a research and writing seminar. Students will use regimental information, along with records at Worcester Public Library (WPL), the American Antiquarian Society (AAS), and other possible sources. Electronic sources and online collections like *Fold 3* will also be used. Some regiments, like the Massachusetts 15th, have online websites that may have vital information.

The biographies will be brief, but need to include information on the soldiers' lives—when and where each was born, his occupation, his service in the Union Army, where each man fought, whether he was captured, whether he was injured, and how and where each man died. We will also want to find out, if possible, where each man is buried and if they are listed on any other monuments. Any photos of these men that can be found during the course of the research will be included in the booklet. We are also hoping to find living relatives of some of these soldiers so they can be invited to the ceremony to learn about their ancestors—so genealogical skills will also be learned.

There also may be important background that will need to be researched and written. Some of these men were imprisoned at Andersonville, the notorious Confederate prison camp in Georgia. Others may have served in important campaigns, like Gettysburg or others. Regimental information would also help put some of the biographies into context.

I see this course as an independent group project. I want us to do our own research, yet share what we find. I would like to have weekly to bi-weekly contact with each student, either in person, through emails, or through blogs, so I can be kept abreast of your progress. I also think we should plan to meet in groups – either a couple of smaller groups or a large group – at least every three weeks so we can share information and sources. Early on in the process, I am planning for tutorials from some of the History department's graduate-student "experts" to help you learn how to use on-line sources and how to search genealogical records. We are also hoping for group road-trips to Memorial Auditorium, possibly to WPL, which contains many regimental records (an invaluable resource), and to AAS, which has a "Civil War Collection."

The final result will be a published booklet with short biographical information on each of these 398 men. We have other volunteers and some graduate students working on this project, so I don't think the number of men each student will be working on will be overwhelming. I plan for each student to take about 20 men, with each biography containing about 1-2 paragraphs of information (approximately 15-20 pages worth of finished biographical writing). Some men may be goldmines of info – so much information that future projects may need to be considered.

Given that this monument may never be rededicated again, this is indeed a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for historians!

SAMPLE BIOGRAPHIES

5th Massachusetts Cavalry

The 5th Massachusetts Cavalry was the only "colored" cavalry organized in the state. Recruitment began in the fall and winter of 1863-64, with the men mustering in from January through May of 1864. The regiment reported to General Benjamin Butler at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and the men were sent to West Point for weeks of drilling, guard and picket duty, and occasional expeditions. Their first engagement was at Baylor's Farm at the Second Battle of Petersburg in June, 1864, with some losses, including Colonel Henry S. Russell being wounded. These "colored" were stationed to guard Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout, Maryland, through February of 1865, and the regiment served during the final part of the siege of Petersburg. After the city fell, the men were ordered to Clarksville, Texas, until they mustered out on October 31, 1865.

Sergeant Henry G. Garner

Henry G. Garner lived in Worcester and worked as a barber. He was 38 when he enlisted as a private in the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry on January 29, 1864, and that same day, he was mustered in to Company D. After the war ended, Henry died of disease at the hospital in New Orleans, Virginia, on November 9, 1865.

John Cheesman

John Cheesman worked as a teamster in Worcester and was 22 when he enlisted into the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry on New Year's Eve, 1863. He was mustered in to Company F on February 22, 1864 as a private. He died of disease just a few months later, on July 9, 1864, at Portsmouth, Virginia.

54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment

The 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment was the "first military unit composed of men of African descent to be raised in Massachusetts." Recruiting began on February 21, 1863, and the companies were mustered in between March 30 and May 13, with "the recruits coming from all parts of Massachusetts and many from outside the State. As more enlistments were secured than were needed, the surplus became the nucleus of the 55th." Captain Robert Gould Shaw, from the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry, was commissioned colonel, and Captain Norwood P. Hallowell of the 20th Massachusetts commissioned as lieutenant colonel, although he was later promoted to colonel of the 55th. "All the commissioned officers of the regiment were white men." The regiment arrived in South Carolina on June 3 and became part of General Alfred Terry's expedition to James Island, South Carolina. Near Secessionville, the 54th was attacked by a Confederate force under General Alfred H. Colquitt and suffered its first losses. The regiment was then ordered to lead a second attack at Fort Wagner, near Charleston, South Carolina, on July 18. "In this disastrous assault the 54th lost Colonel Shaw, Captains Russell and Simpkins, and over 20 men killed, Lieut. Colonel E.N. Hallowell, ten other commissioned officers, and 125 men wounded, and over 100 missing, many of the latter being killed."

During August the men constructed entrenchments and parallels near Fort Wagner. When the Confederates evacuated the fort on September 7, the men of the 54th were the first to enter. They continued to work on Fort Wagner, along with Fort Gregg, through the early fall and into mid-winter. The regiment was then ordered to Florida for an expedition under General Truman Seymour, arriving on February 7, 1864. The men engaged with the enemy near Olustee and suffered heavy losses. They returned to Morris Island, South Carolina, spending the summer and fall in the fortifications there. At Honey Hill on November 30, the regiment suffered some losses, but on December 19 at Deveau's Neck they fought without loss. From December, 1864, through mid-February, 1865, the regiment was on guard duty at Pocotaligo, South Carolina, General William T. Sherman's "base of supplies." On February 23, the regiment was at Charleston, where the Confederates had abandoned the city, setting fire to the bridge across the Ashley River and the cotton storehouses in the city. The main body of the 54th entered the city on February 27, where it remained until March 12 before heading to Savannah, Georgia, and then back to South Carolina on the 31st. On April 5 the regiment set to the interior of the state, engaging the enemy on April 18, 1865 at Boykin's Mill, with some losses for the 54th including 1st Lieutenant Stevens of Brighton, Massachusetts, the last Union officer killed during the war. The men eventually returned to Boston on August 27 and 28 and were mustered out.

John H. Johnson

John Johnson was from Boston, Massachusetts, and worked as an upholsterer before being drafted into the military. John was mustered into service as a private in Company H of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment on July 11, 1863. While in the military, John served as a bugler. On the night of June 12, 1864, John was accidently killed by a sentry while on picket duty in South Carolina. W.W.



MAJ. A. H. JOHNSON, DRUMMER BOY OF 54TH MASS. REGIMENT CO.

Major A.H. Johnson (left)

An interesting Worcester connection to the famous Massachusetts 54th is that the regiment's "drummer boy," Alexander Howard Johnson, settled in Worcester after the war. Johnson was a member of both Worcester's Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) chapter and the Sons of Union Veterns of the Civil War. This image was a GAR photo taken around 1889. Johnson used the "major" designation, as seen below the image, because he considered himself a Drum Major. He taught drums to many students and also established a drum and bugle corps. Johnson died on March 19, 1930 at the age of 82, just a few weeks after the 67th anniversary of his enlistment in the 54th. See Ronald S. Coddington, "Colonel Shaw's Drummer Boy," *New York Times,* March 5, 2013 and Nick Salvatore, *We All Got History: The Memory Books of Amos Webber* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Johnson is referenced throughout this book.

HJM

Notes

1. Nick Kotsopoulos, "Civil War Monument on Worcester Common to Be Restored," *Worcester Telegram and Gazette*, April 27, 2015.

2. Ibid.

3. Author's interview with Dan McAuliffe, January 28, 2017.

4. Dedication of the Solders' Monument at Worcester, Massachusetts, July 15, A.D.. 1874 (Worcester, MA: Monument Committee, 1875), 18. The full, 88-page booklet can be found online at: https://archive.org/details/dedicationsoldi00masgoog.

5. "The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies," from The Library of Congress Main Reading Room, https://www.loc.gov.rr/main/gar/garintro.html (accessed December 31, 2016). For more on GAR see Robert B. Beath, *History of the Grand Army of the Republic* (New York, NY: Bryan, Taylor and Company, 1889); Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). 6. "The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies."

7. Robyn Christensen, "Gettysburg: One Family's Story," on the website of the Worcester Historical Museum, www.worcesterhistory.org/blog/gettysburg-one-familys-story-2/ (accessed April 1, 2017).

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9. For the Unity of the Republic: The Men of the Worcester Soldiers' Monument (Worcester State University Printing and Publishing Services, 2016), 12.

10. Nick Salvatore, *We All Got History: The Memory Books of Amos Webber* (New York, NY: Times Books, 1996), 163.

11. Franklin D. Tappan, *The Passing of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Worcester, MA: published by the author, 1939), 32.

- 12. Ibid., 32.
- 13. Ibid., 33.

14. Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Board of Trustees, *Member's Reference Manual*, no page or date given, from the collection of Daniel McAuliffe.

- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Dedication of the Soldiers' Monument.
- 17. For the Unity of the Republic, 110.
- 18. Author's interview with Zachary Washburn, January 28, 2017.
- 19. For the Unity of the Republic, 46.
- 20. Ibid., 87.
- 21. Author's interview with Ahenebah Nez Lane, January 3, 2017.
- 22. Author's interview with Marc A. Speroni, February 11, 2017.
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. For the Unity of the Republic, 82-83.
- 25. Ibid., 83.

26. Charles F. Everett, from Civil War Database, http://www.civilwardata.com (accessed May 16, 2016).

27. For the Unity of the Republic, 84-85.

28. Muster-Out Card for the 57th Massachusetts Infantry Division, Company D, July 30, 1865.

29. Mark Sullivan, "Stories of Worcester's Drummer Boy, Other Civil War Dead, Brought to Light," *Worcester Telegram and Gazette*, July 14, 2016, p. 1.

30. Author's interview with Michael Baker, December 31, 2016.

- 31. For the Unity of the Republic, 13.
- 32. Author's interview with Cynthia O'Neil, January 3, 2017.
- 33. Author's interview with Dan McAuliffe, January 28, 2017.
- 34. Author's interview with Zachary Washburn, January 28, 2017.

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36. "About FamilySearch," https://familysearch.org/about (accessed December 4, 2016).

37. http://militaryhistoryonline.com/ (accessed January 31, 2017).

38. Luis F. Emilio, Brave Black Regiment: The History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865 (Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1891).

39. For the Unity of the Republic, 76.

40. Ibid., 94.

41. Jenny Presnell, *The Information-Literate Historian*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Carol Kammen, *On Doing Local History*, second

edition (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press and American Association of State and Local History, 2003).

42. Mark M. Boatner, III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: Penguin Random House, 1991); Gregory R. Jones, *How to Read a Civil War Letter* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2015).

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44. Author's interview with Cynthia O'Neil, January 3, 2017.

45. Author's interview with Marc A. Speroni, February 11, 2017.

46. Author's interview with Zachary Washburn, February 12, 2017.

47. Ibid.

48. Author's interview with Zachary Washburn, January 28, 2017.