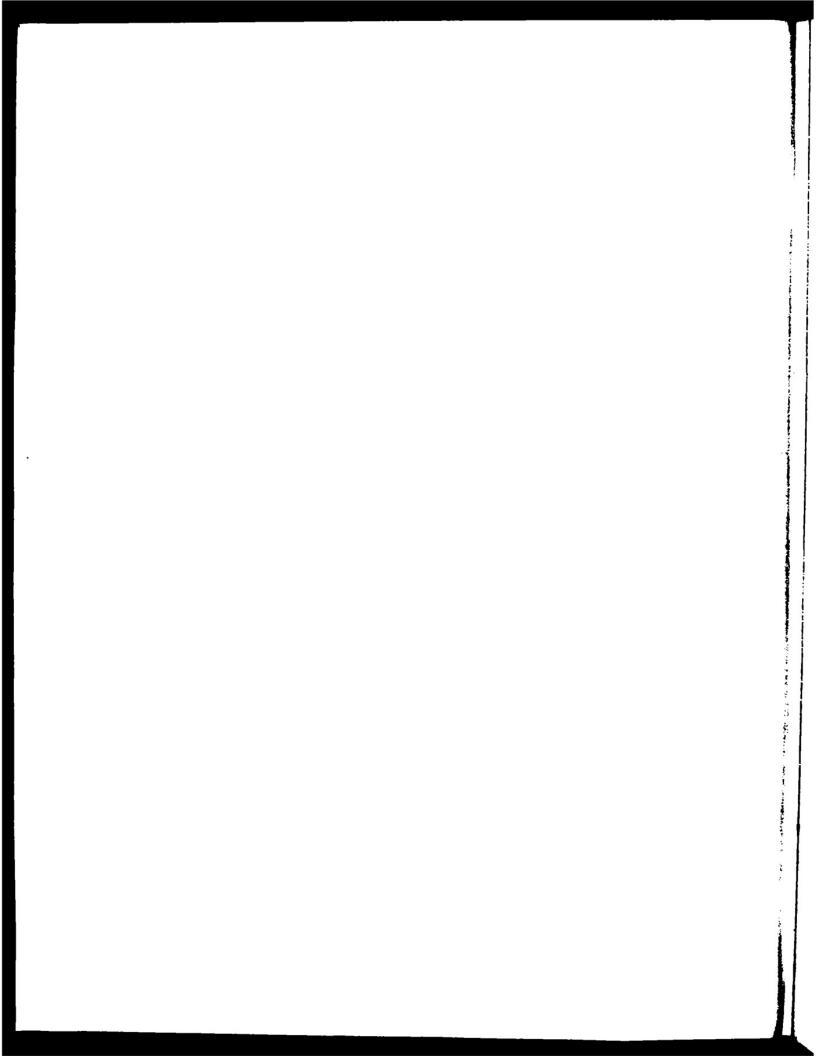
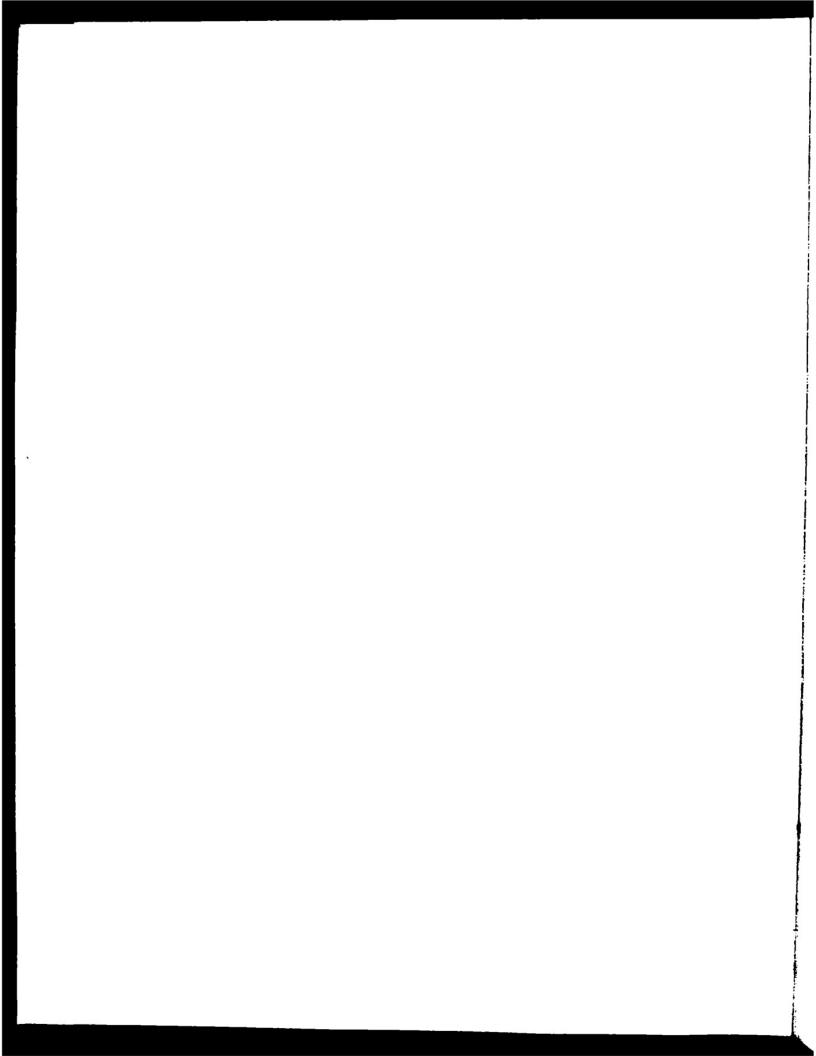
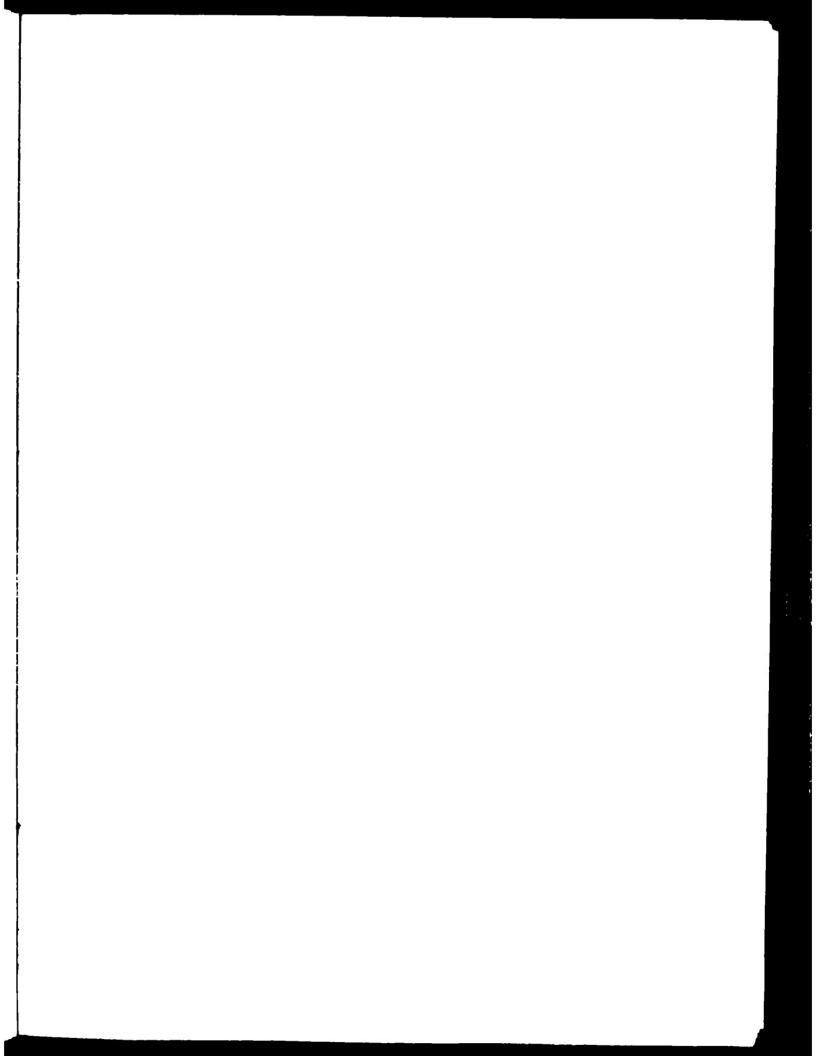
NYRON DENSMORE PADDUCK 1861 - 1865

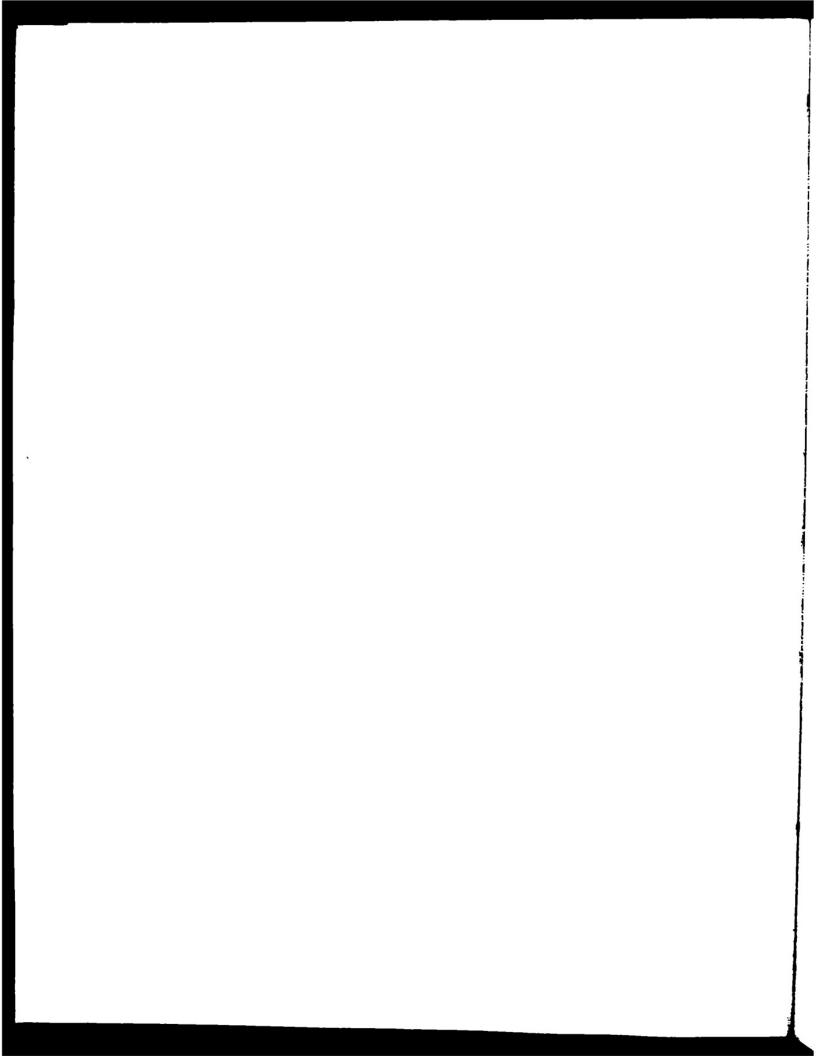
LEE WINIARSKI



Holbrook Heritage







Byron Pensmore Paddock 1861 - 1865

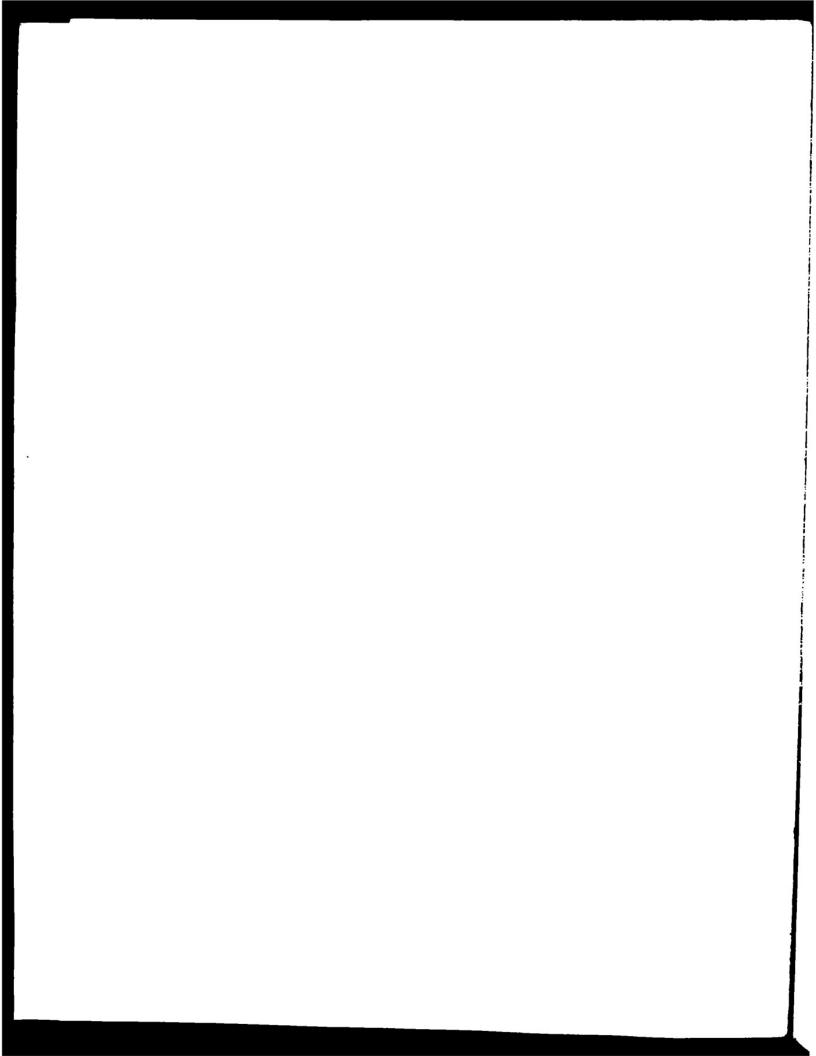
Lee Winierski

In partial completion of the requirements

of Fairleigh Dickinson University towards a

Master's Theisis

June, 1969



This work is by no means a singular effort. My great aunt, Edna Littlefield Paddock, and her nephews, George Sterling Lee and Frederic Paddock Lee, spent many hours sorting and organizing the overwhelming mass of letters and other materials, many crumpling and faded with age, that form the foundation for this finished product. For sheer patience and determination, my mother, Harriet Lee Winiarski, deserves special credit for her hours of typing and organizing. Nany other members of the family, as well as friends and business acquaintances have also left their stamp on this work. Without their efforts and intellectual curiosity these materials and their story would have been lost to the dust of age. It is a pity that so few remain to share in the finished product.

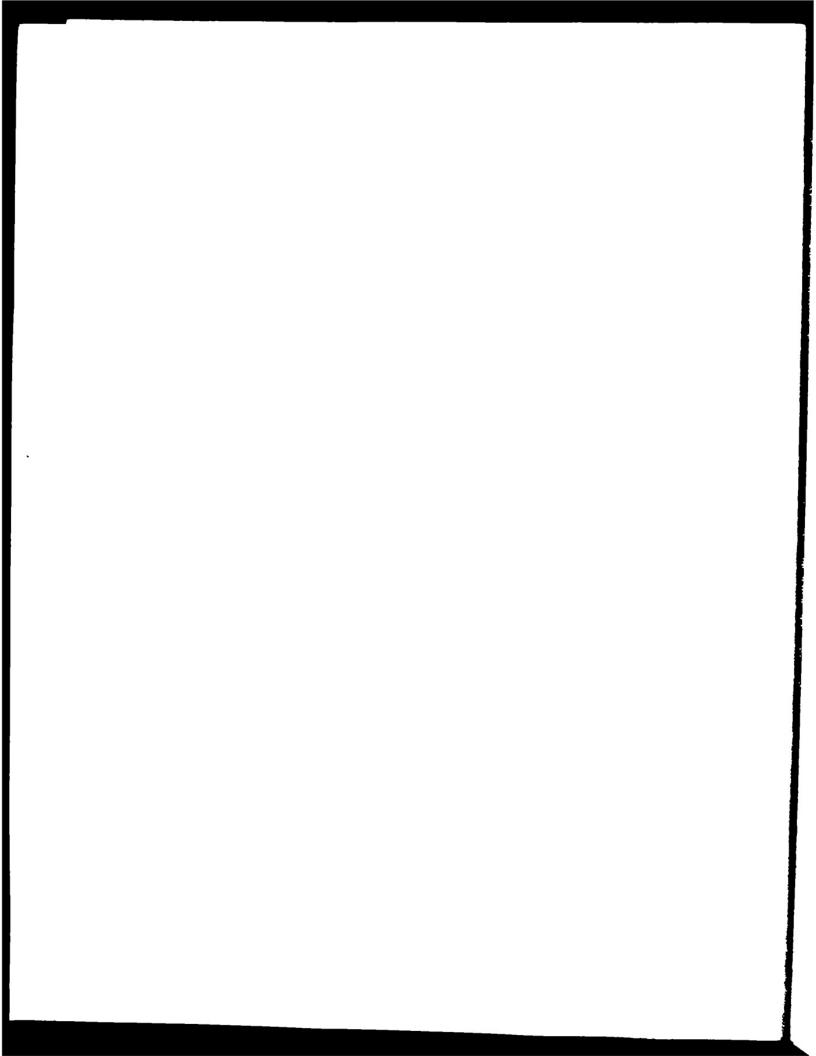
I have attempted here a portrait of a man who lived in a particular portion in the history of the United States of America. Yet, we can not content ourselves with a view only of the man, himself, but must, as a matter of course, take into account the society in which he lived, and loved, and fought. For as the man is our portrait, the society is his canvas.

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Chapter I

Byron

Byron Densmore Paddock was the son of Henry Paddock and Silence Hard of Penfield, New York; originally from Vermont. He was born on June 9, 1833, in the Paddock house at Penfield. This was the first brick house in Penfield and apparently quite an elaborate structure. "Parties of young people out for their horseback rides. . . often made it their goal, never failing to exclaim over its growing beauty and interest". 2.

The following descriptions are taken from "The Henry Paddock House near Penfield Center" by Bertha Bruner Bowen.

... The front porch is unique. It has no roof but consists of a stone slab 5½ feet square and one foot thick, approached by four stone steps of the same length and thickness. The absence of a roof makes it possible to see the full teauty of the lovely fanlight above the door, so perfect in its design, construction and preservation that it seems as the it must recently have been placed there, instead of having been beaten and buffeted by the east winds of more than a century . . . I noticed part way up the wall at the right, what I thought was a small ventilator; but it was nothing so Prosaic as that . . That was the front door to the bee cupboard which used to stand between those two upper windows.

The front door opened into a little passage way, the length of the walls thick-ness and ending in a back door inside the cupboard, which stood about five feet high and was filled with narrow shelves between which the honey was stored and could be removed through its two front doors without disturbing the bees. all Mr. Paddock's clever contrivances. this was the cleverest and the most talked about. One man saying, 'that Henry Paddock was the bestenest man I ever see. He even made a place in his house where the bees went into a cupboard end left their honey'. . Henry Paddock was a very clever man and a very resourceful man to plan out all the interesting and convenient things he did. He, elso, must have had money for carrying out his projects. More than that, he was s Christian gentleman, a member of the Methodist church who wave generously for its support. In those days and for years efterward they used to have donations to supplement the minister's salary and the story is told of his going to one of the gatherings with a milch cow and a load of hay. 3.

This was the house Henry had built for his first wife, Silence, who always seemed to be in poor health. It must have been an unusual and impressive structure for its time reflecting the great talent and ingenuity of its builder, and this was the house in which Byron was born and brought up.

Henry took a second wife, Ellen Canfield, upon Silence's death, and, after his second wife's death, moved to Coldwater, Michigan with his two younger sons. Here he married a third time to Jane Hawley and was killed accidentally while hunting

about 1855.5.

The records available on the Paddock family are rather incomplete but Henry seems to have had seven children in the following order: William Huddleston, Marietta, Ira Warner, who died in childhood, Charlotte Ordelia, Byron Densmore, Benson Warner, and Henry Perry. 6. The family. perhaps due to Henry's three marriages, seems to have drifted apart. Byron mentioned his brothers seldom and only with something of dislike. William was apparently of doubtful morals and Byron writing to Hattie on April 13, 1865, says that he (William) got himself involved in a secret scheme at the beginning of the war to buy up Southern cotton and then sell it in the North for a large profit; a scheme which backfired. 7. William's influence, Byron feels, is undesirable for his younger brother, Perry, who, Byron feels, is somewhat wesk-willed. Perry married in 1863 and settled down to farming in Michigan.8.

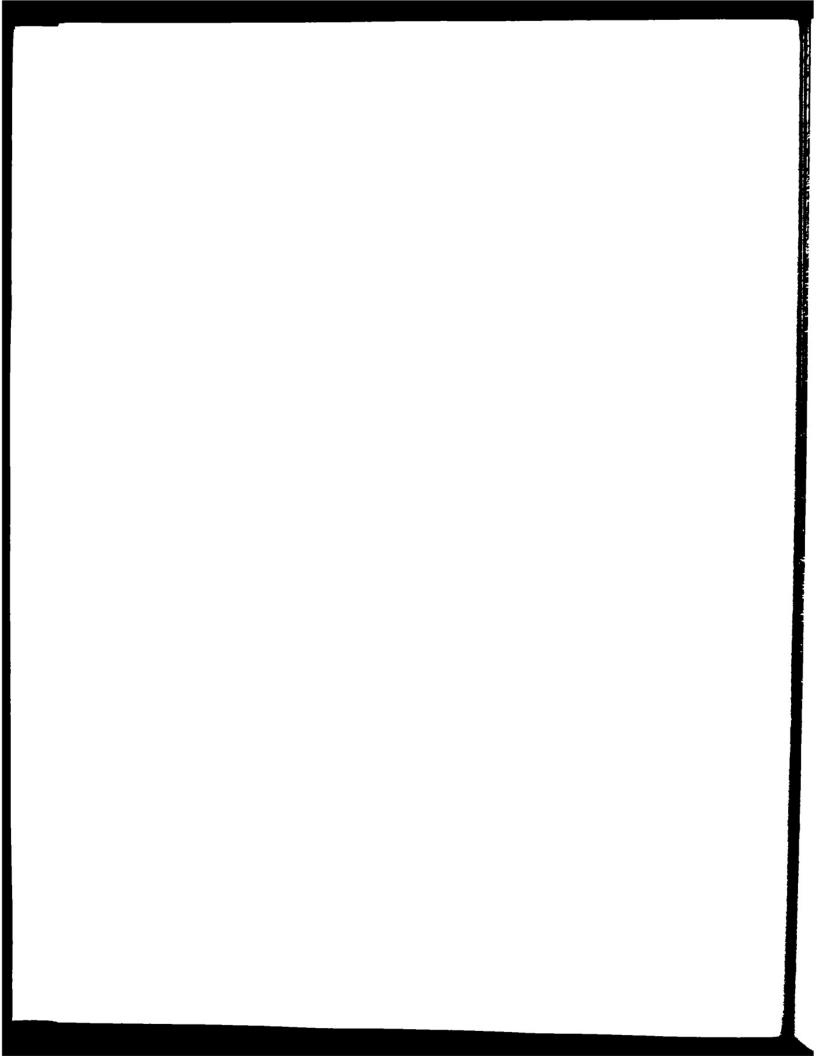
Bennie served in the wer and was stationed for a time with Byron. However, he fell ill and Byron was eventually able to secure his discharge. 9. None of the family seems to have distinguished himself during the war; certainly a circumstance which Byron counted against them. Henry Paddock had served nobly in the War of 1812, his father had been a captain in the Revolutionary War, 10. and Byron's son, Carl, served

during the Spanish-American War. 11

Writing on October 10, 1864, Eyron reveals an unenthusiastic attitude about his brothers saying:

> I wrote a letter to Bennie at Nashville stating that there was a good opportunity for him to get into business at that place and advising him to let his farming go and come down there as my friends would assist him in getting a situation. I also sent him a pass through to Nashville and told him if he concluded to go to see you and you would let him have 50-fifty dollars of my money. Why I did this was because I did not nor do not want him or any one else of the family to know who transacts my business or how much I have. Enclosed I send you the order on Mr. Randell for the emount. Do not draw it for him unless he has fully decided to go to Nashville. You can if you feel any delicacy in the matter explain to Mr. Randall why I gave the order to you. I am anxious to have Bennic do well and want one of the family to take a position that will reflect credit upon the rest. I am satisfied that if he tries he can do equally as well as myself and as for the other two they must look out for themselves. 12

In spite of all this Byron seems to at least have held his father in some esteem because he writes adamantly to Hattie in 1864 that he does not wish his part of the cemetery lot in Penfield sold. "... I intend if I can find the remains of my father to have them taken to Penfield or purchase a lot in Coldwater but prefer to remove them to the former if possible". 13 Apparently his father's whereabouts being un-



known at the time of his death, an aunt had been buried in the plot in the place next to Silence, Henry's first wife, without Byron's knowledge. This fact beems to have annoyed Byron's great deal and he was determined to rectify it.

Byron was on his own at an early age and travelled to California during the gold rush of 1849 at the age of seventeen. Settling temporarily in the Sacramento area he may have served as sheriff for a time. 14 His activities during the pariod between the gold rush and the war are unclear, though he lived in Coldwater and was active in organizing a militia battery of light artillery which he hater captained.

Footnotes - Chapter I

- 1. Taken from, "The Mayflower Descent of Janet Paddock Zimmerman".
- 2. Bowen. "The Henry Paddock House Near Penfield Center".
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. Reported in a conversation between Byron D. Paddock and his daughter, Edna Littlefield Paddock, no date.
- 5. Op. Cit., Bowen.
- 6. Paddock, Edna Littlefiedd (editor), Paddock Genealogy.
- 7. Winierski, Harriet Lee and Harriet Lee (editors), Corrospondance between Byron Densmore Paddock and Harriet Adeline Crippen, 1802 1805.
- 8.OP. Cit., Paddock Genealogy.
- 9. Op. Cit., "orrespondence, 11/13/62.
- 10.0p. Cit., Paidock Genealogy.
- 11. Military Department, State of Michigan, Adjutant General's Office, May 10, 1917.
- 12. Op. Cit., Correspondance, 10/10/64.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Conversation between Byron Paddock and Frederic P. Lee, grandson, no date.

Chapter II Hattie

Byron's confident and future wife, Harriet (Hattie) Crippen, the daughter of the Reverend Elliott McHenry Crippen, a Methodist minister, and Maria Kelly Halsted, was born at Coldwater, Michigan, February 15, 1839. 15 Maria became a religious leader and teacher soon after her marriage to Elliott. In 1835 Maria and Elliott moved to Michigan from Penfield, New York, the location of the Paddock family residence, with his parents, Esther and Bradley Crippen. "The entrance of the family into Coldwater produced quite a sensation. The paper spoke of the great acquisition they made to the town and church. They were called 'The Royal Family'."16 Here Elliott "held pastorates in the Methodist Church in many of the large places". 17 Maria died of apoplexy on February 21, 1849.18 Her two children, Bradley and Herriet Adeline, went to live with their sunt and uncle, Betsey Ann Crippen and Darwin Littlefield, a prominent Coldwater doctor. The Littlefields were early founders of Coldwater having also emigrated from Penfield with Hattie's grandparents, Esther end Bradley Crippen in 1835.19

Elliott Crippen continued his life as an itinerant

Methodist minister and married Eather Pierce also of Coldwater on August 12, 1850. They had at least three children, Walter, Henry, who died in infancy, and Mary. 20.

The femily records fail to explain why the first children, Harriet and Bradley, left their father to live with the Littlefields. It may have been simply because Elliott's life as an itinerant preacher was considered an unsuitable one for young children or there may have been some friction between his second wife and his first wife's relations. Furth rmore there are no records showing whether the two children went to reside with the Littlefields before or after their father's remarriage and there is little, if any, evidence of communication with or even mention of Elliott Crippen after the children moved to the Littlefield residence. Eradley, Hattie's grandfather, died in 1855 and his wife, Esther, went to live with her daughter, Betwey Ann Littlefield, and the children may have made the move with her at that time. 21.

Hattie, due to her father's influence and the family atmosphere, became active in the Coldwater Methodist Church and
served as choir organist for twenty years. Her father before
her mother's death had served as chaplain for the state prison
at Jackson, Michigan. 22. Both Hattie and Pradley apparently
accompanied their father and mother on visits to the prison;
the entire family earning the respect and liking of the prisoners.

One prisoner made him (Elliott) a beautiful snuffcox with a silver plate on the top of which was Elliott's monogram. Another prisoner carved a perfectly formed wooden doll for his small daughter, Harriet . . . Both Harriet and Fradley were great favorites with the prisoners and wandered among them at will.

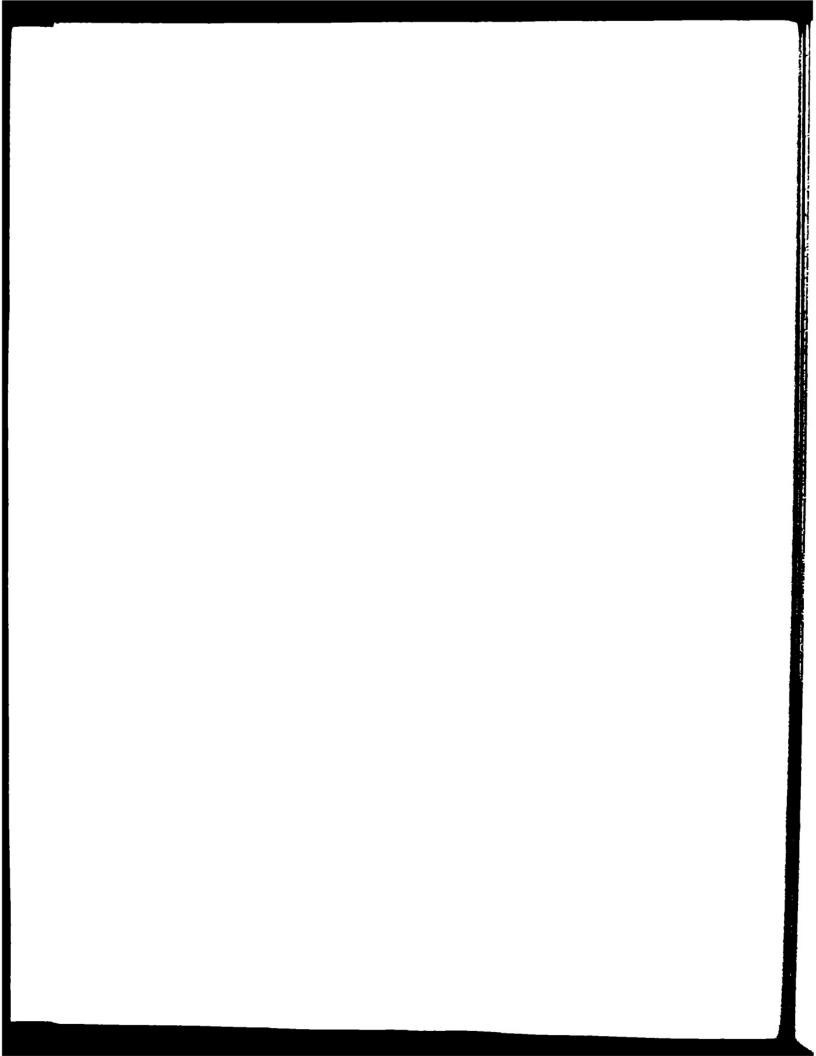
Years later in her correspondence with Captain Paddock, Hattie mentions visits to the prison on several occasions, apparently having continued this philanthropic activity after the break-up of the family.

There is much similarity in Hattie's and Byron's family background and indeed they seem to have been cousins. The Crippen and Peddock families held adjoining farms in Penfield, New York, and Silence Hard, Byron's mother, was the younger sister of Esther Hard, Hattie's grandmother and of Betsy Ann Little-field who raised Hattie and her brother, Bradley. 24

It is not clear how or where Hattie and Byron become acquainted. It may have been through members of both families who had been neighbors in Penfield, or they may have met while Byron was recruiting for the battery in Coldwater. At any rate it was not love at first sight. Hattie's aunt and uncle were disapproving of Byron and tried to prevent Hattie from seeing Byron or even writing to him.

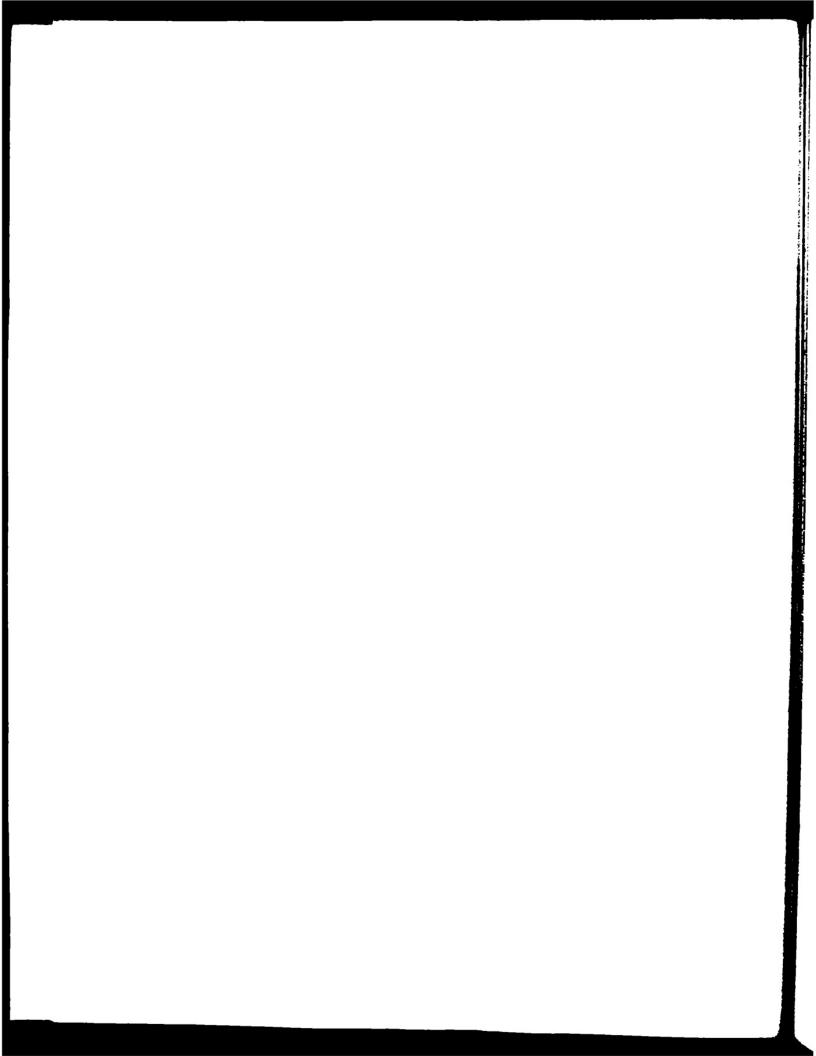
Uncle is home and will be for a week or so and I think it best to wait till he goes back. You know my reason and trust you will see the propriety of my doing as I do but I will see you as soon as posible.

She indicates that although she spurned his tichtions at first she later (for unstated reasons) became determined to



circumvent her Uncle's ban against Byron.

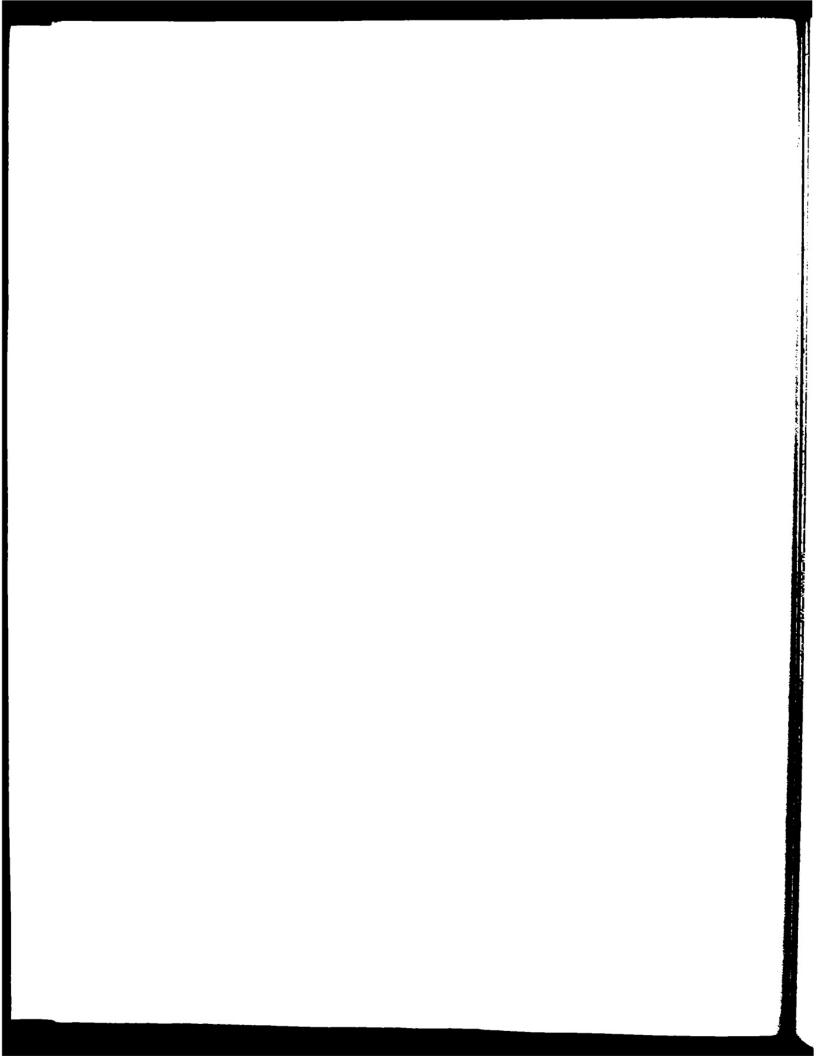
I can think more reasonably tonight than for a long time before and can excuse a great deal that has seemed inexcusable. When I remember their great kindness to me till now I have had no reason to complain, and knowing that I am thwarting the dearest wish of their hearts in loving as I choose yet in time hope they will think of it more favorably . . . Byron with your approval I can bear a great deal but when they speak ill of you, you must allow me to resent it . It is certainly a great pleasure to me to see you - but this restraint is so tiresome. I can't endure it much longer and not to be allowed to act as feelings would dictate, even as far as treating you with politeness, I want the liberty of seeing and going with you when I choose, without leaving home to do so. I will try and be patient - but when I think of the manner you have been treated my patience is all gone and enger takes its place. If possible will meet you at Mary's tomorrow at two o'clock. I am in want of your sdvice more than ever . . . I think they are getting quite suspicious of this letter to Bradley, so good night with love of Hattie.



L. Bradley Crippen res: Berkshire Co., N.Y., Fairfield, N.Y., Lima, N.Y., Herkimer Co., N.Y., Penfield, N.Y., and Coldwater, Mich. born: Sept. 25, 1783. died: Nov. 15, 1855 at Coldwater, Mich. Buried there. Married: Esther Hard at German Flats, N.Y. on April 20, 1504. born: Feb. 23, 1737, st webec. died: at Coldwater, Mich. Aug. 22, 1863. daughter of Philo Hard and Currence (Hawley) Hard.

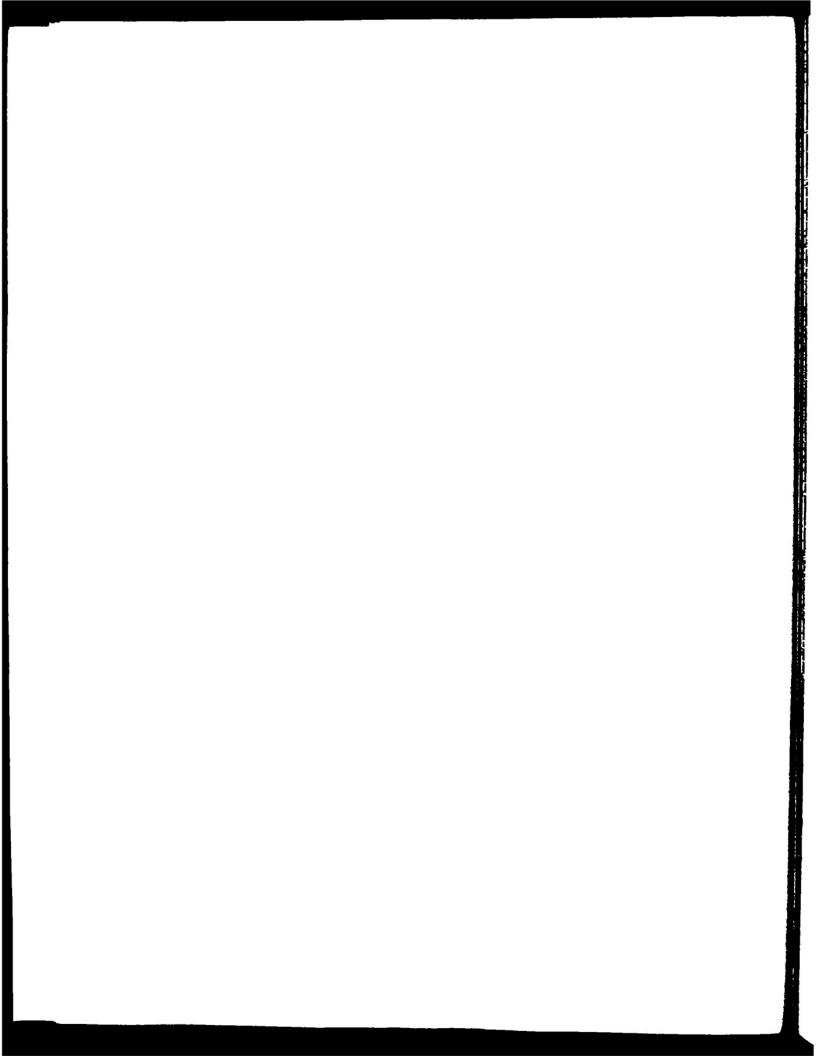
Children:

- 1. Harriet
- Lorenzo Dow 2.
- 3. Philo Hard
- BETSEY ANN CRIPPEN, b.10/31/1811. d.4/8/1886 et Coldwater, Mich. m.12/13/1830 at Penfield, N.Y. to Dr. Darwin Littlefield, b.11/9/1804 at Arlington, Vt. d. 3/13/1870. Three children died in infancy.
- 5. ELLIOTT MCHENRY CRIPPEN, b.2/22/1814 at Penfield, N.Y. d. at Jackson, Mich. 11/19/1878. m.2/3/1834 to Maris celly Halsted. Children Bradley and Harriet Adeline. mar. 2 Esther Pierce of Coldwater, Mich., 8/12/1850. Children Henry, Walter, Mary
- 6. Benjamin Whitehead Crippen. urrence Adeline.
- 7.
- Gideon D. 8.



Footnotes - Chapter II

- 15. Paddock, Edna Littlefield, (editor), Crippen Genealogy.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Ibid.
- 18. 1bid.
- 19. Op. Cit., Crippen Geneslogy, "The Crippen Family".
- 20. Ibid.
 Coldwater Daily Reporter. February 14, 1902.
- 21. Op. Cit., Crippen Genealogy. "The Crippen Family".
- 22. Ibid., "Elliott McHenry Crippen".
- 23. Ibid.
- Paddock, Edna Littlefield (editor), Hard Geneslogy. "Philo Hard".
- 25.cp. Cit., Correspondence, no date.
- 26. Ibid., Home, Thursday Eve.



Chapter III
Off to War

Byron Paddock joined Battery F, 1st Regiment of the Michigan Light Artillery upon its formation on January 1, 1862²⁷. He accepted his fate philosophically, writing the following entry into his diary on that date:

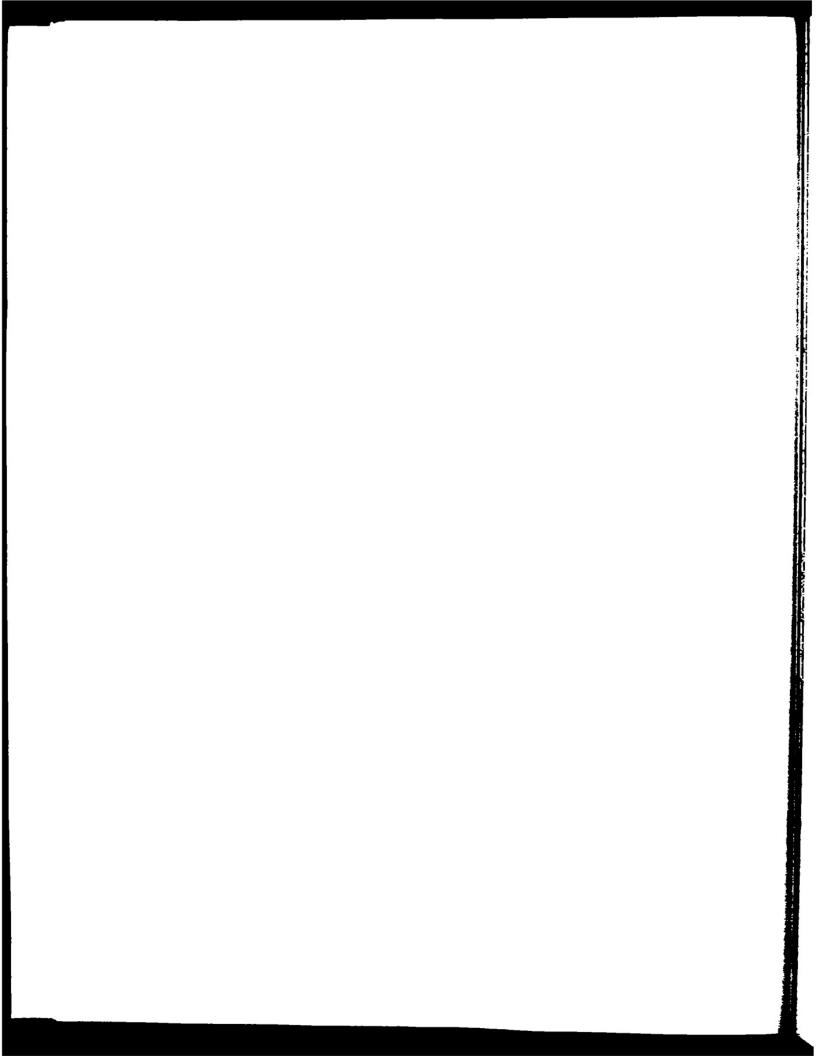
'Today our hopes we number o'er
The worth of each to test & prove;
And countless wishes to offer up
For all we have, or know, or love.'

Am a soldier and expect to go and fight for Uncle Sam. 25.

The militia because an official part of the United States army on January 9, 1862, and his term of enlistment was ostensibly scheduled to end on January 9, 1865, 29. at which time he planned to return to Coldwater and marry Hattie, although they were not officially engaged until some time later.

At first army life differed little from civilian life. The battery remained at Coldwater until the third of Morch, 1862.³⁰. During this time he writes of visits to the Masonic Lodge, of which he was a member; sleigh riding parties; and of regular attendance at church.³¹. He attended the Baptist Church of which his family had been members, ³². and the Mothodist Church of which Hattie was a member. On one occasion he writes of attending a service at the Episcopal Church.³³.

Although he remained in Coldwater for approximately three



months and Hattie lived with her aunt and uncle just outside of the town, itself, it is not clear how much they saw of each other. His diary entry for January 25, reads:

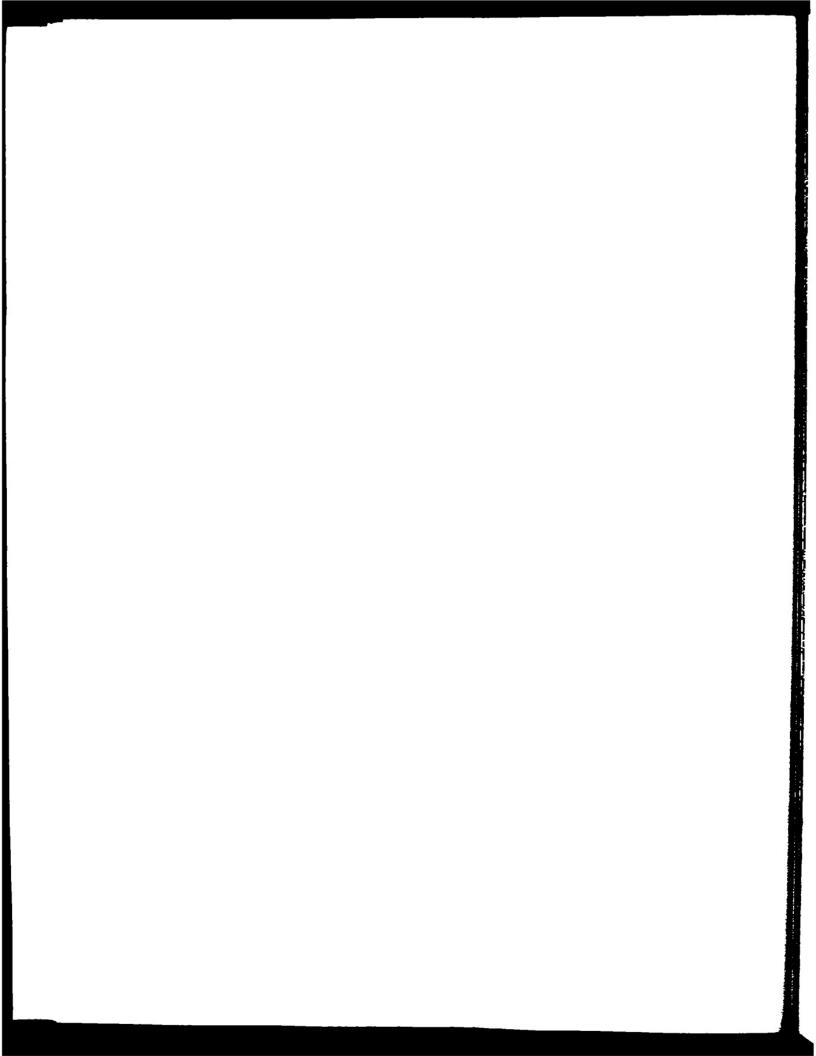
What excellent sleighing we have now and yet I am not situated as to be able to enjoy it, and why? because. . . 34.

Her family were apparently unwilling to allow him to call on her, so they were forced to make arrangements to meet at the home of friends, the Holways. They met in this manner on January 30, and "made arrangements for a sleighride". 35.

The situation was no doubt unpleasant and made meeting difficult for the couple, though they were seemingly as determined for their part. One triumphant diary entry reads: "What a time I had this evening yet I saw her when I most wished in spite of some meddlesome relatives". 36.

Sometimes a Sunday evening at the Holways would be conveniently concluded with the couple's attending the evening service at the Methodist Church though this was undoubtedly at the risk of her relatives' disapproval. Indeed, such an evening was Sunday, March 2, the night before the battery's departure for Kentucky. They met at the Holways that evening after church and a terse diary entry reads: Called at Mr. Holway's after church and staid quite late."37.

At 4:20 A.M. March 3, 1862, the battery left by train for Louisville, Kentucky. They changed trains in Salem and New Albany Crossing and again at Indianapolis, after plowing

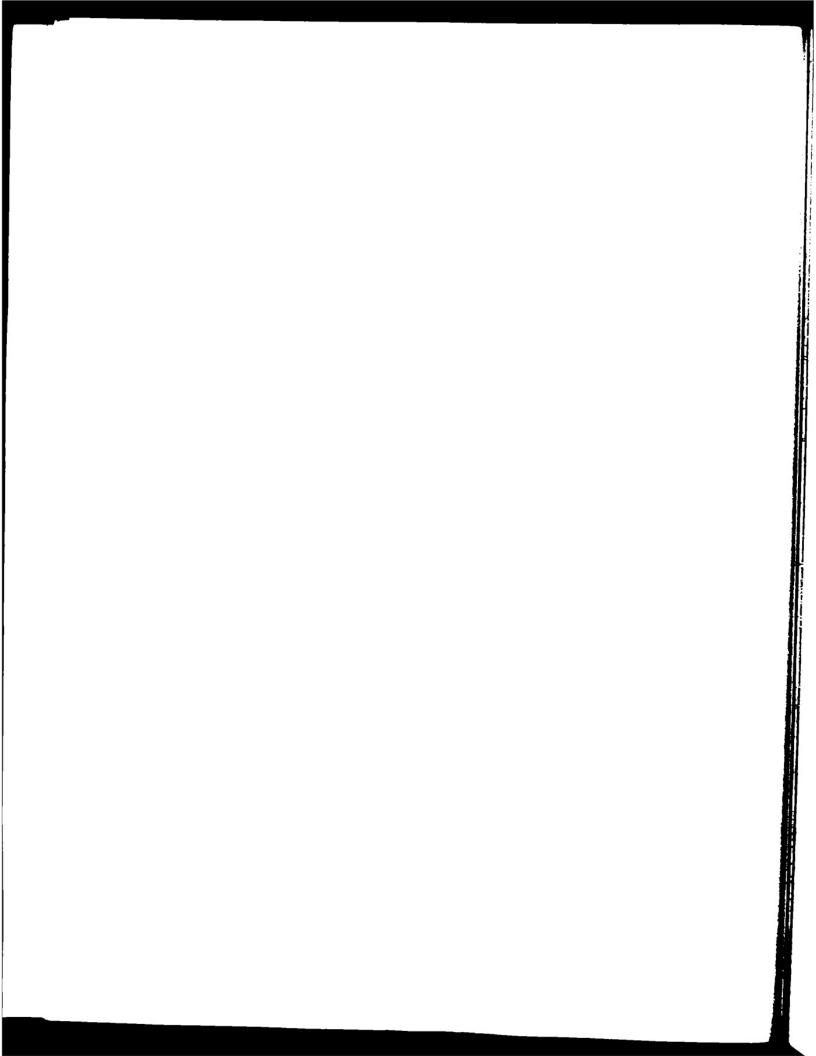


through a heavy snowstorm. 38 At Jeffersonville they stayed over night, arriving in Louisville on Wednesday, Merch 5, and settled in at Camp Gilbert. 39

Soon after arriving at Camp Gilbert the weather seems to have temporarily thawed and, having no pressing duties, Byron passed the time by touring the countryside. He visited a "deserted Seceah mansion" 40, and on March 9, he and Licutenant Holbrook, went to General Taylor's plantation "and were very kindly shown around by his nephews who took us to the vault that contained all that is mortal of the Old hero; Peace to his ashes." 41

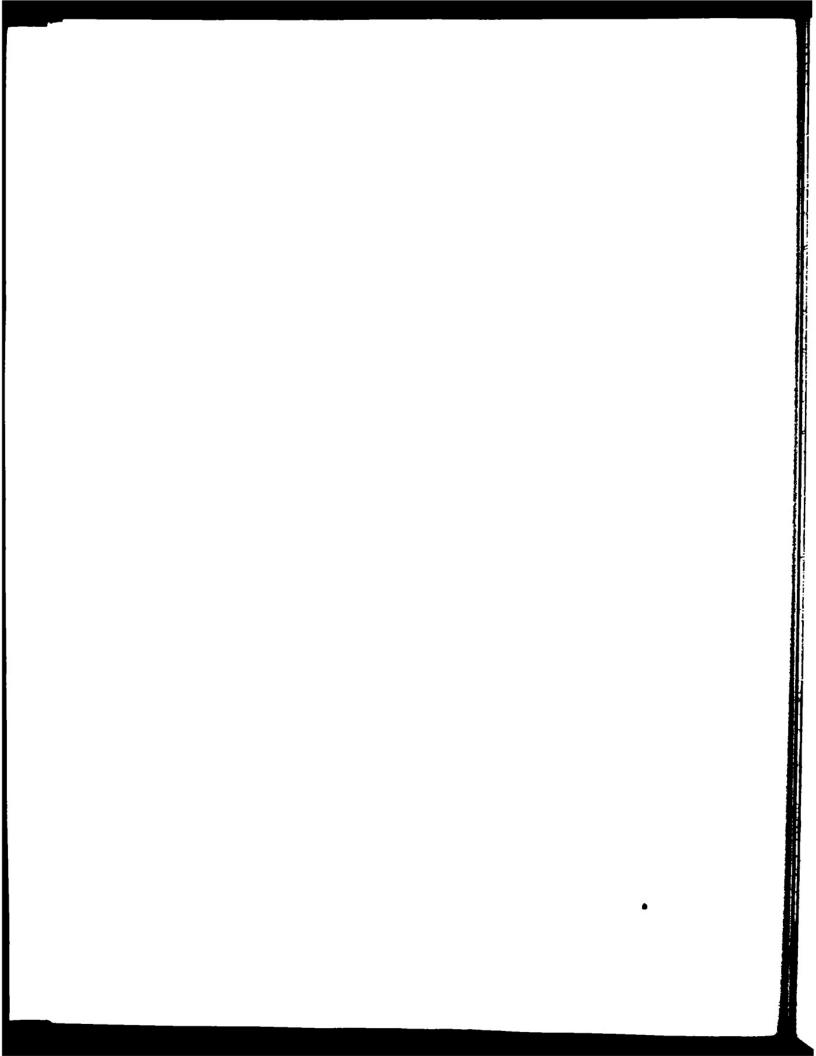
During the late winter and early spring of 1862, two of the bigest problems faced by the bottery were the weather, which was continually cold and rainy, and the sickness of its members. By April 5, sixteen men were hospitalized. By April 26, thirty men were in the hospital, and Byron, himself, while not hospitalized, had fallen ill, so while only one man died of disease in 1862, twenty-four were discharged in that year due to disability. In fact some of these disability discharges may have resulted from disease. Byron's own brother, as previously mentioned was so discharged from service.

On March 31, the battery marched 20 miles to Fort Blair, where they slept the first night without tents or stoves.44 Life was little different at the new camp, and Byron's routine seems to have been concerned with handling supplies, super-



vising foraging details, and drilling. Occasionally he would travel to Louisville on business, which usually consisted of ordering further provisions. Although Byron entered the battery as a private, he was made quartermaster surgeant on the mustering in date, January 9, and on November 11, 1862, he was commissioned senior second lieutenant. The commission dated from Lieutenant Tyler's death.

Morale among the men was apparently not high during this period. At least the officers had relief from the dull routine in a trip to Louisville where they might attend the theater, or even in a short sightseeing tour through the surrounding countryside. However for the enlisted men there seemed to be little relief. The routine consisted of drills, meals, and other unexciting teaks. Consequently, with the sickness and boredom there was some agitation among the men. On Monday, April 29, one man was put on bread and water "for refusing to do duty".46. On Tuesday one of the corporals was accidently shot through the leg. Then on Monday, May 5, "had quite a mutiny. . . Men refused at first to drill with muskets. All quiet now."47. Meanwhile there had been reports of a fierce battle at Pittsburgh Landing where many men on both sides were killed. There were also occasional rumors that rebel guerrilles had been sighted in the state. Scouting parties were sent out from the camp, but the battery, as yet, had had no contect with the cnemy.



Byron was a strong man who held strong opinions about the people with whom he came in contact. To his mind, while the life of a soldier was not the best, it was a duty to be undertaken honorably. Malingerers, weaklings, and others who tried to evade their duty received little sympathy from him.

Had a company drill marched them all down town whilst manoeurvering one of their guns went off and passed through the side of a house and dropped upon the floor. One man threw his gun down and refused to do duty. Arrested him and he will be punished.

Sent a man to Louisville prison for disobeying commands.49

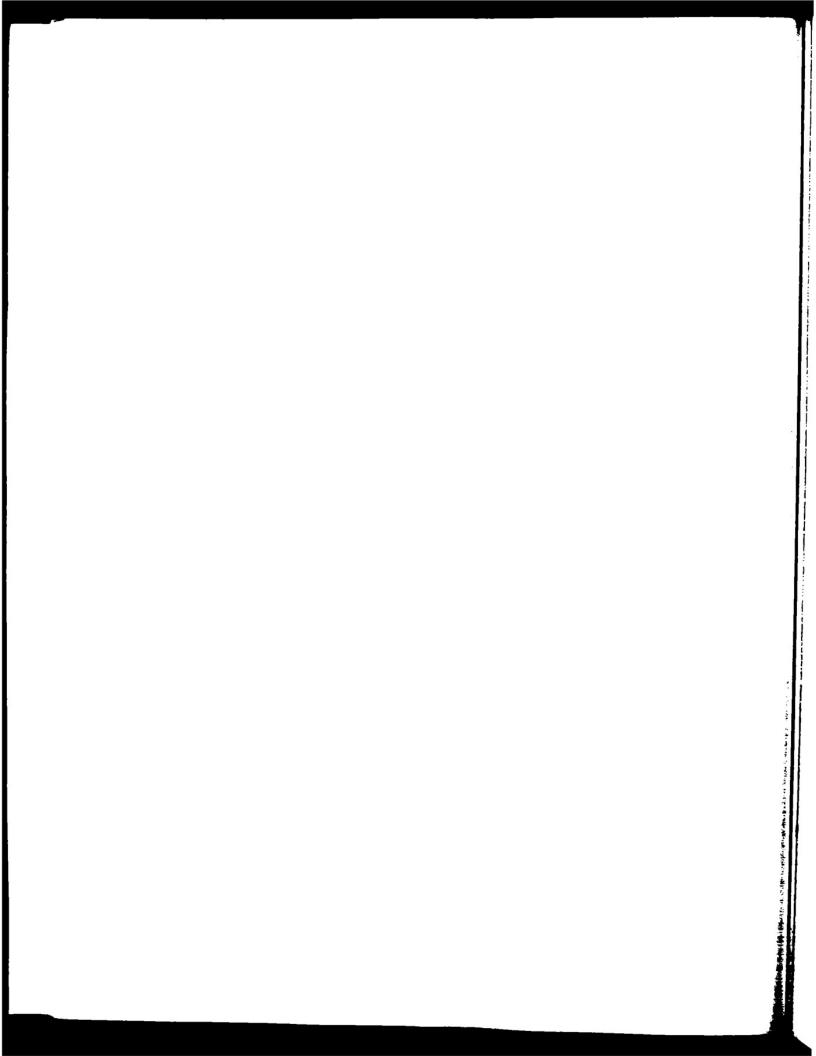
I am glad that they are going to draft in Michigan for it will make some of those milk and water men look pale who have been so enxious to have everybody but themselves go to war.

Apparently he held such an unfavorable view of his tentmate,
Junior Second Lieutenant Henry A. Hutson. "Lieut. Hutson is
boring me by reading poetry the effusion of some soft and shallow
brain similar to his own". 51 The exact story of Hutson is not
clear. There are vague references to him in the diary throughout
the late spring.

Had a long talk with Hutson on private business. 52

Tyler here we are gotting along well with Hutsons case. 53

Today an Order came for the arrest of H.A.H and a good letter from Gov. Plair, All right. Now we will see who is to control offsire.



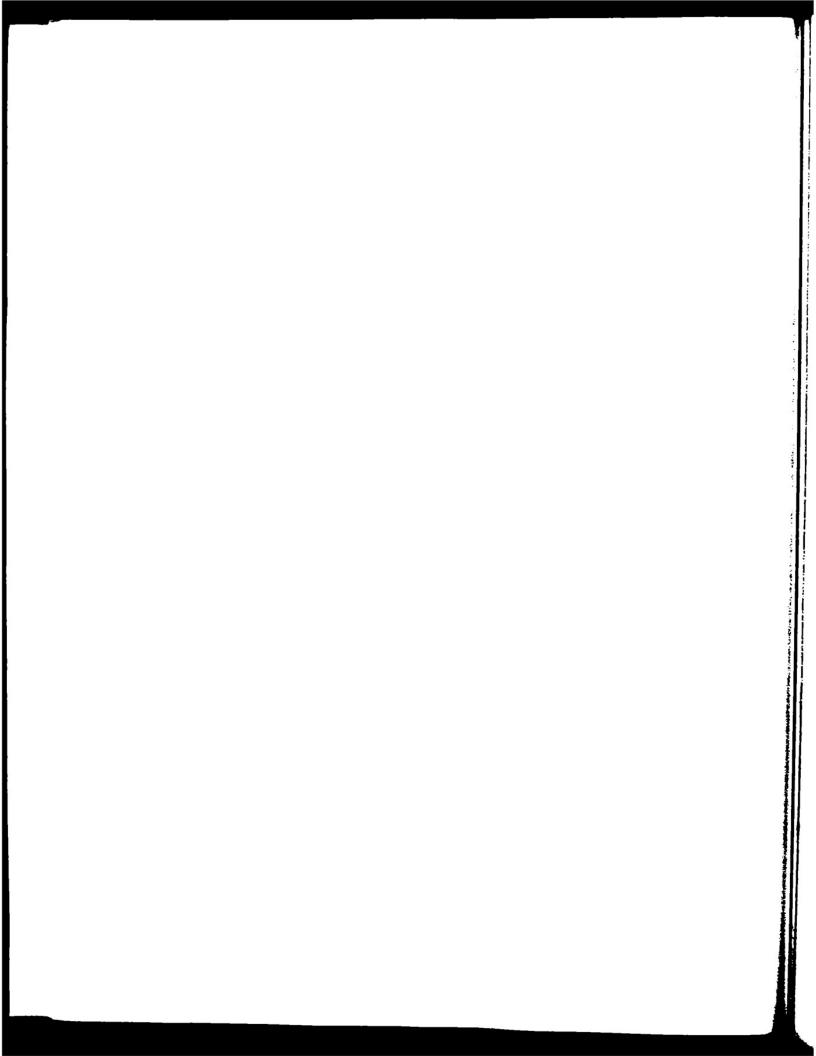
Have got H.A.H. under arrest.55

I feel greatly relieved for my tentmate has gone. Yes H.A. Eutson has resigned and gone this morning. Dueno. Dueno. Hurrah.

Meanwhile, while Byron was working on "Hutsons Case", a scouting party traveled down to Henderson, Kentucky, engaged the enemy and Lieutenant Tyler was killed. 57 Dyron, himself, was sick for some time, and stayed with a "secesh" 58 family. A hint of scandal had touched the battery as well with reports that Sergeant Brown's wife, who had come down to be with him, and the Captain's servant, Perry, were linked together. 59 here was also the increasing problem of rebel guerrillas, particularly Morgan. Consequently the routine had undergone a change with reinforcements to the fort's structure and increased guard duty for the mon. 60

August h, was election day throughout the state of Kentucky, and, because of the threat of disorder from rebel guerrillas and rebel sympathizers, detachments of troops were sent to Garnettsville and Brandenburg to "be there... at the election and keep the Secesh quiet". 61 The election passed off without any trouble where they were. "The Secesh all refused to vote". 62

Much of the remainder of August was spent in getting equipped. Captain Andrews returned to Michigan to recruit, and lieutenants Hale and Andrews were sent with a section to Lexington. This left Byron in command of the camp.

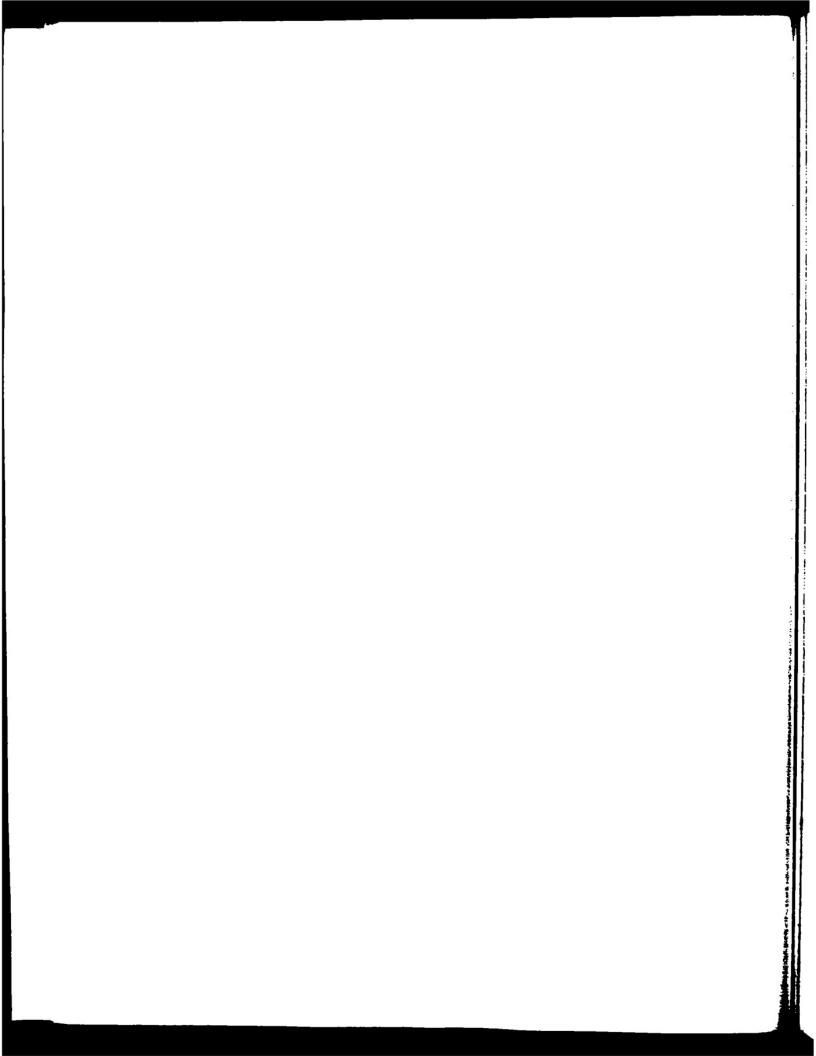


On August 20, Byron moved the remainder of the battery to Lexington to join the first brigade under command of "olonol Lucas. August 25, he moved with the first brigade near Richmond, Kentucky, where he joined Lieutenants Hale and Andrews. On August 29, the union forces met and repulsed a body of rebel cavalry, 63 but the next day one of the most disastrous battles of the war occurred at Richmond, Kentucky.

At five this morning our pickets, etc. were driven in and away we went with our Battery. Went about a mile when the Rebels opened fire upon us - fought about three hours when they drove us back and continued to do so - fought all day and at night - they completely victorious with great slaughter. 64

The Battery was surrounded by Rebels.
He (Capt. Paddock) was mounted on a powerful black horse. Realizing that they would be captured he turned to his men and said, 'I am going to try to break through their lines. Fall in behind me and follow, all of you that wish'. With that he started his horse at full speed. His move was unexpected by the Rebels and before they knew what he intended doing, he was upon them. Lt. Paddock charged through the hebel Lines where they seemed thinnist knocking down men. Some of his men followed and escaped with him. The rest of the battery was captured.

The union forces were routed and forced to flee through Kentucky. They left Lexington the evening of September 1, and the rebels were close behind. After traveling through Versailles they paused for rest in Frankfort, September 3.



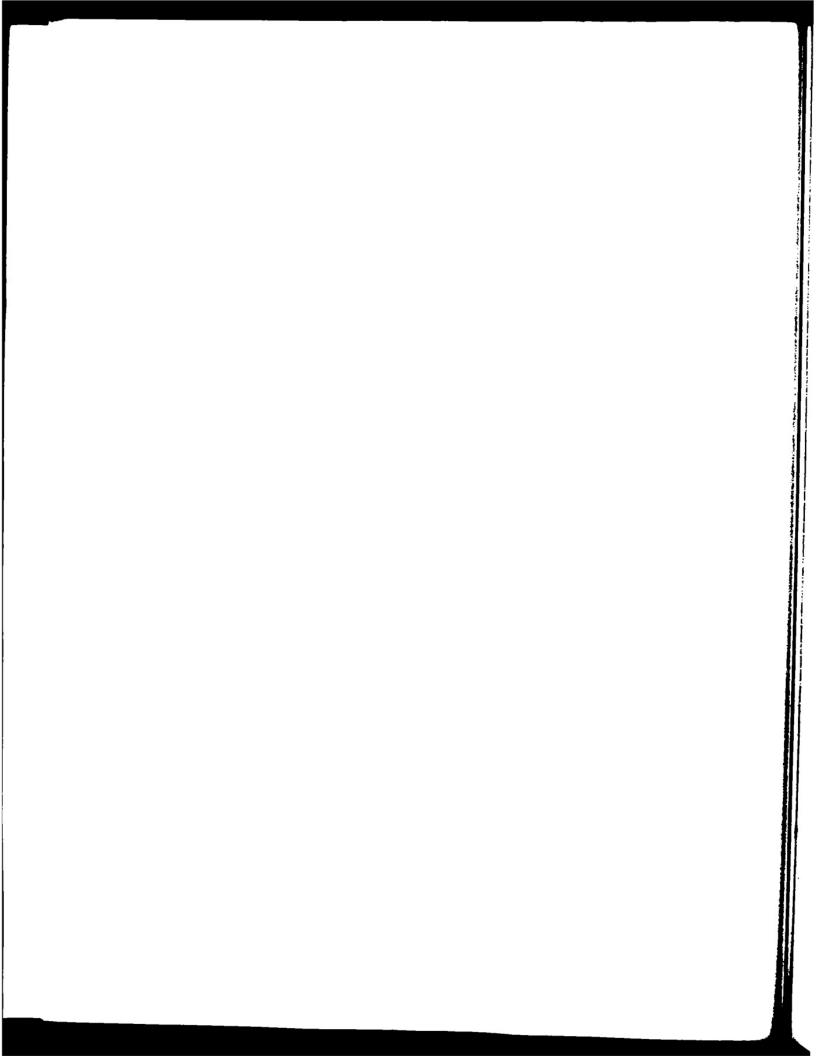
Come in last night at ten o'clock. Planted our guns at the end of the Bridge and laid down on the sidewalk and slept soundly. The Rebels are close upon us and we are off again. 66

The hurried merch to Louisville was hardest on the infantry as many fell behind and were captured by the enemy, but by September 5, . . . "At last we are at Louisville safe. Secash did not follow us farther than "helbyville".67

Byron had been back but several hours when he was sent "in command of our piece in company with a Detachment of Cavalry" to search for John Morgan. 68 During this expedition he managed to keep up his correspondence with Hattie, and it is from this that one feels the frantic pace and the overwhelming weariness that those men must have felt.

. . It has been a number of days and even weeks since I have had an opportunity towrite to you. It is not because you are forgotten but because I could not. Since writing to you last I have seen some hard times and have been in one pretty rough battle and got badly whipped too but am ready to try them again. . . I got your letter at Lexington but we had to commence a retreat the same day, consequently could not then answer it and even now have not time to say what I wish to and will leave it until I return to Louiswille which will be in a day or two if Morgen don't take me. Our Battery has been badly cut up. Over half of the men are killed and prisoner. I am very tired and even hungry for provisions are scarce and cannot be had for love nor money in many places . . . 69

Immediate threat from the rebel forces slackened only



temporarily before reports were circulating that General Bragg was approaching Louisville. Consequently troops were busy fortifying the fort and accesses to it. Meanwhile additional troops were reporting in to replace the large numbers lost at Richmond. Among these new forces was Benson, one of Byron's younger brothers, who arrived with Captain Andrews on September 20.70

Sickness was still a big problem among the men, and large numbers of men were on the sick lists throughout the fall.

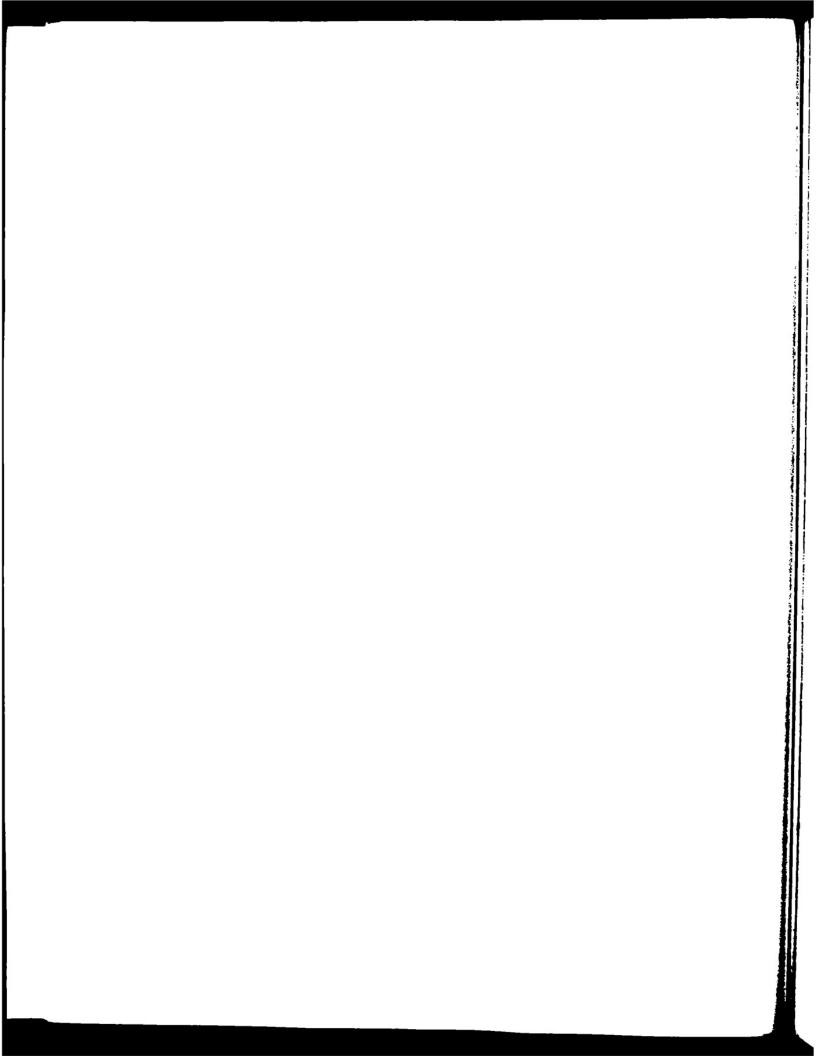
Quite a number of our men are sick with various diseases. Some say the location of our camp is bad. But I judge from appearances that a certain class of women have caused the most sickness. ?

One of those who became chronically ill was Bennie.

Poor Bennie I had the Medical Inspector examine him yesterday he says his lungs are baily diseased and that he needed the comforts of home life instead of enduring the exposures of camp and said that if I would make out his discharge papers he would have him mustered out of the service. I am sorry that it must be so for I like to have him with me. I had no idea that he was so much diseased and fear that he will not live long.72

Shortly after Bennie's discharge Captain Andrews, a personal friend of Byron's resigned and left the service. This was unexpected and came as a blow to Byron. "Received a letter from Lieut. Hale saying that Captain Andrews had resigned. A good man has left us. The company has lost a good officer and I a good friend".73

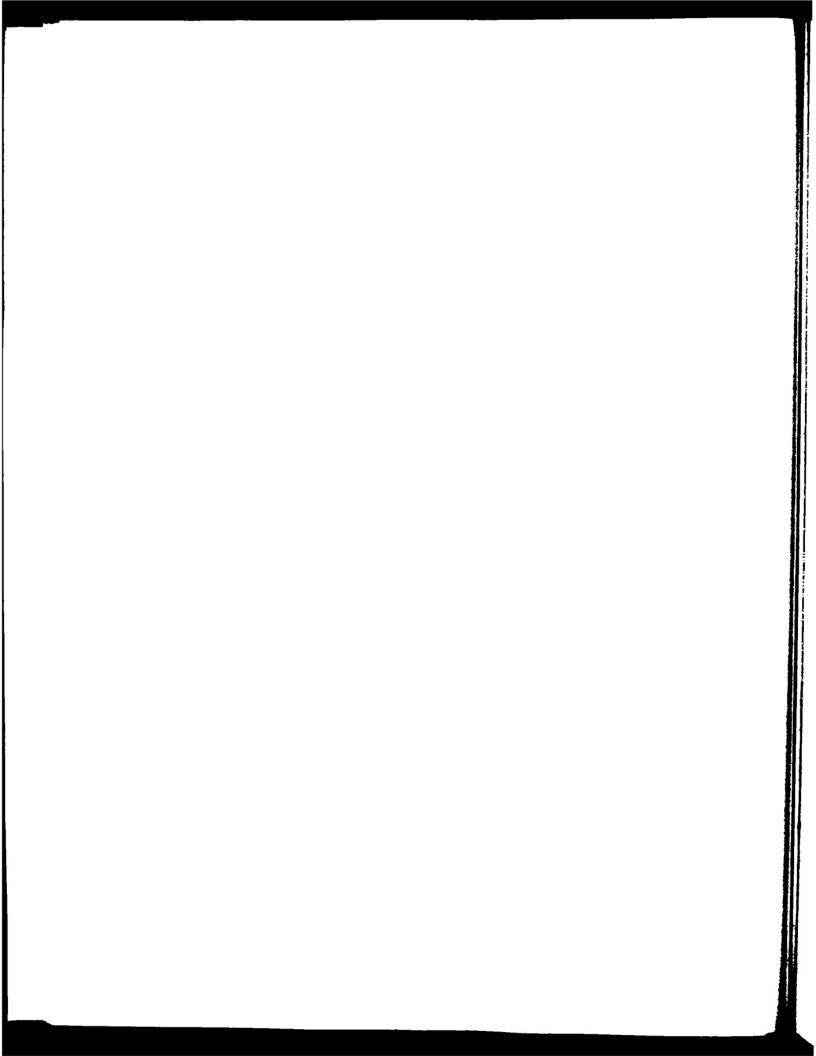
To Hattie the resignation of Captain Andrews was more than



the loss of a good officer and friend, it was the the loss of a strong argument against her family's condemnation of Byron. The captain was apparently a respected man, judged by many, including Hattie's family, of possessing high moral standards. Therefore his friendship and influence represented a point in Byron's favor.

Now byron you know I have faith in you, haven't I trusted you for a long while at home. I should have no fear but away there and camp life at best must be dull and monotonous and no one around but rough men such as the privates usually are. Am I to blame for fearing just a little. I should fear for Ceptain just the same if left alone with such a set. Dear Byron you know I have all confidence in you and think your principle just as good as his, but he is older and has never been tried I think there is very few that as you. have never yeelded to temptation and should you fall you know how many of my hopes must go with that fall, and if I am over anxious please don't be angry. 74

You say that you would like to have the Ceptain back only that you fear for my morals. Now really I don't believe that you have faith in me even to a grain of mustard - and I suppose if the Captain should get a discharge (and that is very doubtful now) you would imagine that I was into all manner of dissipation. Now dear Hattie do you think that the exemple and influence of the Captain is the sole cause of my morality. If that be the case you will have to hire him to go with me at all times and places. I know horman's 75 standary of morels are not what you would like in me, and are not what they should be yet I have the confidence to believe that neither he nor all the profligates in the Army can swerve me from the course



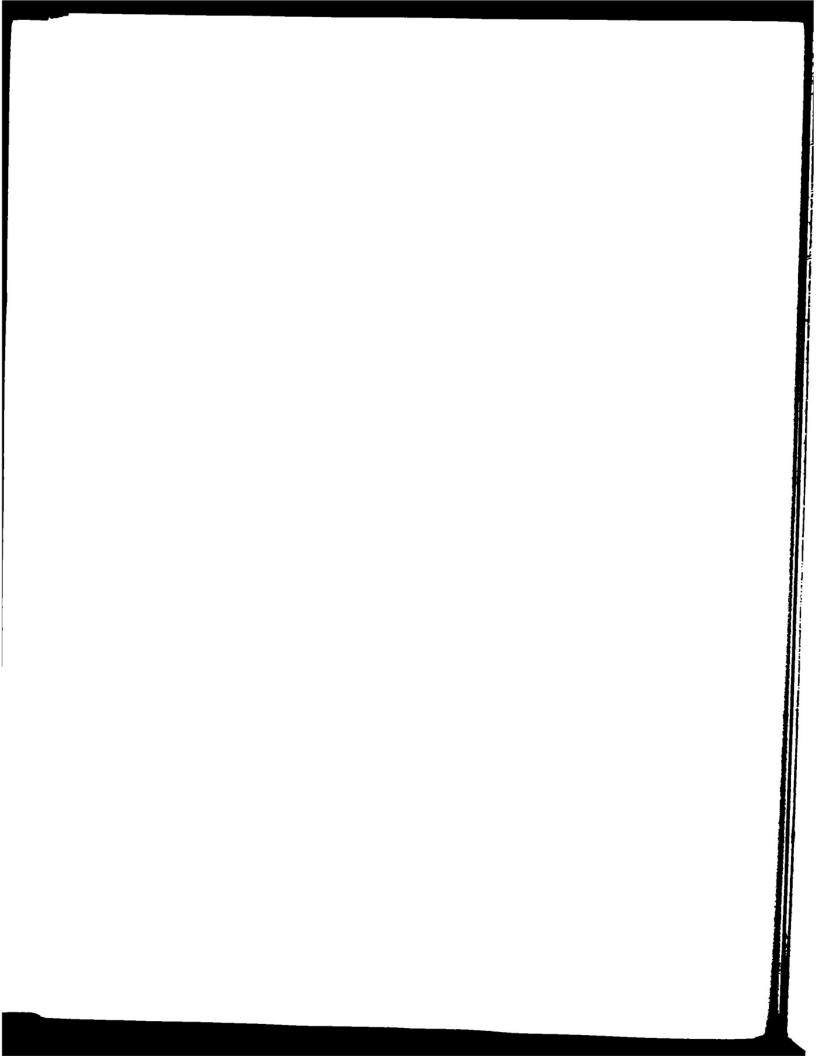
that I have marked out to follow. This is a bold assertion and one must feel san - guine of his moral strength. Well I do for I know that together with your influence it will carry me safe through free from the contaminations of camplife. 76

It is difficult to understand Hattie's or her family's fears for Byron's moral character. His writing reflects a man whose moral and particular philosophizing is sometimes carried to dramatic extremes.

We have too many kid glove officers
who much tary around the cities and
live on the fat of the land than do
their duty like men. It makes me almost
sick of Shoulder Straps and if I don't
wear them with more profit and benefit
to the Government and honor to myself;
then I want them taken from me for they
are intended as a badge of honor and merit
and should not be disgraced by poltroons.77

Although both Byron and Hattie set high standards for themselves they did not always measure others by these same standards. She wrote to him of "rough men such as privates usually are" clearly viewing them as a group apart and below Byron's set. He, as quoted above, defines the duties and standards of an officer, but these are not applied to "the men". It is the officers who set the pace and provide the leadership, and it is the officers who achieve success or failure.

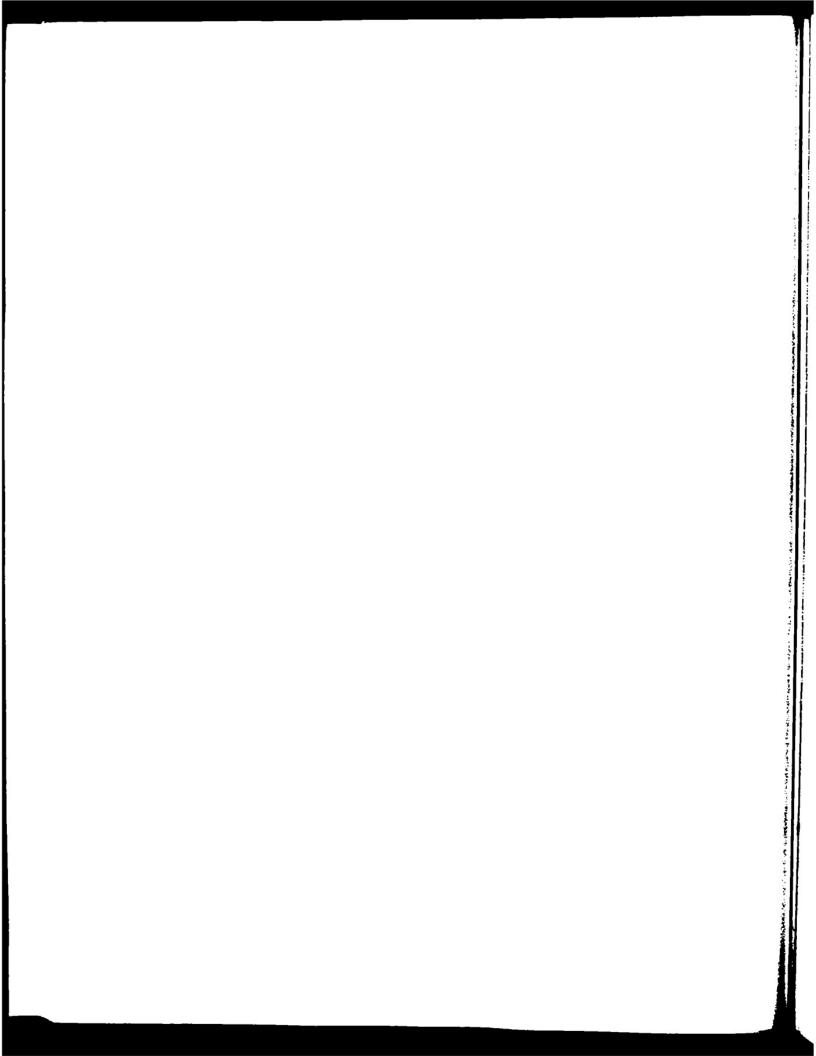
The South for several weeks past has obtained an advantage if not a complete victory . . . Why it is I know not unless it be caused by the inefficiency of a great many of our officers the fault cannot be in the men for they have with but few exceptions fought well and bravely. . . ?



And fight was all one could or should expect from "the men".

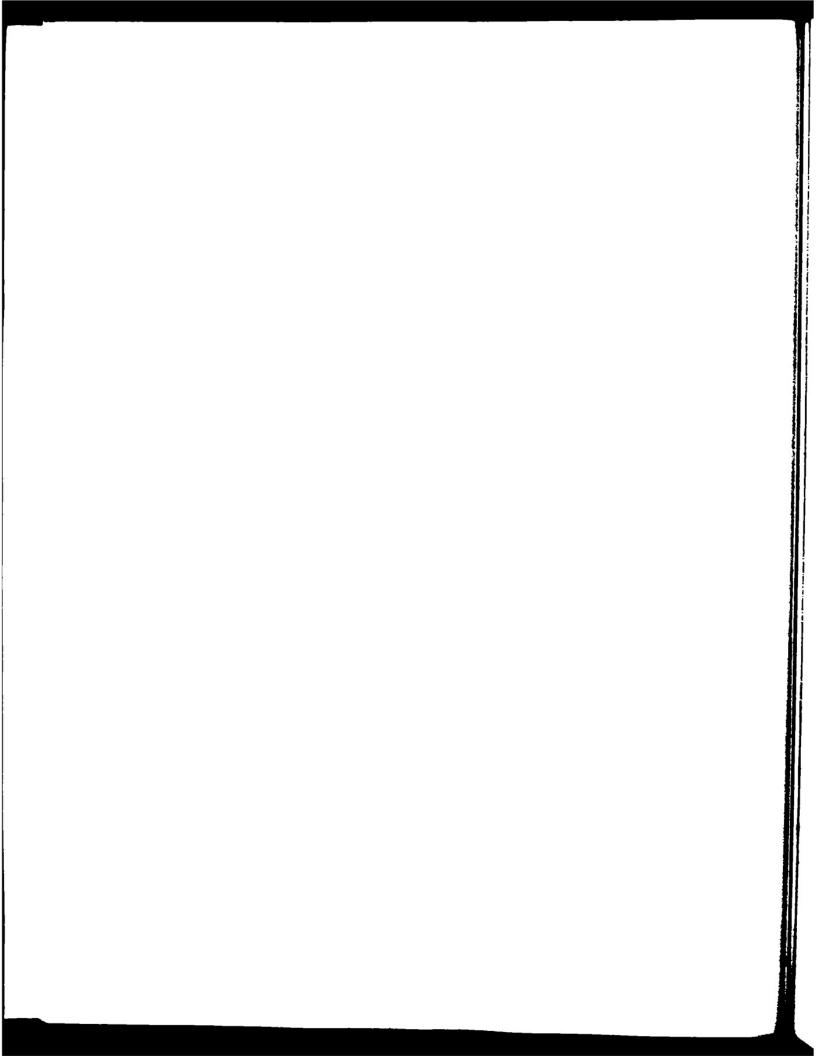
of his brother officers in the battery Byron expressed no less firm opinions. The captain was his friend and no doubt his model. Of Hutson he was contemptuous and reluctant to waste space to discuss him. Lieutenant Tyler, his predecessor, he had admired, and Lieutenant Hale, the captain's replacement, he seems to have respected. But one officer, Sergeant Brown, soon to be lieutenant, he disliked and distrusted. Brown, who was apparently jealous of Byron, had begun plotting with Norman Andrews, the captain's brother, to thrust himself shead of Byron in the line for promotion. Working quietly, with falsified signatures, Brown and the younger Andrews were attempting to blacken Byron's record with Governor Blair of Michigan, by whose authority officers were commissioned and promoted. The plot was uncovered months later in 1863 when Byron became elligible for the battery captaincy.

Meanwhile Byron was receiving attention from his superiors. On Wednesday, December 17, General Granger arrived at Bowling Green and ordered Byron to take command of all the artillery in the Brigade. Five days earlier, after an inspection by an officer of General Rosecrans' staff, he was complimented in having "a section of Artillery in the best of order". 80. This came on the heels of General Granger's earlier compliment to the effect that he wanted Byron to continue as a member of his regiment. 81.



1862 dwindled to an end and, although there were no further battles for the battery, there was little left in December, 1862, to remind the men of the ease and boredom of January, 1862. The war had just begun, and, though the military outlook for the union forces was less than rosy, hopes for an early peace predominated.

My Dear Hearers - I now appear before you for the last time this year. Old Father Time is about to leave us. And another new year will soon be ushered in. What a situation we are in. Surrounded by the enemy with all communication cut off and reduced to 3/4 rations is certainly delightful. But it is one of the vicissitudes of war. Now my friends, I wish you a Happy New Year. And when another year shall have passed away may Peace have been restored and this glorious Union still stronger cemented than ever. 83

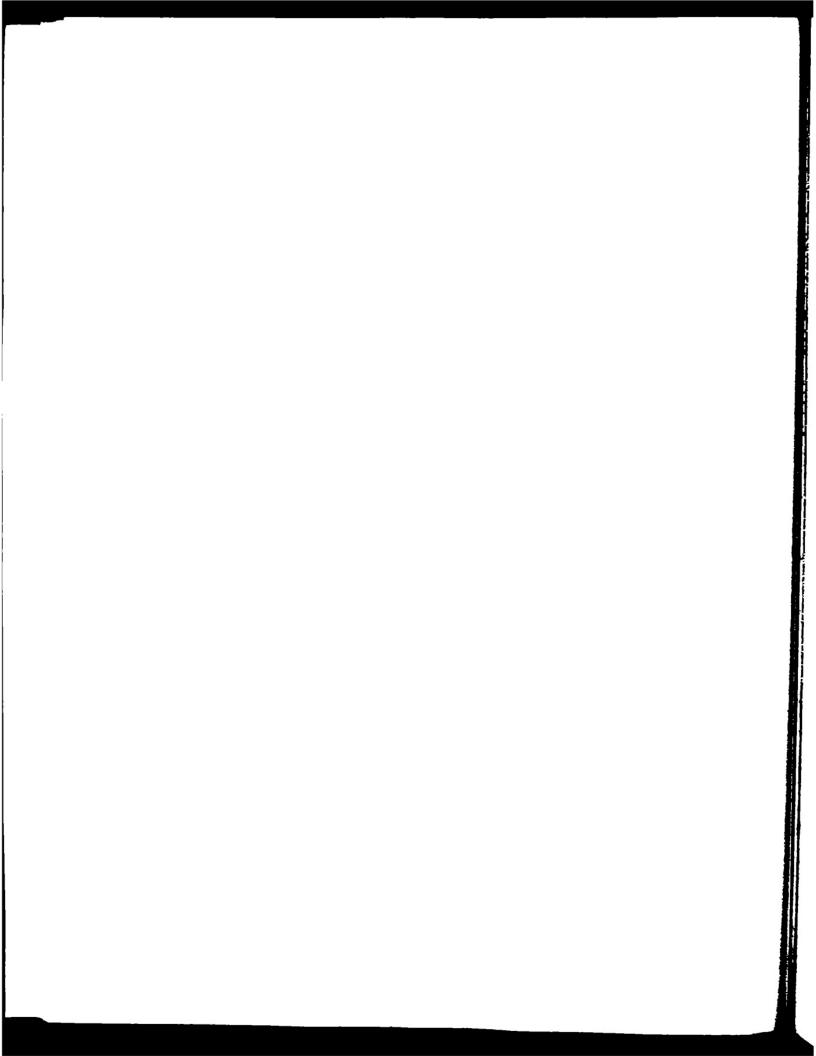


Footnotes - Chapter III

- 26. Paddock, "Diary".
- 27. Ibid., p.1.
- 23. Ibid.
- 29. Ibid.
- 30. Ibid., January 3, 1862ff.
- 31. Hard Genealogy. "Ancestry of Esther and Silence Hard".
- 32. "Disry", January 19, 1862ff.
- 33. Ibid., Jenuery 25, 1862.
- 34. Ibid., January 30, 1862.
- 35. Ibid., February 12, 1862.
- 36. Ibid., March 2, 1862.
- 37. Ibid., March 3, 1862.
- 38. <u>Ibid.</u>, March 5, 1862.
- 39. Ibid., Merch 7, 1862.
- 40. Ibid., Merch 9, 1862.
- 41. Ibid., April 5, 1862.
- 42. Paddock, Edna Littlefield (editor), Record of First Michigan Light Artillery in the Civil War.
- 43. Itid., Merch 31, 1862.
- 44. Op. Cit., Record of First Michigen . . .
- 45. "Diery", April 28, 1862.
- 46. Ibid., May 5, 1862.
- 47. Ibid., Hey 19, 1862.
- 48. 1b1d.

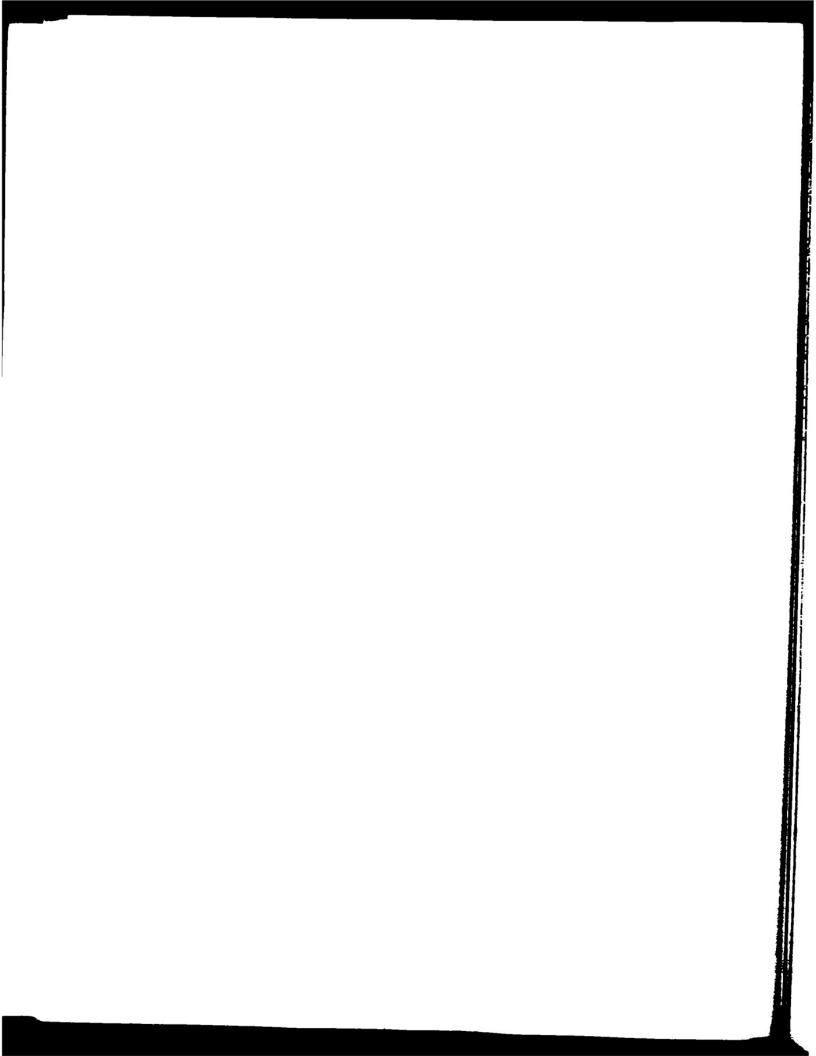
Footnotes - Chapter III (cont.)

- 49. Correspondence between Paddock and Crippen. 7/28/62.
- 50. Diary, May 13, 1862.
- 51. Ibid., June 9, 1862.
- 52. Ibid., June 17, 1862.
- 53. Ibid., June 19, 1862.
- 54. Ibid., June 21, 1862.
- 55. Diary, July 9, 1862.
- 56. Ibid., June 30, 1862.
- 57. Ibid.
- 58. The term "secesh" refers to secessionist.
- 59. Correspondence, July 14,1862.
- 60. Ibid.
- 61. Ibid., August 3, 1862.
- 62. Diary, August 4, 1862.
- 63. Ibid., August 29, 1862.
- 64. Ibid., August 30, 1862.
- 65. Ibid., August 30, 1862, editor's note: Edna L. Paddock.
- 66. <u>Ihid.</u>, September 3, 1862.
- 67. Ibid., September 5, 1862.
- 63. <u>Ibid.</u>, September 8, 1862.
- 69. Correspondence, September 9, 1862.
- 70. Diary, September 20, 1862.
- 71. Diary, November 7, 1862.
- 72. Correspondence, November 13, 1862.
- 73. Diary, December 8, 1862.
- 74. Correspondence, November 18, 1862.



Footnotes - Chapter III (cont. p.3)

- 75. Captain Andrews' younger brother.
- 76. Correspondence, November 13, 1862.
- 77. Ibid., August 14, 1862.
- 78. Ibid., November 18, 1862.
- 79. Correspondence, August 14, 1862.
- 80. Diary, December 12, 1862.
- 81. Correspondence, Decembor 9, 1862.
- 82. Ibid.
- 83. Disry, December 31, 1862.

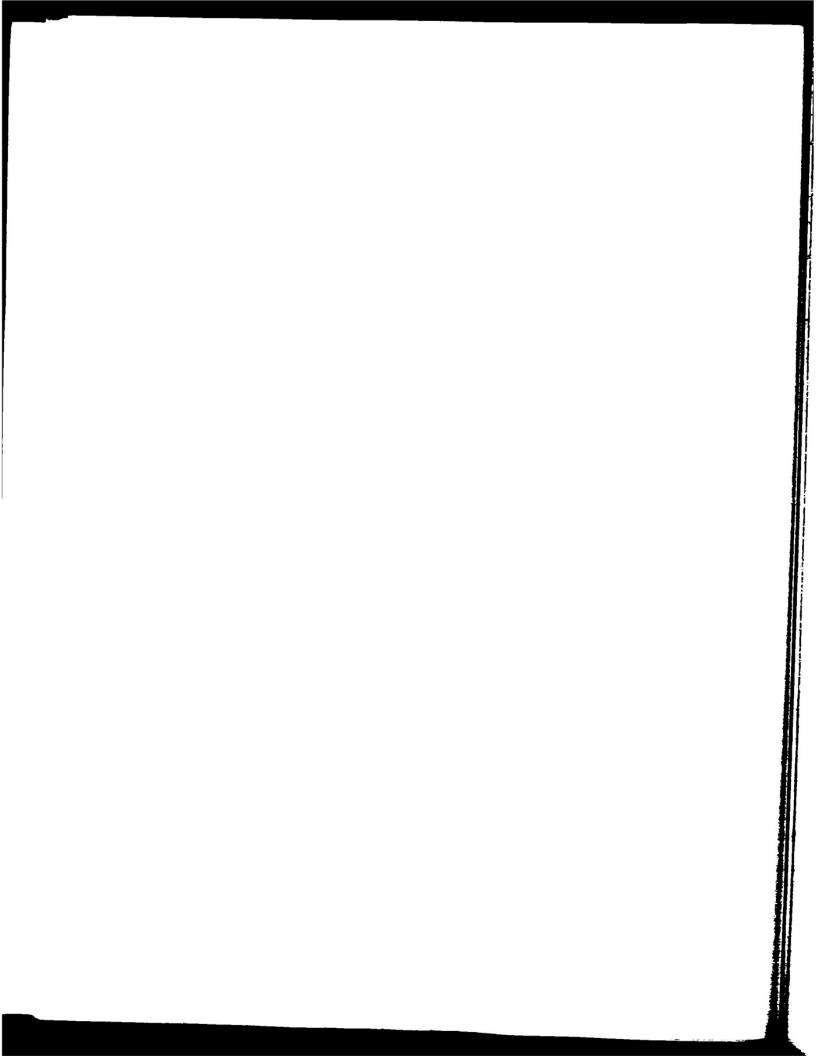


Chapter IV 1863

New Years Day is again with us and a very pleasant one it is too. The atmosphere is clear and warm; and the sun shines so bright that it makes me almost forget that I am a soldier: that this beautiful Country has been and is now being deluged with the blood of its own people. Yes too true it is that Civil Wer is upon us. Go where you will preparations for war meet you on every hend. When will it cease! When will peace be restored to this now unhappy Country. God Frant that it may be soon. Today instead of greeting my friends at home with a "Happy New Year", I have been trying to make myself more 84. efficient with the weapons of death.

The year, 1863, began as 1862 had left off. The union forces at Bowling Green, Kentucky, which included Byron with one section of Eattery F, 1st Michigan Regiment, Light Artillery, were surrounded by retel forces and communication with Louisville, including mail and supplies, was cut off. Even the pleasant, sunny weather was not to last, for by January 3, a long period of rainy, cold weather had set in, alleviated only rarely by sun and warmth. Coupled with the disatreeable weather was increasing sickness amongst the men. The diary entry for January 13, reads: "Marm but cloudy. Looks as though it might storm soon. . . . A number of my men are sick (one very dangerous)".85.

Almost two weeks later on January 25, "It is Sunday and a lonely day to me. Atmosphere cloudy and damp. It is also very muddy.



Many of the men sick and myself not feeling well and threatened with a fever". 86. On January 29, Byron reports that he moved the camp to what he hoped would be a healthier spon, and with the change in weather the health of the men began to improve.

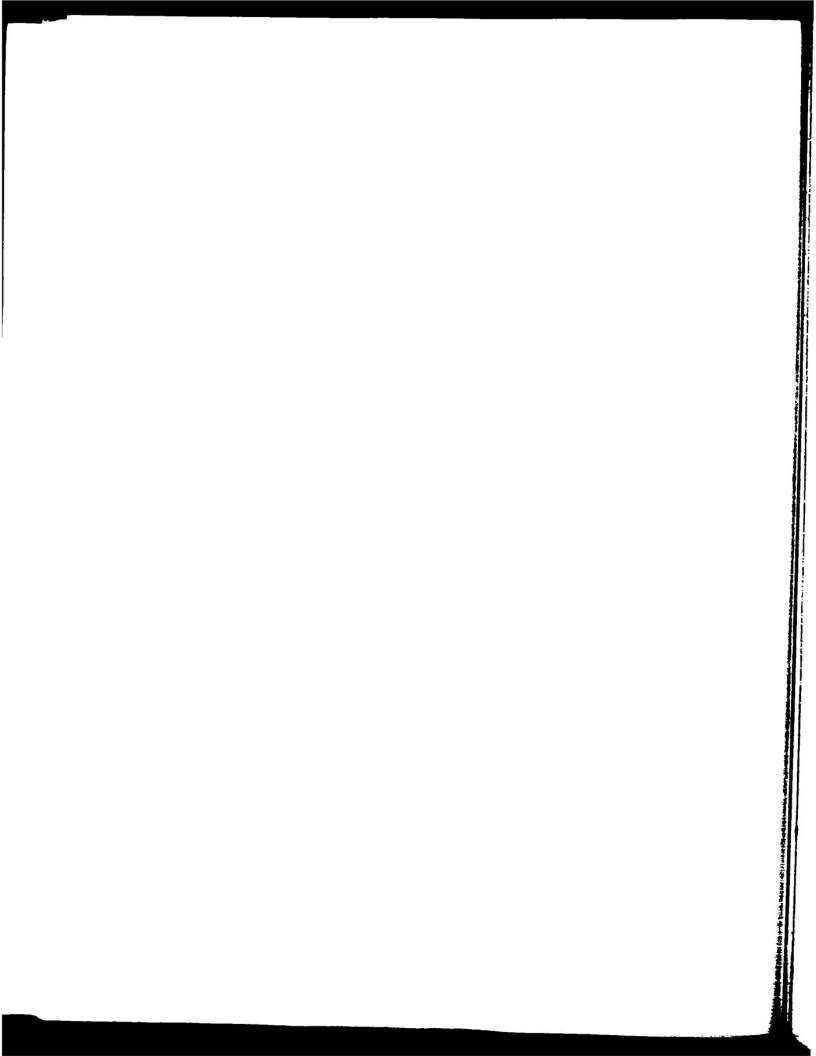
While idle and somewhat isolated at Bowling Green, Byron spent the time organizing the men for target practices and drills. He also writes of having had much paper work for the battery to contend with, and he engages in that timeless perogative of a soldier, complaining.

We cannot get any mail from home - so take it all in all and things don't look particularly bright or pleasant. Why is it that Uncle Sam don't arrange matters so that we can get our mail matter. It looks to me wrong that we who are fighting the battles of our Country and enduring the hardships of a Soldiers life should be deprived of about the only pleasure we have - that of receiving letters from loved ones at home. 87.

Have about given up all hopes of seeing the Paymaster until another two months at least has rolled around. It is too bad to think that good Soldiers should be thus treated when their families need money so badly.

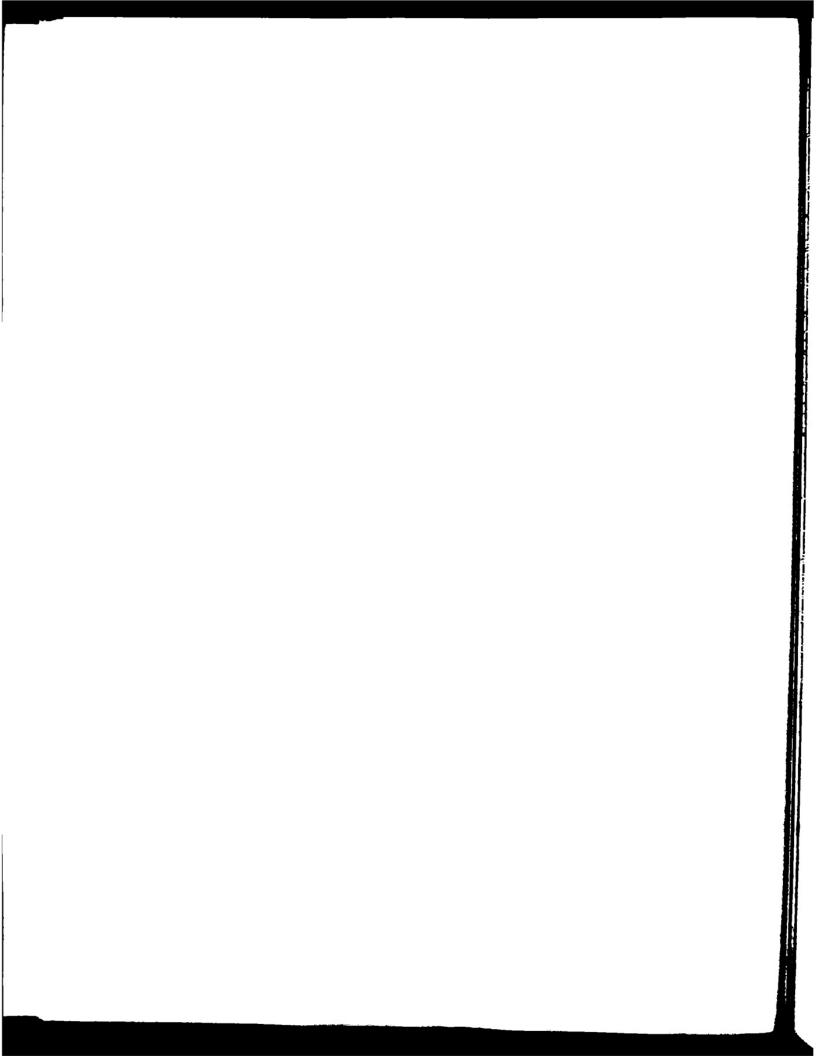
In early 1863 there was a change in the conduct of the war on the part of the federal government which greatly disturbed Byron. This was the proposal by Congress to raise negro regiments. Byron expressed strong opinions on this proposal and on the government, itself, in the following diary entries dated February 5 and 6, respectively.

I see by the papers that the Dear Nigger is the all perveding topic in Congress. Bill has been passed to raise Three Hundred Niggers to fight our battles.89.



Great God! Can it be that our Congress has become so fanatical as to think nor talk of anything but Niggers. The idea of raising Negro Regiments to fight our battles is a shame and a disgrace to the brave Soldiers of our army. It is enough to discourage any man that has any gride about him. Men that would vote for such a bill ought to be shot.

t is difficult to read with sympathy Byron's views on the negro race if it is done in terms of modern day concepts. It is an all-too common assumption among students and laymen that the Civil War separated an anti-slavery North from a proslavery South. Yet Byron's attitude toward the negro was not an unusual one among northern civilians and soldiers, alike, The "causes" of the Civil War may be discussed and debated today among students and historians alike, but for Eyron there was no reason for debate. He fought in a uniform of blue, for the cause of the union and because of an abstract sense of honor and patriotism which always seemed to guide him as an officer and a "gentleman". If anyone were so rash as to suggest he fought against the cause of slavery, he would have heatedly rejected such an absurd argument. Though he spoke seldom of the negroes or their plight, his opinion was explicit. He used derisive terms such as nigger, darkey, or wooly-heads, not out of meanness or personal dislike, but because he honestly felt negroes to be something subhuman and deserving of no better treatment. His low opinion of negroes was on an impersonal plane, bred in a social atmosphere prevalent in his time; a



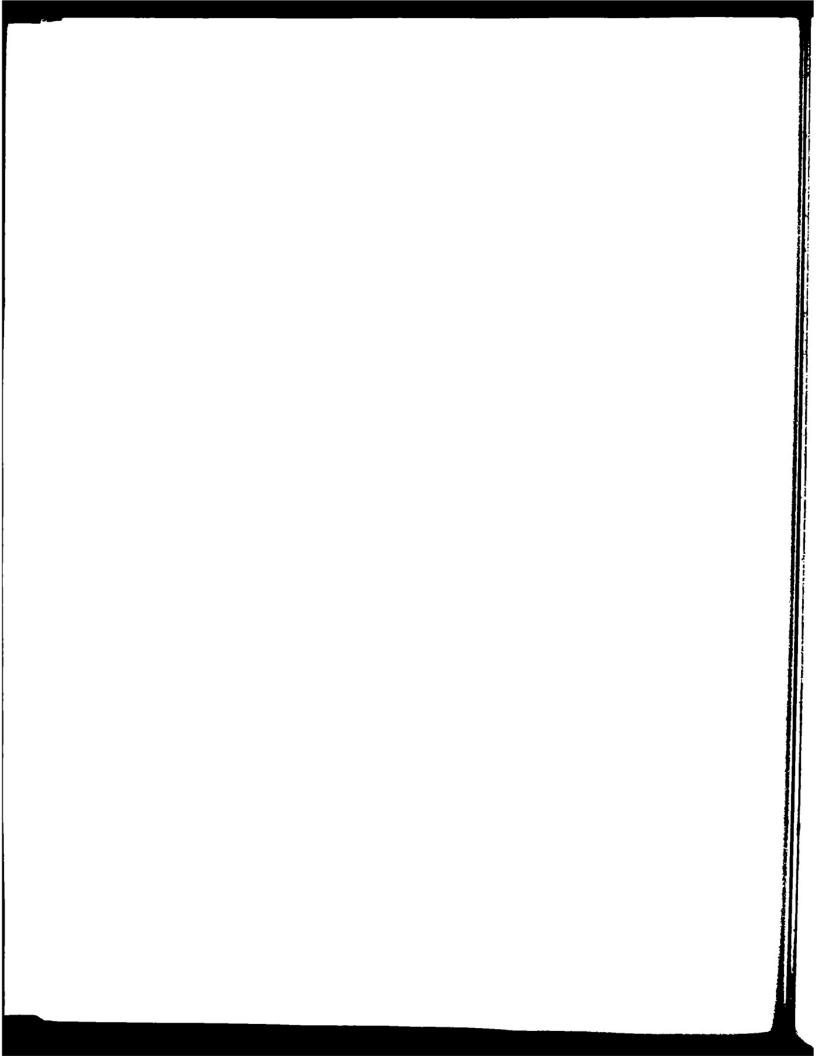
social atmosphere which recognized subtle social distinctions between officer and private as well as between professional man and worker. These distinctions are made evident with such phrases as "the men", which refers to soldiers other than officers, and an upper class phrase such as "an officer and a gentleman". Hattie also showed her awareness of this social atmosphere when she wrote:

I should have no fear but away there and camp life at best must be dull and monotonous and no one around but rough men such as the privates usually are.

Byron, as was appearently common with officers, kept a young negro boy to cock and clean for him, 92 and Hattie's family also had negro servants and stableboys. In fact Byron wrote to Hattie of having attended a negro slave sale of which he reported:

I attended an auction sale of negroes in this town last week. There was nothing so very horrible about it as Mrs. Steven "endell Phillips and all the Abolitionists try to make the good people believe. On the contrary everything passed off quietly. The negroes both male and female seemed to enjoy it and when there were families to be sold those purchasing would buy them all that is the man that first bought one would slways buy the belance of the family. I had a notion to buy e bright little boy that I saw sold for two dollars and send to you so that you would have some one to pick cherries for you.

It was this attitude toward the negro depicted here in two isolated ceases, yet representative of the large gentle white, nothern society which Eyron and Hattie typify that bred a peculiar empathy between the soldiers of North and South.



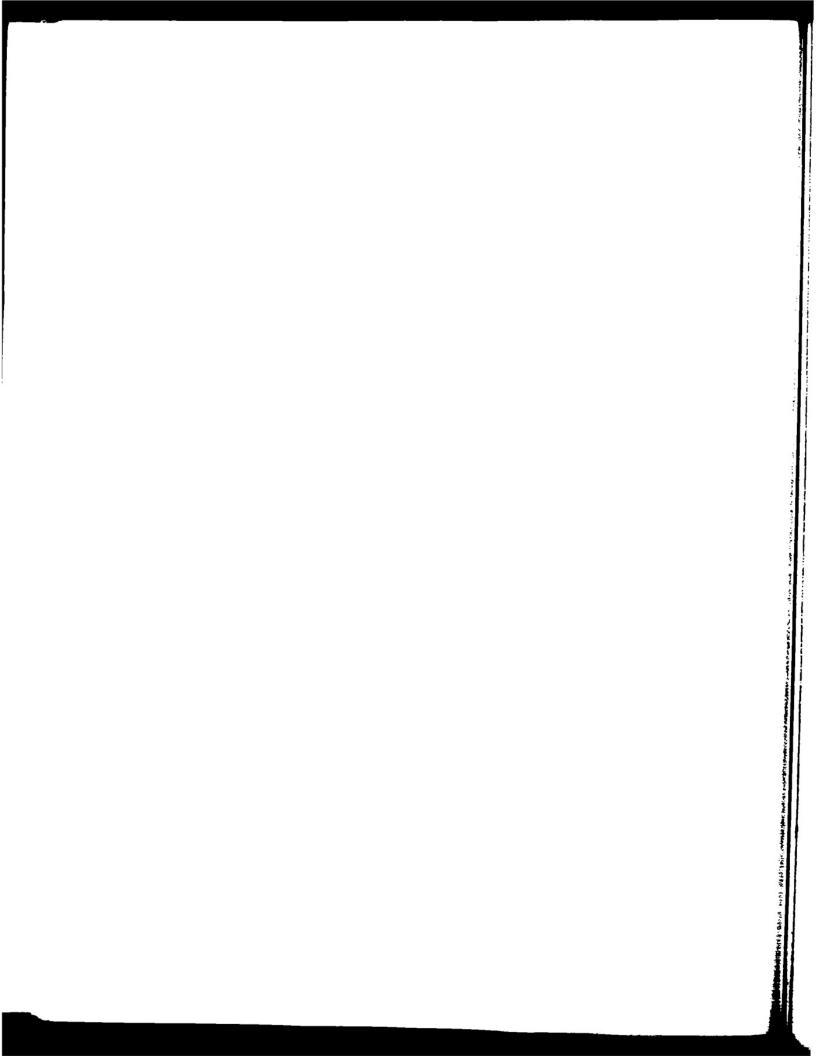
It is this attitude which caused Northern soldiers to refer to Southern soldiers as "secesh" and "rebels". The South is an enemy in a political concept not in a moral one.

Byron's complaints against the government and his strong words against the negro are in part caused by the dreariness of these early days of 1863. What little activity there is, is all of a sedentary nature aside from drills and target practice. The accommodations are, at best uncomfortable, and the weather is ugly. In short, army life has lapsed into complete dullness.

The battery, at this time, seems to have reached a low point, particularly in regard to the officers. Always one for bluntness, he wrote of the sad condition of his battery to Hattie: "I have become completely discouraged for with the present officers there is no prospect of its (the battery) getting into such a shape as to do good service". 94 Some officers were away on furloughs or for recruiting purposes and others, including Norman Andrews, were on detached service. 95

Coupled with all the other problems in the battery was the peculiar problem of Sergeant Brown, now Lieutenant Brown.

Brown was a somewhat crafty person who, through some double dealing, had managed to have himself promoted over Byron. It is not clear just how this was done, although it was over Byron's protests. Brown's accomplice was Norman Andrews and it may have been that Norman or his brother, the former captain,



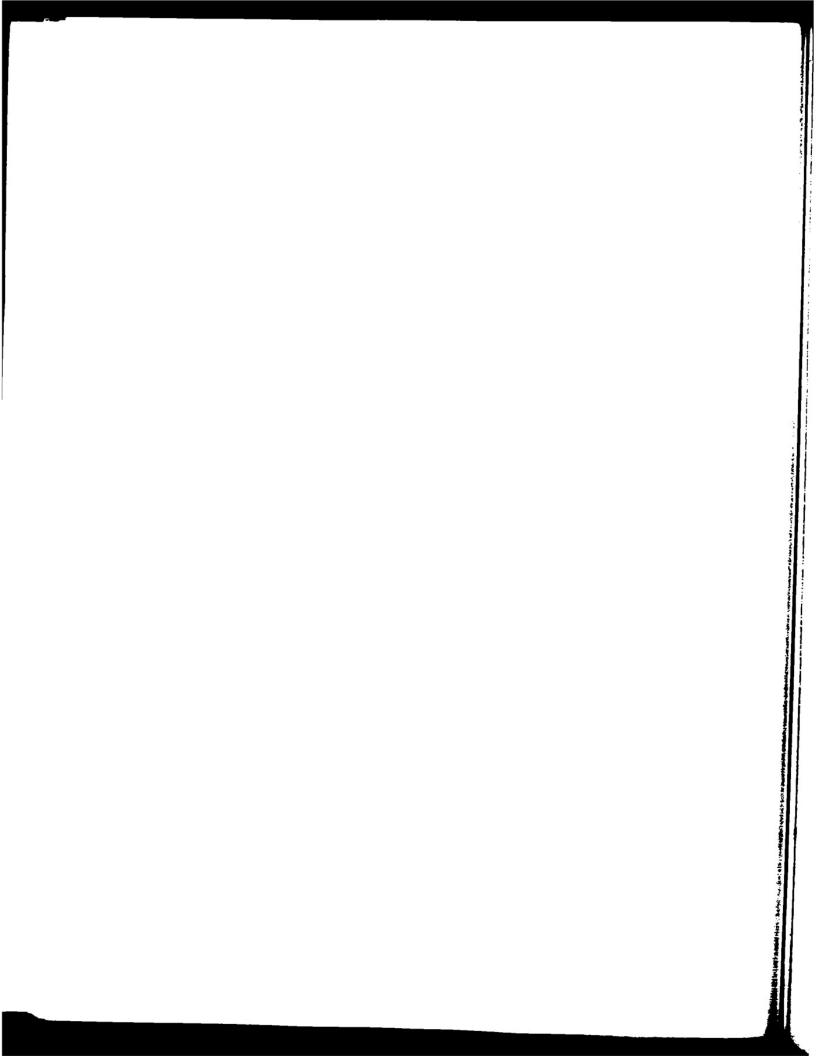
had some inside influence to secure such a promotion from Governor Blair in Michigan. The promotion occurred suddenly in late December, 1852, and writing just days before Byron tells Hattie that such an occurrence is very unlikely. By February, 1863, the news is out and in her letter to Byron, Hattie includes the terse comment, "How do you like Brown's being promoted over you. I for one don't like it a bit. I don't think it is fair".96

Byron was less concerned about fairness and more concerned about friendship. In responding to Hattie's indignant statement he says,

I em sorry that Lieut. Andrews has taken such a course for hitherto I had esteemed him highly as a gentleman and a friend; and should he conclude to drop Brown I shall still continue friendly toward him. But he cannot retain my esteem and friend-ship and uphold such a man. 97

Norman Andrews, on deteched service, apparently turned up in camp several weeks later. Byron had a long, "frank" talk with him and reported to Hattie that Norman denied the whole affair, saying he was unaware of Brown's commission until he saw it for himself. "I, of course, must believe him and conclude that he has acted homorably with me". 98 He was to learn much later what a poor, untrustworthy friend he was defending.

By mid-July Byron received word that there were reports of marauding, guerrilla bands towards Cave City. Tired of coping with these personal problems, and all too eager for action



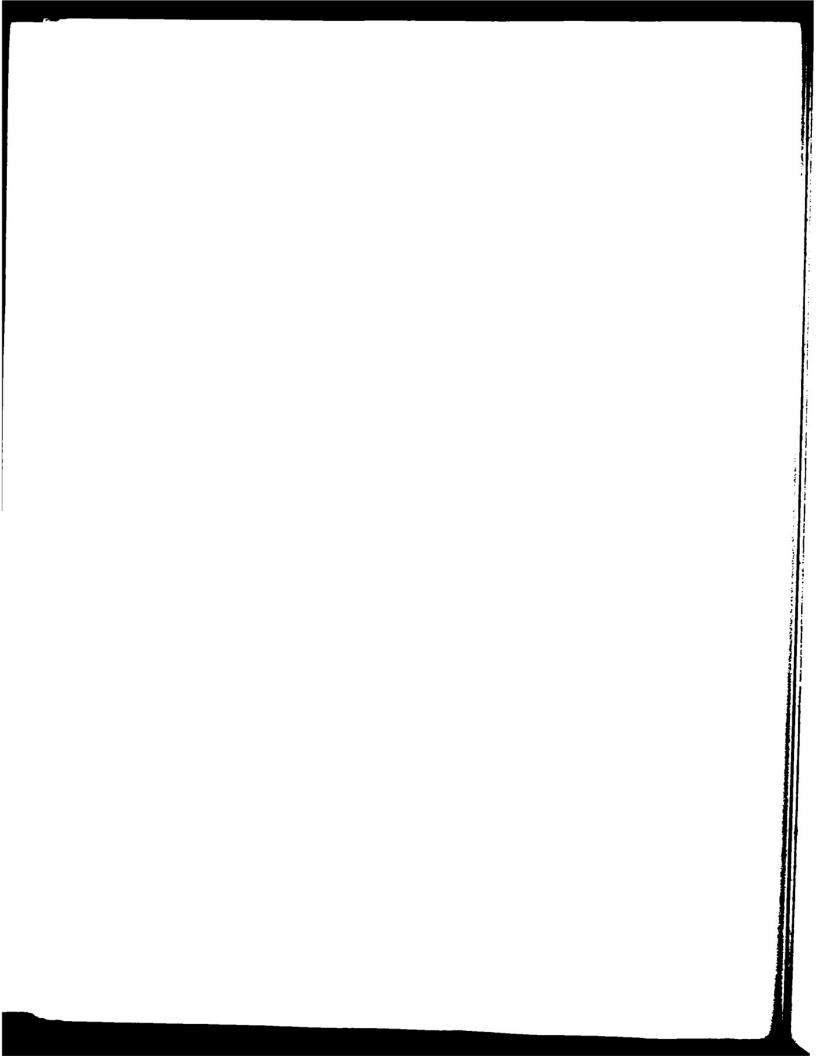
he readied his men for the march, sending the guns and horses by train, per orders. Before leaving Bowling Green, he received a communication from Brigadier General Henry M. Judah, his division commander, concerning a rebel guerrilla force on the road leading to Glasgow. In accordance with his orders, Byron set out with the 34th Kentucky under Colonel Harvey for Glasgow. 99 They reached Glasgow, "this ancient and dilapidated town (inhabited by Secesh)", at 4 o'clock without engaging rebel forces and after marching "through a very heavy rainstorm shouting Hurrah for the 4th of July now and then . . "100

General Judah, about to move out, placed Col. Harvey in command of the post and Byron in command of Fort Boyle, one half mile outside of the town. He was proud of this new responsibility, though reluctant to admit this.

It (Fort Boyle) has eight large guns and two small howitzers. The command of this together with my own section keeps me busy enough. All I want is to have the rebels attack me now and I will shell the town until not a building is left to shelter the Secesh ruffians. 101

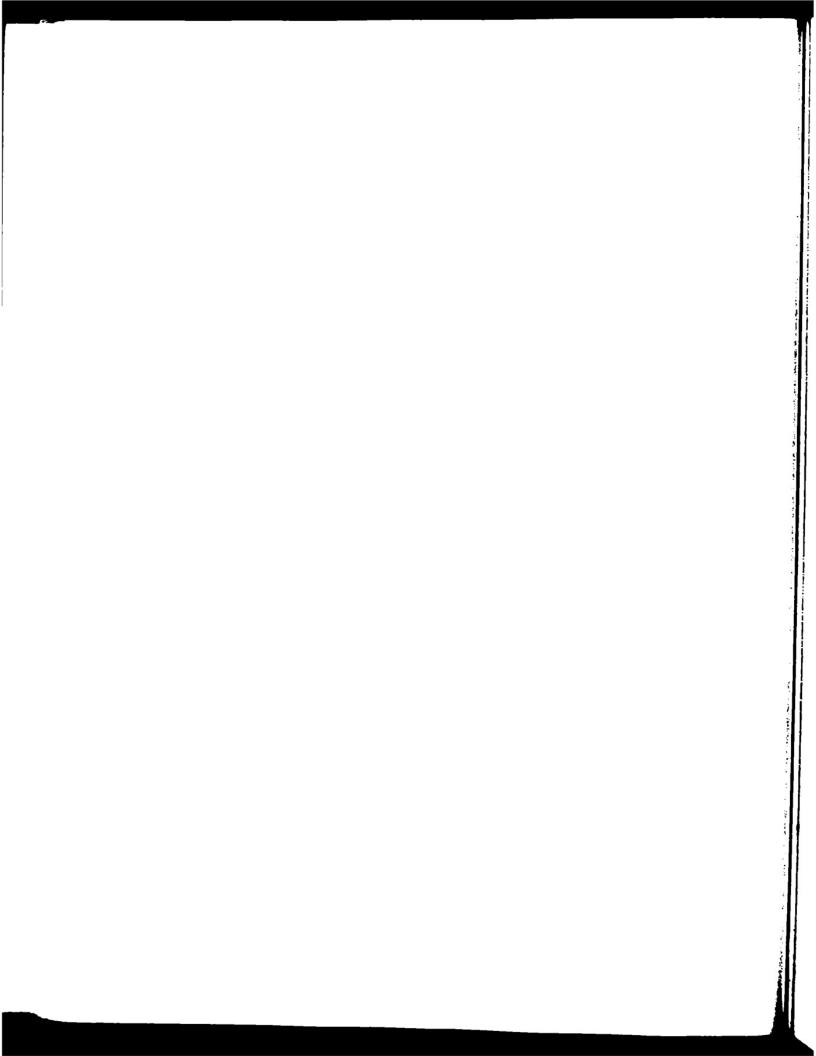
The move to Glasgow and Fort Boyle did not provide a more active position for the battery as the intended conflict with enemy forces did not materialize. Byron traveled back to Louisville to impress upon Captain Hale the poor condition of the battery, but he was apparently unsuccessful.

He is on the contrary quite engious to be whited and go into active service in the field. But he lacks the confidence



and don't care a _______ to go sheed and talk to these Generals and red tape officials and tell them just what he wants and what he is bound to have - that is what is needed and so long as he goes to them and says please do so and so and you will greatly oblige me just so long they will put him off with promises that they never intend to fulfill. I have talked till it is useless to say more and until I am quite out of patience and considerably "mad" and now I am going to let the Captain work out his own salvation and I will "paddle my own canoo" till he goew to work in earnest. 102

From Louisville he moved to Mumfordsville, where he witnessed the execution of five deserters. His next letter to Hattie dealt with the procedures involved as well as his personal reaction. Because it provides such an unusually poignant view of one aspect of the life and society of this time and of Byron himself, it is included here in its entirety rather than in the appendix.



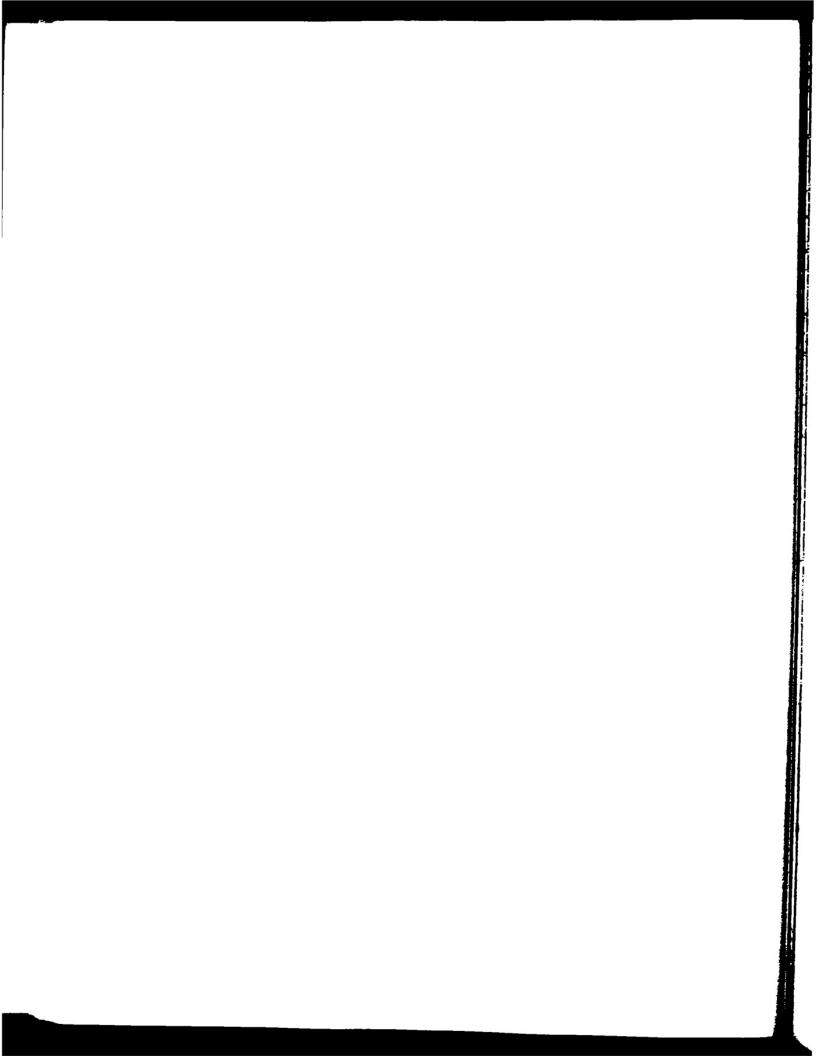
Deer Hattie;

I had just returned from attending the execution of those five deserters that I wrote to you about when your letter of the lst inst. was handed me.

I have witnessed the execution of a number of men and in various ways yet this one that occurred today was the most solemn and sad sight that I ever beheld. The programme of the day was es follows, viz - At 11:15 A.M. the essembly sounded and the troops took up the line of march arriving at the place of execution at 11:30 A.M. where they formed three sides of a square. Soon after the Provost Marshall with the shooting party marched to the ground followed by men bearing the coffins and then the prisoners ceme next accompanied by the chaplain and guards. The procession began at one side and passed along between the open ranks of the troops and then formed the fourth side of the square. The coffins were then placed about 20 feet apart and the prisoners required to sit down one on each coffin. The Chaplain then ange ed in prayer with the prisoners for a short time. The execution party consisting of forty men were formed in five squads of eight each in front of and six paces from the culprits - a white cloth was then tied over the face of each prisoner and the signal given when the whole forty fired and the men fell backwards upon the ground with their feet resting across the coffins all with one exception being instently killed and that one the Provost Marshall then shot through the head with his pistol.

The troops then broke into column and passed slowly by the now inanimate bodies of those who in the hour of need described their Country and paid the penalty with their lives. Two of them were brothers and their aged father stood near by and witnessed the suful scene. The wives of two stood on the hillside near by end saw their husbands shot to death whilst their shricks of agony could be heard by us all but too plainly. As we passed through them on our return I saw the wife of enother sitting at the door of a house and looking and acting more like a raving manion than a human being. They were all maried men and some had large families who are much to be pitied. The execution of the men I did not mind so much but the shrieks of those poor women will ring in my ears for days to come. You want to know why I can't be contented here when the Government needs me. Well I do try to be patient but you know that I am ambitious and proud - and that whilst I fought for my country I also wished towrite my name "high upon the scroll of fame" and therefore this inactivity and distance from the danger does not suit one of my disposition. Besides were we ordered to the front those officers who prefer to heng eround Louisville and Bowling Green rather than do their auty in the Eattery to which they belong would then be ordered to report to the company for duty whilst now they whiningly cry that they didn't want to be detached but couldn't help it. I am provoked at such men and I can't avoid it.

Holbrook left for Greenburg today and don't know whether he will be ordered back to the Battery or still continue on detached



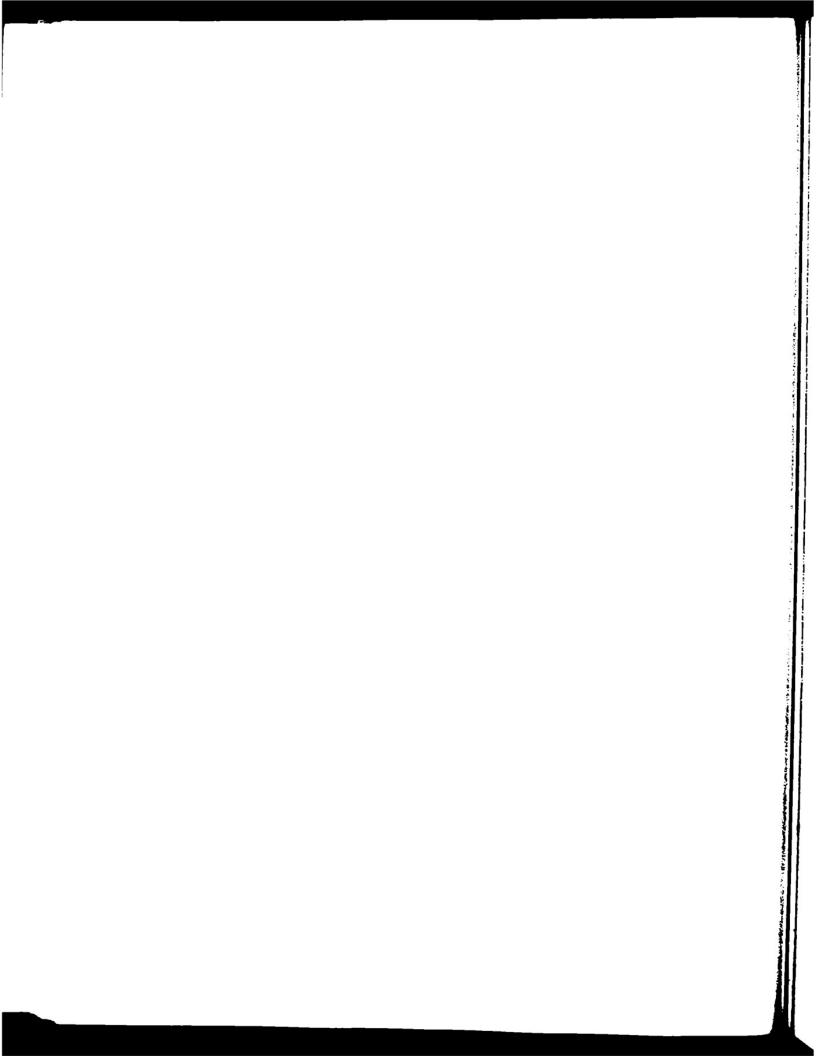
service with General Hobson. A telegram came here for him from his wife saking if she should come down here with Col. Gilbert who starts Monday; I enswered it stating where he had gone. She will doubtless be disappointed. Captain and Mrs. Hale have been to Monmouth Cave and returned well pleased with their visit.

Lieut. Andrews has figured around until he got things arranged so that he thinks he will be able to stay away from the Battery until our term expires. One of our men died on the morning of the 2nd very suddenly and as Capt. Hale was absent it became my painful duty towrite to his friends and inform them of it. I had him buried in the Fort near my tent and in such a manner that his friends can have him removed with but little trouble if they wish.

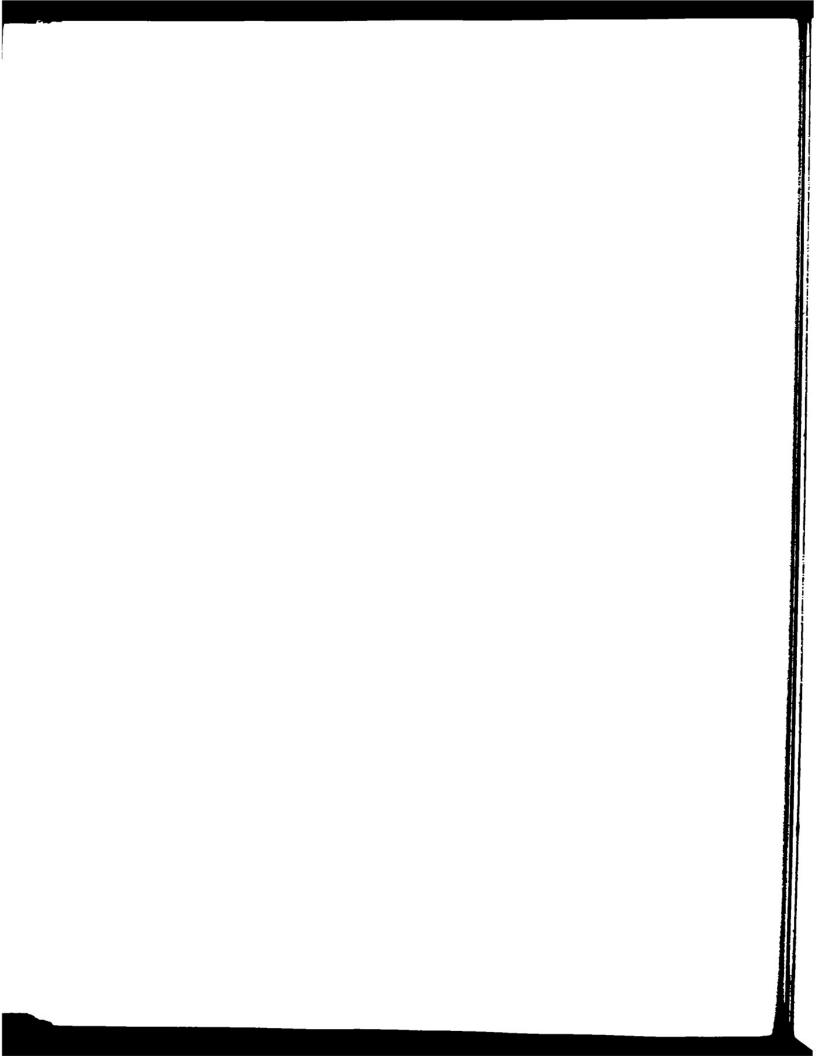
I see that you don't favor the idea of my going into the regular army. Guess when my three years are up like you I too shall be "tired of soldiering". Will try and decide between now and Christmas whether it will be best for me to come and see you or not - but expect by that time I shall be so anxious to visit you that nothing short of Uncle Sam will stop me. Perhaps I have not as much charity as I should have if so will endeavor to be as charitable as possible under the circumstances.

My letter is not as long nor as interesting as your last one but I have written all the news that I can think of and will bid you good night with love of

Byron

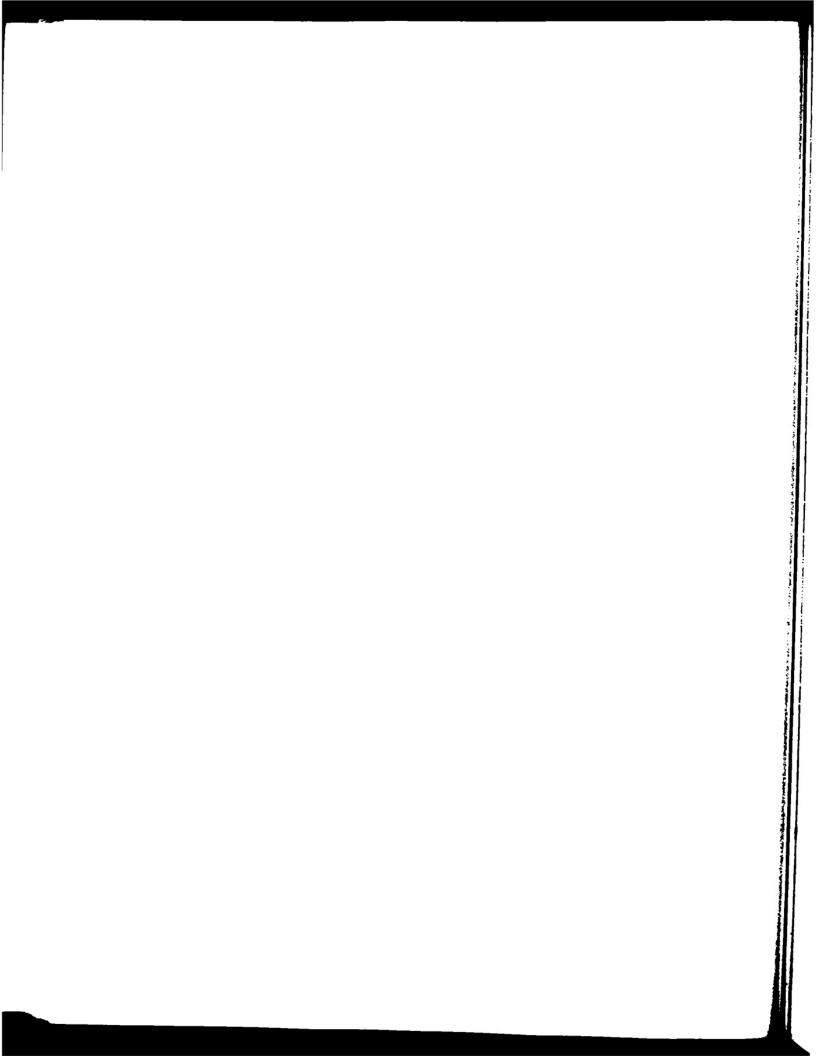


The correspondence between Byron and Hattie for 1363 ends with a letter dated November 23, and the diary is very incomplete for this year. However this was a year spent in a kind of limbo. The light, bentering tone which characterized much of the earlier exchanges between these two had disappeared. Byron had seen the hard facts of life first hand, and it was as if they suddenly realized that the war would not be over quickly. Complaints were more frequent and more bitter, and there was a tone of desperation, of fear of what the future might hold, or worse, not hold.



Footnotes - Chapter IV

- 84."Diery", January 1, 1863.
- 85. Ibid., January 13, 1863.
- 86. Ibid., January 25, 1863.
- 87. Ibid.
- 88. Ibid., February 16, 1863.
- 89. Ibid., February 5, 1863.
- 90. Ibid., February 6, 1863.
- 91. Correspondance between B. Paddock and H. Crippen. November 11, 1003.
- 92. Ibid., N vember 13, 1862.
- 93. Ibid., July 24, 1863.
- 94. Ibid., April 18, 1863.
- 95. Ibid.
- 95. Ibid., February 17, 1863.
- 97. bid., Merch 22, 1863.
- 98. Ibid.
- 99. Ibid., July 15, 1853.
- 100. Ibid.
- 101. Ibid., July 15, 1863.
- 102. Ibid., July 2h, 1863.

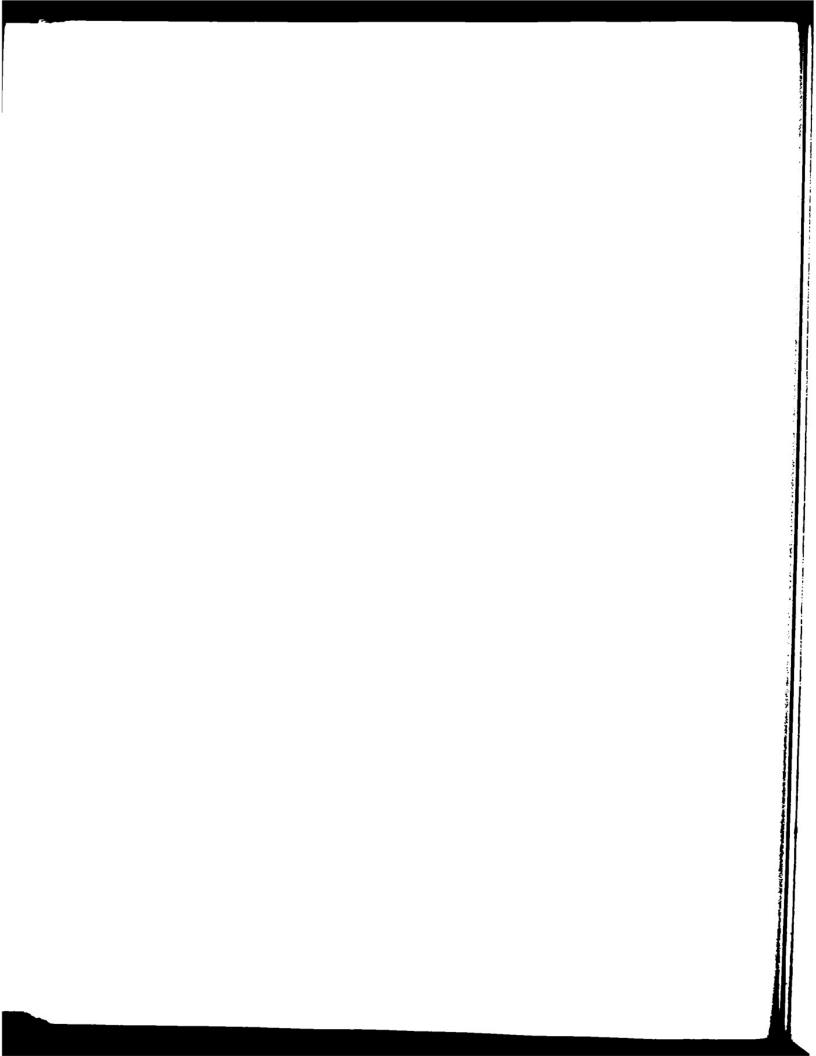


Chapter V 1564

For Byron and the men of his command 1864 was their peak year. The boredom of past years was obliterated in a matter of months. In 1862 he had written Hattie, "... I have endured but few hardsnips and run but little danger compared with many". 102. Such a lightly spoken statement would have no place in the long year of 1864.

By February Byron had moved his section of the battery from Bowling Green to Camp Nelson, Kentucky. Now captain, 103. he was preparing, on February 7, to move to Knoxville. 104. His command now consisted of 500 men but only part of them were armed. There was quite shortage of forage for horses and he had to give up his own horse and travel by foot. Although he was displeased with this, by the 14th, word was received that horses were being sent back from Knoxville and no officer below the rank of Brigadier General was permitted a horse for his personal use. 105.

Byron strived with his men in Point Burnside, Kentucky, which was located on the Cumberland River. This little known locale had been designated as a military depot and quartermasters head-quarters for stores being situated on the road to Knoxville and



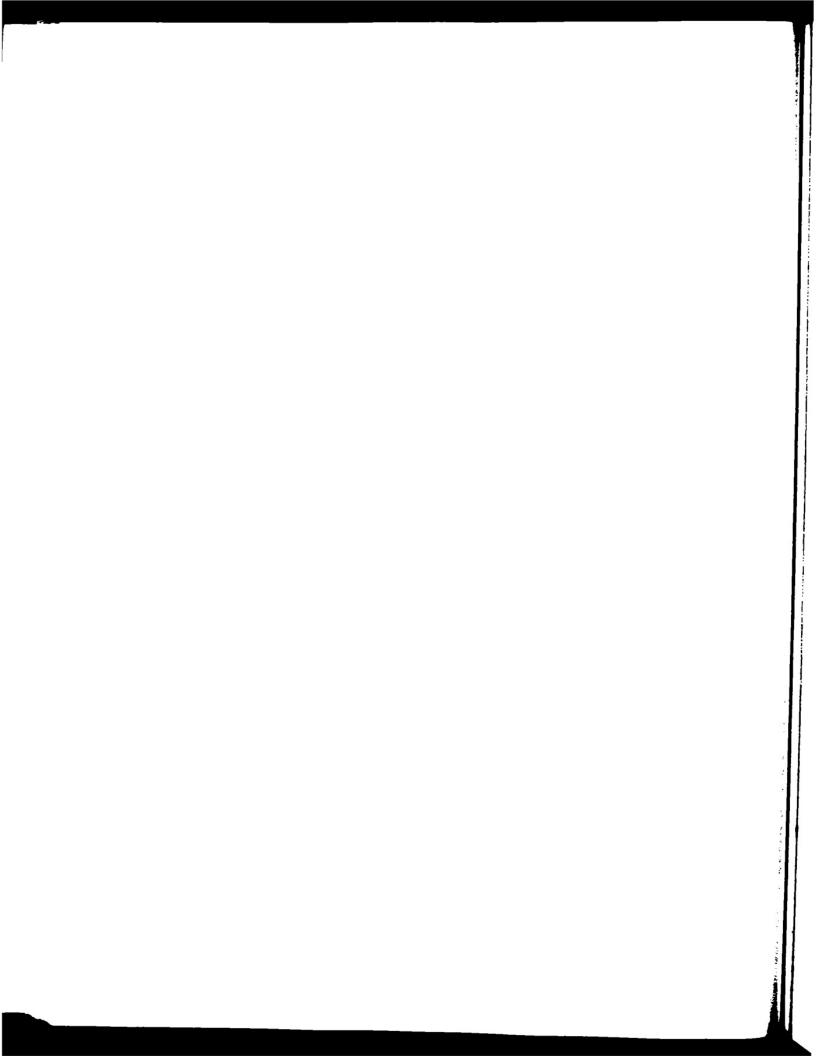
in a position favorable to steamboat navigation. 106.

seventy-five miles, had been bad, but they were reportedly worse from Point Eurnside to Knoxville, an additional distance of 105 miles. 107. To make matters worse sickness was spreading among the men. From an initial group of 500, only about 300 were fit to travel on to Knoxville. 108. Illness had necessitated Eyron's leaving men along the road as the battery traveled, and new outbreaks of sickness occurred every day.

The outlook seemed more dismal and the hardships were more difficult to beer because the battery, while traveling, could not receive mail from home. This was a particularly irksome burden for Eyron, because he had just returned from a furlough, perhaps granted under the Veteran Volunteer Act, 109. a furlough spent with Hattie in Coldwater, and he was obviously restless.

Dear Hattie I am very lonely and all on account of you. I used to go away from home and be gone even years without caring to return but now days seem like years.

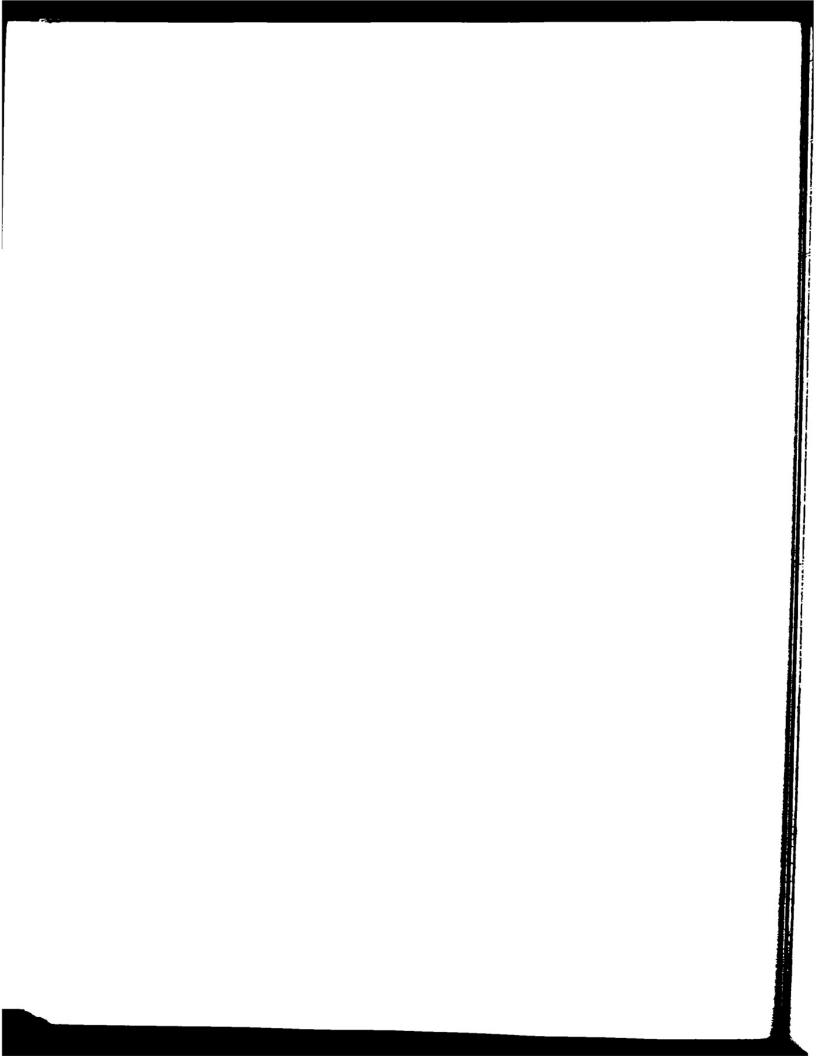
They had apparently reached some permanent agreement during this "vacation" period, perhaps a formal engagement. They wanted to gain a closer communication and so they agreed to read the Bible during the year, keeping pace with one another and completing the tack at the close of the year. This seemed to strengthen their faith in God as well as each other, and for Eattic it was almost a bargain with Divine Providence to keep Eyron safe and thus insure their future. Furthermore the hostile attitude of her family seems to have lessened, at least on the port of her sunt, who, Hattie claims, began to speak more



favorably of him. Perhaps he had proved himself an officer and a gentleman rather than a weak charactered individual exposed to the immoral temptations of camp life.

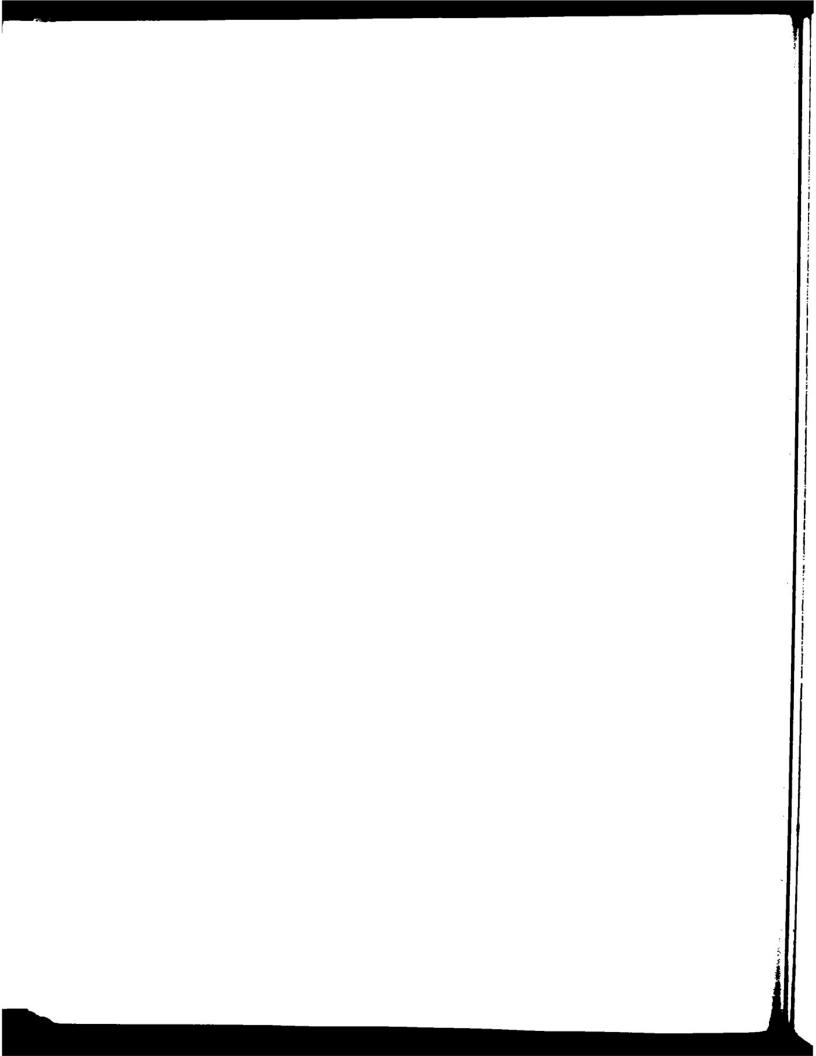
His personal problems had diminished giving him happy hopes and dreams of the future, but his worries and problems with the battery had not completely disappeared. Recruitment was still being actively pursued in northern states and one result of the Emancipation Proclamation was the creation of negro regiments. 111. Byron was scornful of such a practice saying such a thing was an insult to the brave Union soldiers. However, these regiments did create many new openings for experienced white soldiers to accept commissions. Many men shared Byron's sentiments, but for some, such commissions offered notto-be-missed opportunities A Lieutenant Holbrook, senior lieutenant in Pattery F, applied for such a commission in a heavy artillery, negro battery. 112. He was offered a major's commission, but he hesitated in accepting it, perhaps feeling some guilt in leaving the Michigan battery. Byron heard of the situation and wrote to Hattie of it saying cryptically, "Lt. Holbrook has (as I tell him) got 'nigger on the brain'."113.

Meanwhile the situation with Lieutenants Brown and Andrews had not improved as Byron had thought it would. In fact after being commissioned captain, Byron uncovered a plot instituted by the two which was designed to make Andrews captain and allow them to run the battery between them as they wished. He confided the situation to Hattie saying that Brown and Andrews had cir-



culated a petition urging Governor Blair to make Andrews captain because of a popular mandate from the men. Some of the men were new and signed the paper not knowing any better or because the scoundrels told them it had been ordered by Major Hale. Others were told Byron would not accept the captaincy and signed thinking they were indicating Andrews as their second choice. Still others who initially refused to sign, found their names had been placed on the petition for them. Andrews then forwarded the petition to Governor Blair and wrote to Byron saying he had this petition containing over ninety names, perhaps hoping to 7 bluff Byron into relinquishing the captaincy. 117

Andrews the moral of the battery no doubt improved. Yet the resolution of one difficulty seemed only to lead to new problems. Communications between the Michigan battery and the people of Coldwater were temporarily severed during the month of April. Plans were afoot to strike at the heart of the Confederacy - Atlanta. Byron and the rest of Sherman's troops were kept on the move almost constantly. Meanwhile rumors and speculations regarding the army's activities kept those at home in alternating moods of hope and despair. On April 5, Hattie wrote jubilantly that General Lee was reported captured and that Sherman expected and that Sherman expected to muster out his army within four months. "It is a perfect pandemonium downtown. Everything that is capable of making a noise seems to have gone crazy and I believe nothing ever sounded half so sweet to me although the



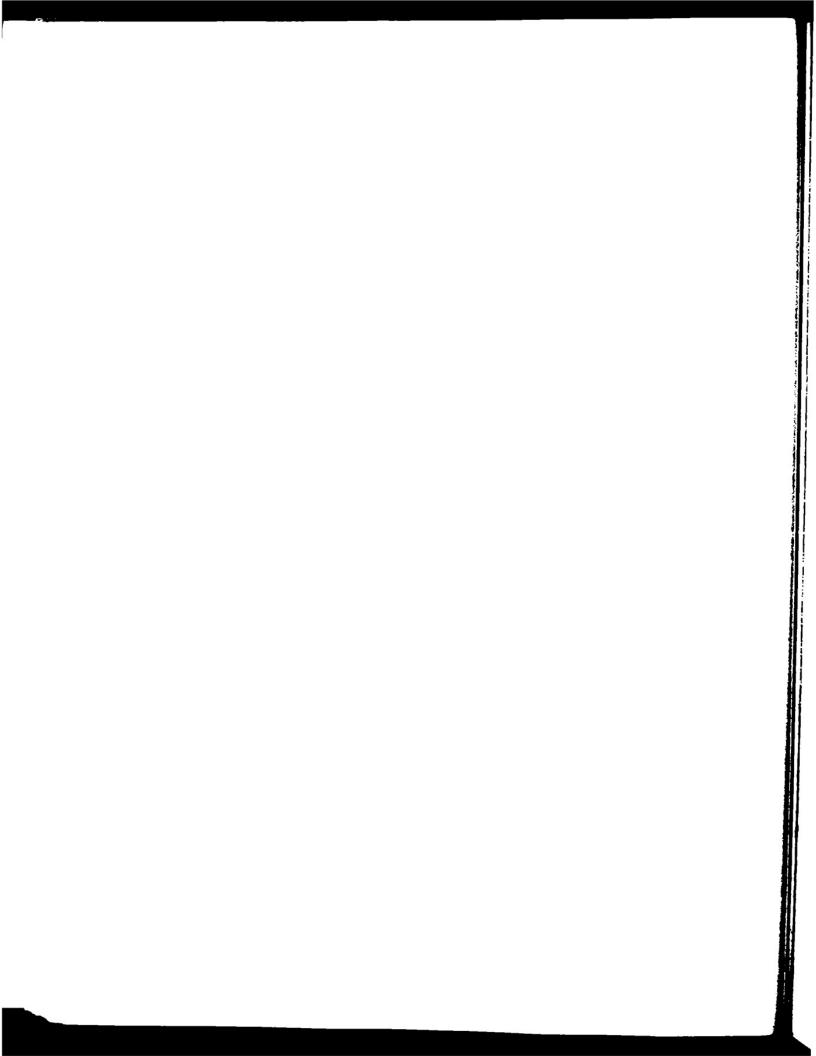
horrid gong all the dinner bells, church bells, engine whistles, fire works, snvils are in full blast yet they all say peace and that my own dear boy will soon come back to me. Byron my heart stands till even at the thought that Sherman may have had another battle and that you are not safe and if ever I prayed earnestly it is now, that all may be well with you". 118 Just a few short hours later she reflected the bitter mood of despair.

". . . it isn't Gen. Robert Lee but F.H. Lee that is captured.

We have had him once before and I don't know that it hastened the closing of the war and had it been the other one am sure it would have done. Why can't the Rebels knowing as they do the hopelessness of their cause give up without sacrificing any more". 119

Not until mid May did Byron have time to write Hattie as to his whereabouts. The troops had moved out of Red Clay, Georgie, on May 7, and were on the move almost constantly until May 21, when General Sherman allowed a two day rest for the ermy. 120 They had moved near Kingston, Georgia, meeting heavy resistance from the retreating rebel forces. The campaign was particularly hard on the artillery batteries because of the rough terrain and because to them was given the duty of dislodging rebel artillery emplacements. Skirmishes occurred at any hour of the day or night and at times became heavy, indeed.

Had just gone into camp when the order was given to move forward and meet them. Our line of battle was soon formed and off we went over hills, across creeks and through swamps until dark whilst the enemy fell back slowly. Here we bivouncked by our guns in the road till morning. The Cavalry and pickets were skirmishing all night. 121



Selecting a campsite had become little more than halting and lying down to sleep in the line of march. They slept by their guns, sometimes in fields, sometimes on the road. They were at times without tents, stoves or other "comforts", and they slept out in the open.

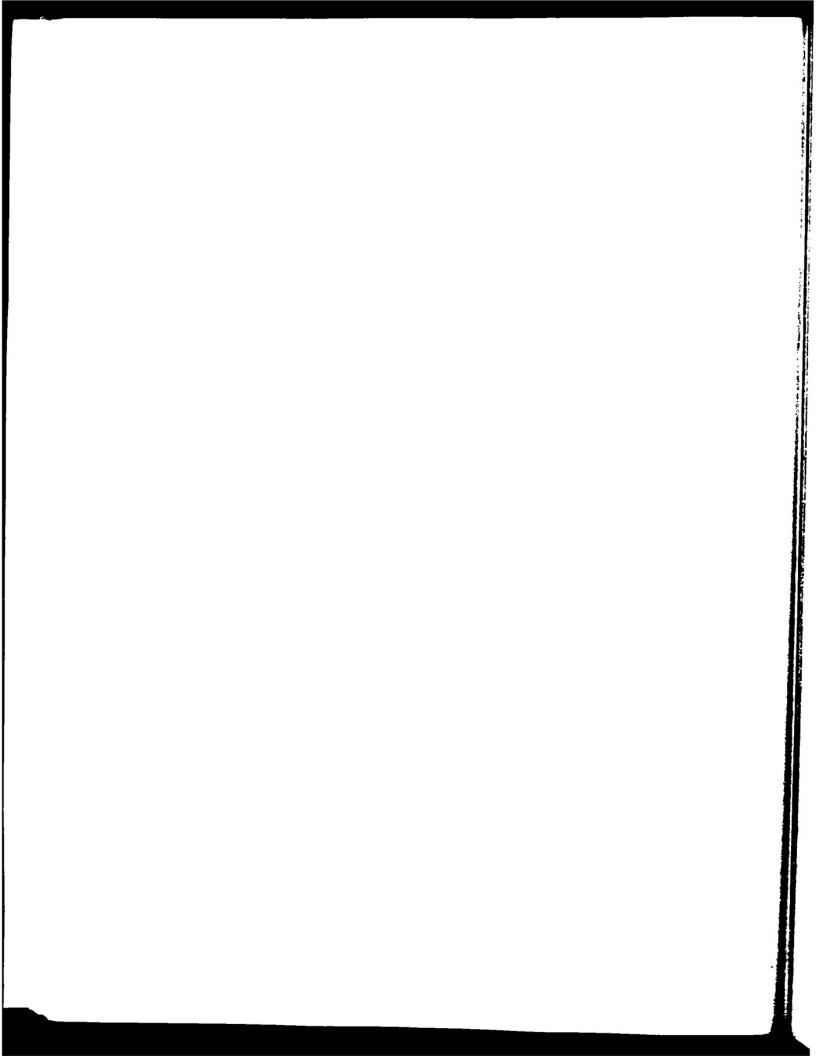
". . . and camped in a large cornfield. The hills of corn made rather a rough bed but being tired soon went to sleep but was awoke toward morning by the rain drops striking me in the face. I was too tired to get up and lay out in the storm till morning.122

Other times the enemy attacked while they were encamped for the night, but this became so commonplace that they performed their soldierly duties without entirely disturbing their own sleep.

During the night the enemy charged our lines but were repulsed after a sharp fight of half an hour. I was sleeping firmly when the rosr of musketry swoke me when I had the bugle sounded and in ten minutes my battery was ready to move or fi-ht. But they fell back before the fire of our infty, and I again laid down and went to sleep. . . there has been but one day but that we have either been in a fight or in hearing of either musketry, artillery or of both. Have got so accustomed to it that we don't care enything about it st all. In fact don't think that I could sleep soundly unless I could hear the sharp crack of musketry or the roar of Artillery.123

The pace was a tough one and the man existed on short rations, plus what they could get through foraging the country-side, a process which could not be relied upon. "For the next twenty days we are to have 1 lb, hard bread, full ration coffee

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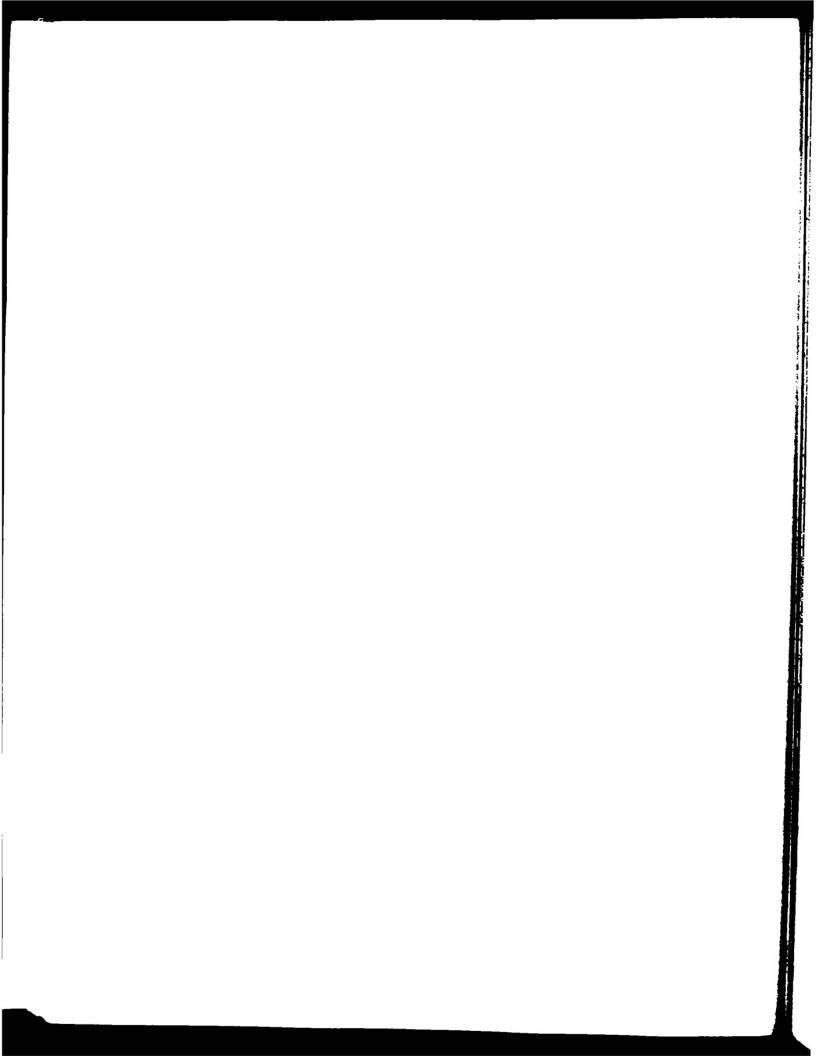


and sugar per day and pork 2 days each week. *124 Horses too were scarce and forage for these animals was scarcer still than for the men. This meant that the wounded had to lie in wait on the battlefield for the few ambulances available.

Byron wrote on several occasions of moving past the dead and wounded "of friend and foe who were lying in large numbers on all sides".125

For Byron there was an additional hardship of ill health. He had contracted an eye illness which was later diagnosed as chronic conjunctivitis and grandular lids. It was an uncomfortable condition irritated by conditions on the battlefield. There was some fear that he might become blind, which he did in later life, and he was told to avoid close work. This was nearly impossible because of the amount of paper work - dispatches, communications, etc. and the condition of his eyes grew progressively worse and more bothersome.

Meanwhile there was an interesting incident with the division commander, Brigadier General Henry M. Judah. The Army of the Ohio, consisting of the twenty-third Army Corps had been reorganized, as had most of the armies when Grant became commander-in-chief of the federal forces. He had met with General Sherman regarding the conduct of the war and the organization of the union forces. 126 One result of this meeting had been the appointment of General John Scholfield as commander of the Army of the Ohio, twenty-third Army Corps. This corps was divided into two divisions of infantry plus two batteries of artillery, the 6th (F) Michigan corrected by Byron and the



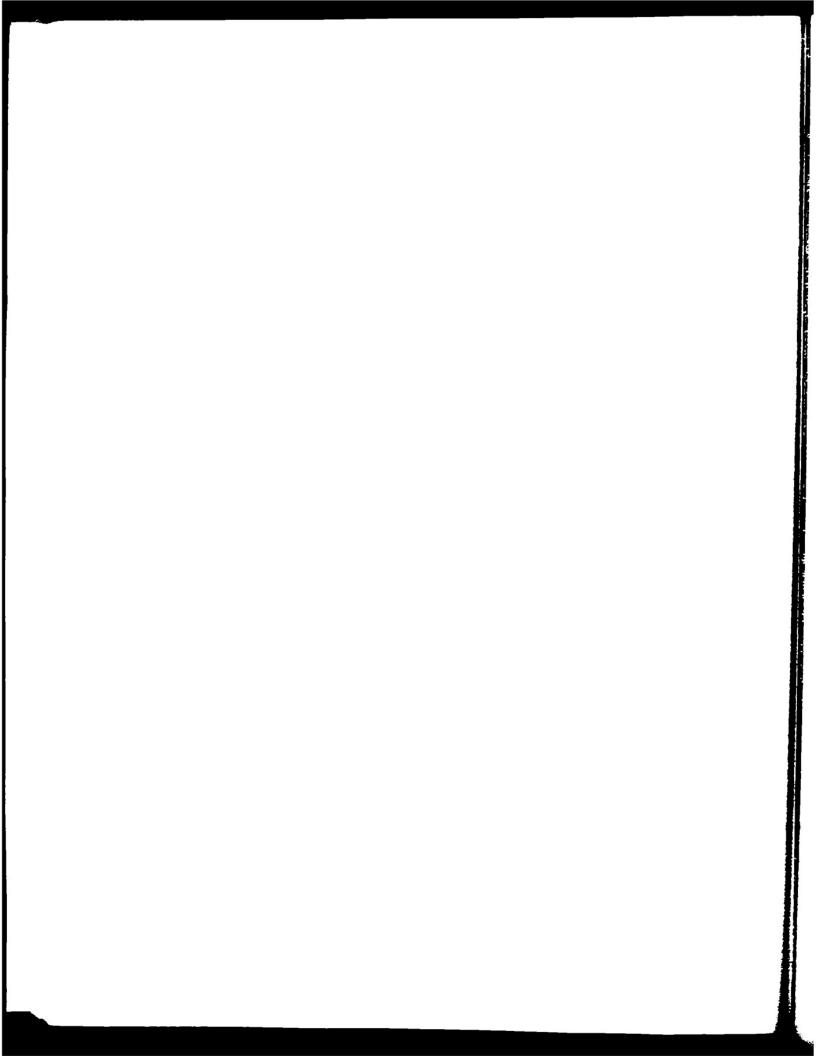
19th Ohio commanded by a Captain Shields. 127 General Judah, commissioned in both the volunteer and regular army, commanded the second division. 128

Judah had been a West Point classmate of Grant's, and had gained command of a division under General Halleck before the battle of Corinth. 129 Byron reportedly said of Judah in later life that he was often so intoxicated that he was incapable of commanding. One particular incident between Byron and Judah is reported as follows:

All the tatteries and men were in position ready for action. The Southerners were outflanking them and still no orders were given to go into action. Finally Cept. Paddock went to Gen. Judah and said 'Gen. Judah, the enemy are outflanking us. Shall we go into action?' Gen. Judah replied, 'I know my business. No one can tell me that.' The rebels succeeded in outflanking the Northern army and the result was a defeat and retreat. For this Gen. Judah was relieved of his command.

Whether he was intoxicated or not is open to doubt, yet the records do show that he lost his command because his leadership "left something to be desired". 131 He maintained his commission in the regular army, although he was mustered out of the volunteer army and continued to serve in an administrative position until his death in 1866.132

Byron is surprisingly reticent on the change of division commander, although he had written earlier to Hattie that the threat of courtmarial hung heavy over them all, 133 and he felt

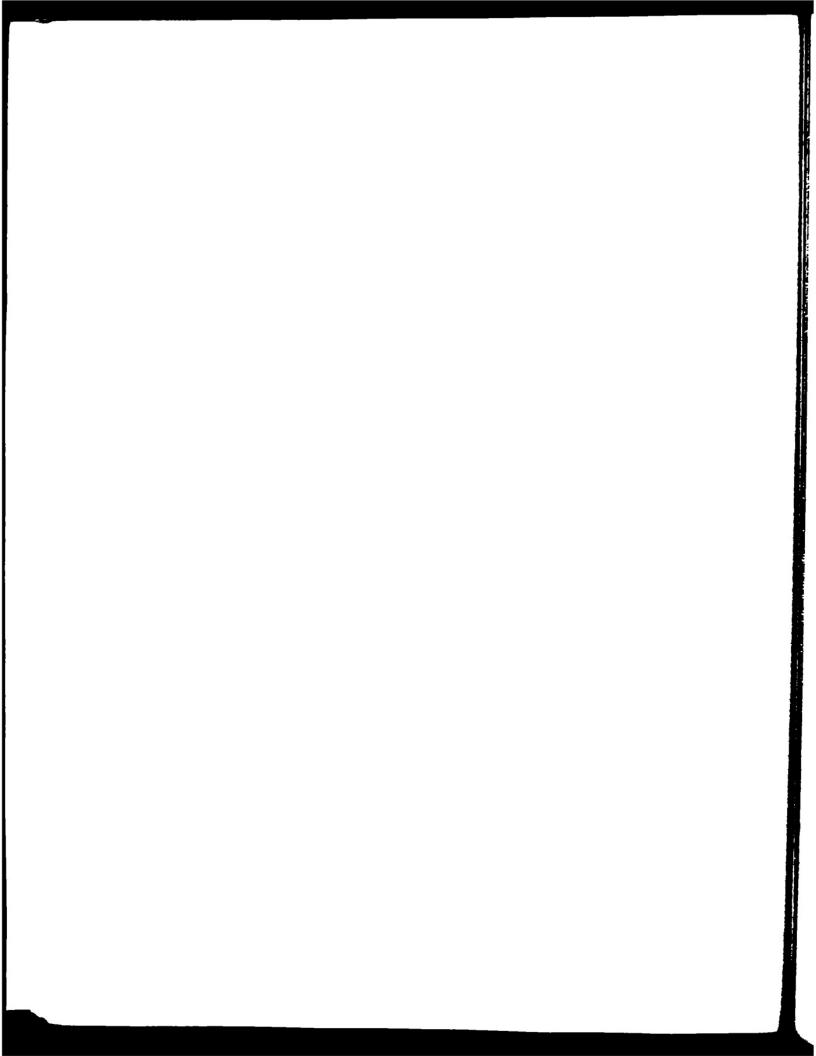


the necessity of keeping his own counsel. It is to be remembered, too, that times were hard and soldiers and officers, alike, below the top command level were concerned only with their own immediate responsibilities in a time of crisis. Byron, therefore, had less time to speculate on occurrences other than the enemy's movements than he had had in previous, less active days.

After the brief respite in mid-May, the army was on the move again through Georgia with its goal - the city of Atlanta. Atlanta was the second capital of the Confederacy, and was of great strategical importance in at least two ways. First it was at the junction of rail communication with tracks to both Chattanooga and Richmond. Secondly, as phrased by General Sherman, "Atlanta was known as the Gate-City, of the South, was full of foundries, arsenals, and machine-shops, and I knew that its capture would be the death-knell of the Southern Confederacy" 134

By June 20, when Byron was next heard from, the bettery had moved near Marietta. They had passed through Eurnt Hickory and New Hope Church slightly to the south and west of the city, and they were now approaching the Chattahoochee River. 135 Skir-mishes occurred almost daily and the mail was quite irregular both ways. The uncooperative weather, it had rained for two weeks out of the previous twenty days, had reduced the land to a morass of mud.

elmost impossible to move et all. Yesterday . . . got marching orders at 2 o'clock P.M. and moved forward in the mud and rain till 10 o'clock et night and made the unprecedented distance of 2½ miles at killing in the mean time two horses.

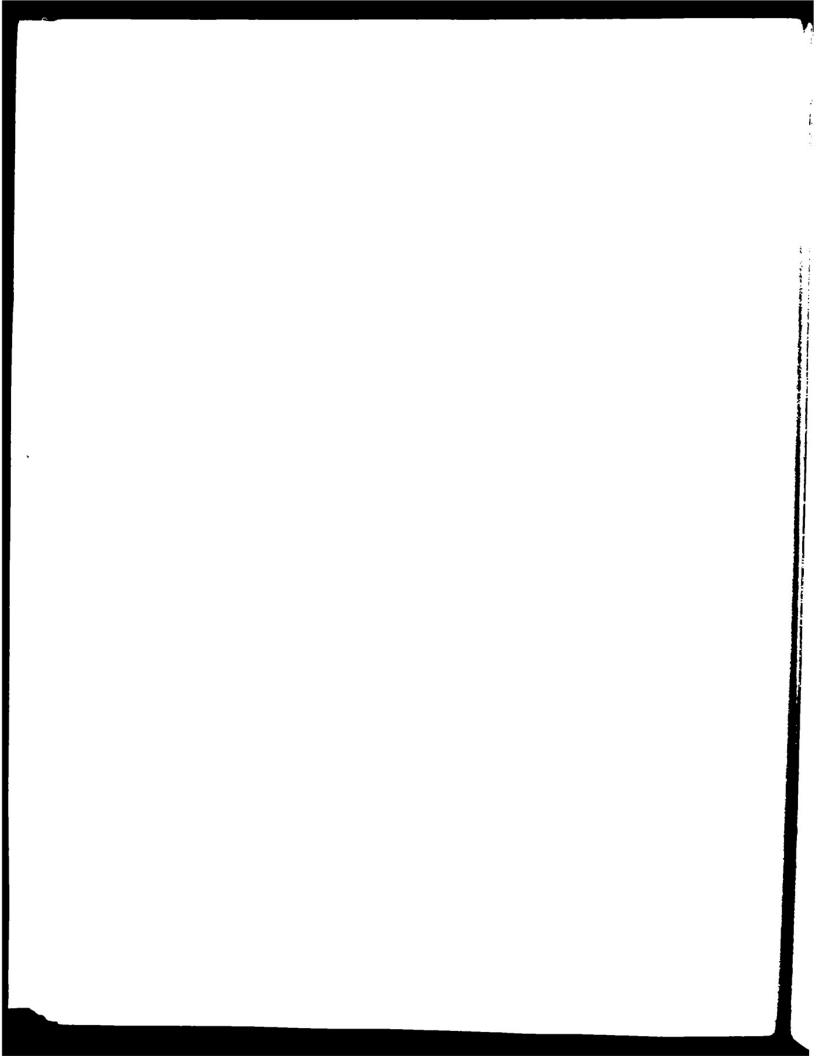


Despite the bad conditions and the tenacity of the enemy, casualties were light. As of the 13th, Byron wrote that he had had no men wounded, although he had lost several guns.

However, he felt this was more than made up for by "dismounting" several of the rebel guns taking into camp a number of deserters. Unfortunately a tragic occurrence offset this early optimism on June 25. Light skirmishing on the Dallas and Marietta road became critical when the rebels threatened to overrun the union lines. General Hascall ordered Byron's artillery to the front immediately.

To the front we went at a run and in ten minutes had one section in position but not a moment too soon for ere I could get Lt. Holbrook's section in position the enemy were driving our skirmish line back and the bullets flew thick end fast and uncomfortably close. By the time I had got all things ready the infentry were nearly all driven in and as the enemy emerged from the woods into the open country about 400 yards distant I gave the orders to load with case shot: and commence firing. Away flew the iron missiles right to the mark but still on they came nearer and nearer when I gave the order to fire connister This they stood for a few minutes when their lines began to waver and fall back to their fortifications leaving their deed and a part of the wounded on the field. 137

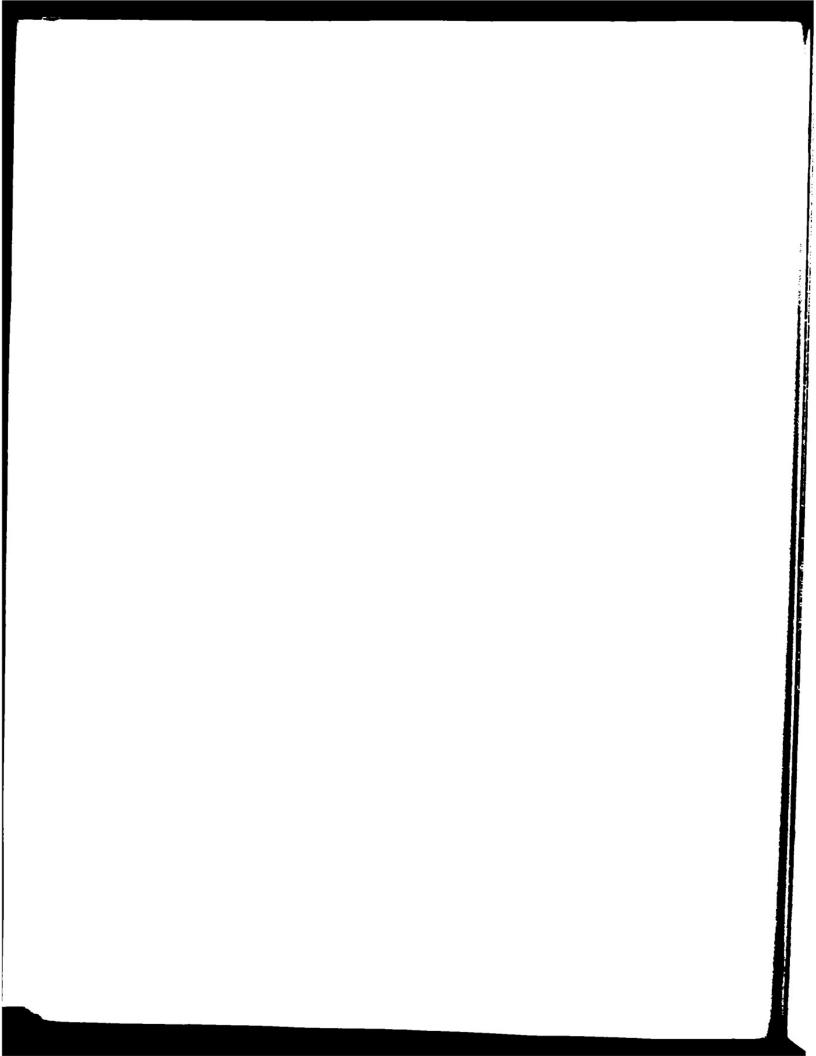
Miraculously no one in Byron's battery was killed or wounded, but the loss among the infantry was heavy; particularly so because the imminence of the enemy had forced Byron to fire on his own men. Captain Shields, commanding the other artillery



battery, had been in the same position, and had also fired on union soldiers. Consequently it was a victory with tragic overtones. 138

Between battles and shifting of positions, Byron, like the other commanders, had to worry about constantly replanishing a continually low amount of food supplies. In unfriendly country this was not an easy task. However, people being people, there sometimes emerged a note of humor out of all the bitterness. Such was the case when Byron led a foraging party on the 19th. At this time they were deep in the heart of the Confederacy being only twelve miles from the Chattahoochec River and 18 from the city, itself. Under such conditions additional supplies were taken, not donated.

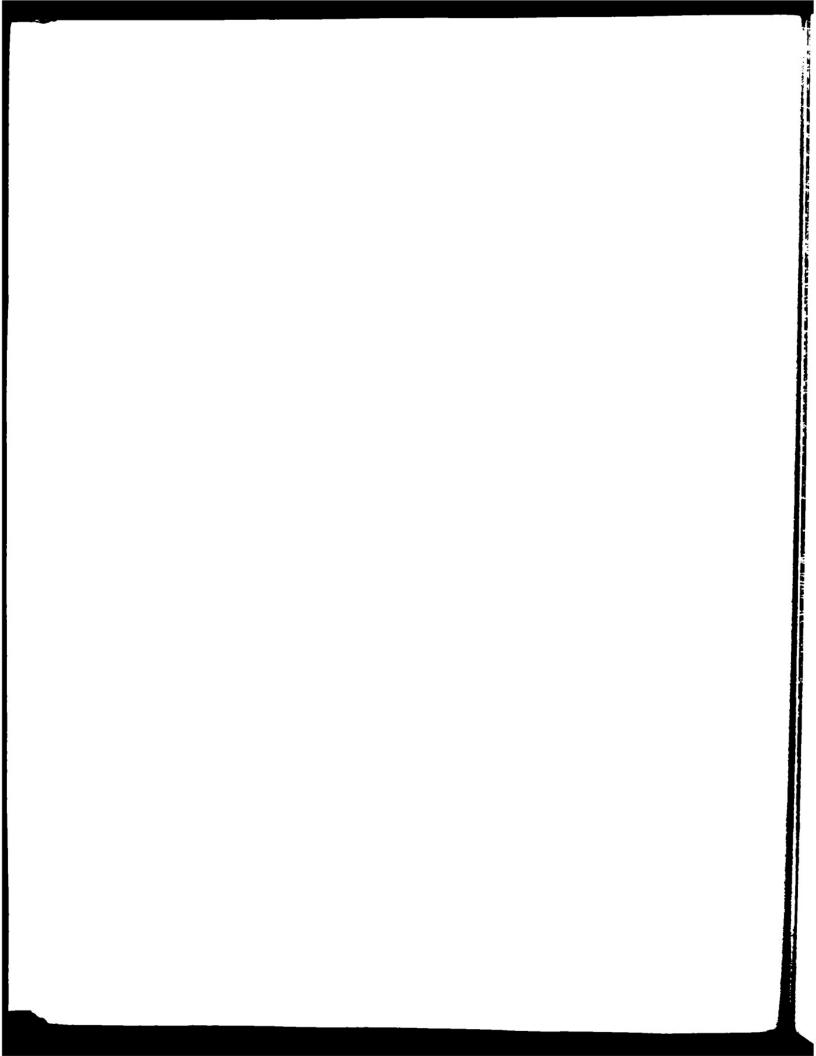
After going some two miles I come to a Plantation and found any number of women & children but only one man - the others hed all gone towar. I went in & ssked them if they had any corn. One woman said they had a little in a corn crib. So I sent some men to get it. I thon soid that I thought they had more and that if they would tell me where it was I would not search the house. So the old lady took me into a room and under one ced they had some 20 bushels - up stairs some 30 more and in other places I found some. I took all but 20 bushels - gave them a receipt for it and a safe guard for her property to secure it against soldiers which so pleased the whole family that they went to work and got me up quite e good dinner to which I did justice, gave my thanks and off I started for camp. 139



The next obstacle for the union forces was the Chattahoochce River. On July 9, Schofield began sending his troops across under the protection of the 6th Michigan. The bignest problem was rebel bettery firmly implented on the opposite bank shelling the boatload of Yankees. It was Byron's job to knock out this rebel force and send them packing. Heading for the river bank General Schofield remarked to Byron that the 6th Michigan Battery was in for "a warm time of it". 140 But as it turned out their shots were so accurate that the rebels fled without firing a shot at the union guns, which were then bolstered by the one secesh cannon left behind.

The next day was spent resting and the battery did not move on to a new position. Such days, though few and far between, were spent in catching up on sleep, personal correspondence, and other personal occupations by most of the men. For Byron, however, there was always a pile of paper work to be attended to. Yet the atmosphere was one of relief and relaxation. Byron, himself, unwittingly added to the lighter atmosphere through an incident with a wandering pig. He was sitting by himself, under a tree, at his company desk. One of the menrequested that he be allowed to shoot a "secesh pig" that he had found and Byron agreed. Shortly came the sound of a gun and the squeal of the pig.

. . . the next thing I was aware of was that Mr. Pig made a charge on us and



striking me on the breast knocked me over backward and falling on me he began to jump and squeal to et away and I kicked and struggled and was equally enxious that he should leave but unfortunately his nose had become entangled in my clothing and it was several minutes ere we dissolved partnership. The pig although wounded came out first best besides getting my clothing somewhat bloody and dusty. The boys all laughed heartily and I joined in the chorus although I would have preferred to had Mr. Pig waited until I got well before making a charge on ma. . . . General Sherman is noted for making flank movements but the Secesh hogs make their charges directly in the face of the enemy. I shall hereafter through fortifications around my writing desk, 141

Matching his flash of humor, Hattie replied to Byron's incident with the pig.

'A laughable incident' certainly' A Captain been beaten in fair fight with a pig. Haven't your men lost confidence in your fighting qualities. If those pigs fight so well why not organize an army of them to take Atlenta and not wait for Gan. Sherman to make a flank movement.

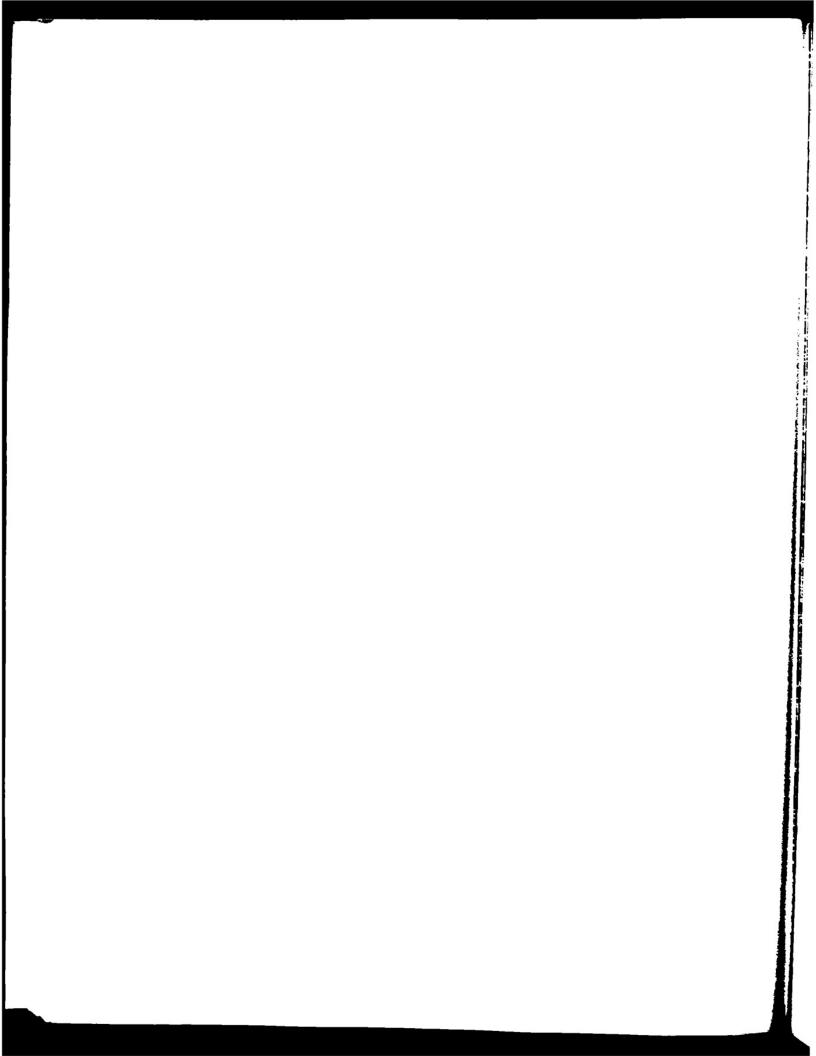
By mid-July they were across the Chattahoochee and moving on the railroad in front of Atlanta. By July 19, after some heavy fighting they took the town of Decatur and moved 2½ miles nearer Atlanta. 143 On July 22, the rebels holding a superior ridge position, drove the federal forces back beyond Decatur, captured several batteries, and killed Major General McPnerson. 144 And so it went - the rebels fiercely defending Atlanta and the Yankees slowly and inevitably pushing forward. Losses of men

The statement about formy the funt shot uto of the land of sees not officer in the or and diens but is an months in the type of change of world to an "honor" to be the final battery maked to shall a shall a

and equipment were costly, but any setbacks that occurred could only be temporary. By July 23, the rebels were driven back into the city and a steady shalling from the union forces began. This was the beginning of the end. "Rec'd. orders to fire one shot every 15 minutes into the city during the day, this I did with good efect". 145 To Byron and his battery went the honor of firing the first shots on Atlanta. 146

During the hectic summer of 1864, poor communication created a tense atmosphere for familes at home as they waited, sometimes in vain, for news of the army's activities. For Hattie these months were doubly difficult. Her older brother, Bradley, was with his battery and in poor health. From Byron she received scant reports and was never sure her own letters reached him. She wryly described herself on several occasions as corresponding with the Dead Letter Office. To make matters worse many other officers came home on leaves. Andrews, after lounging around Coldwater, accepted a commission with a negro regiment. Holbrook having spent many of recent wieks malingering in the hospital, 147 suddenly took off for home claiming his mother was gravely ill. 148 Another officer, Corporal Monroe, was killed by enemy shell while standing right next to Byron.

I had just given him directions in regard to cutting some timber to build a fort when a shell struck him on the head tearing the whole top off and he fell dead at my feet. It was a horrid sight and made me faint and sick for a moment but I saw that I must control my feelings



for it had created a feeling of dread and fear for the time among my men and even the officers . . . Poor Monroe - he was a gentleman and more he was a Christian and I trust prepared to die. 149

Byron was in ill health, short-handed, and almost constantly under fire. Knowing this, it was indeed hard for Hattie to carry on her normal routine of living, and perhaps this explains her surge of religious fervor.

I promised you I would read my Bible through. . . I am ashemed that I have never done so before. We profess to believe its contents and I am sure we ought to understand it that we may be guided by them. . . I am sure I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Providence that has kept you smid so many dangers and if I cannot do so little how can I expect that He will care for my darling. . . I fear my life has been a very careless, thoughtless kind of a one. 150

Her situation was particularly frustrating knowing that Byron's eyes were getting worse. She wrote him of various home remedies and of rumors of other people suffering the same affliction who had gone blind. Every letter was a plea to apply for sick leave. For his part he staunchly maintained he could not leave his battery at such a critical time, particularly with the shortage of capable officers. He visited the surgeons occasionally and was told that a film had formed which would eventually require an operation, but for the time being he was told to continue to avoid close work. Conditions on the road were dirty and dusty to say the least, and Byron continued to be swamped with paper work. Consequently, on August 26, he was

Sternion's forces were at this time - Colors '64ver occurre, still in elegia and did not set out for Savanah tell Movember 15. SLJ

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given thirty days sick leave on the surgeons' orders and sent to Datroit for treatment. 151 Writing from Detroit on September 1, he explained the sudden turn of events to Hattie only a short distance away in Coldwater.

I left the army lest Friday night at the urgent request of several surgeons who are friends of mine and feared that I would lose my eyesight but Dr. Green . . . thinks it will take 60 days to perfect a cure. . . I must now obey my physician or go blind. 152

As it turned out he remained North until early October, the latter part of which he spent in Coldwater. The war in the south progressed beyond Atlanta, the final capture of which Byron had missed, and Sherman's forces proceeded into the Carolinas. Communication was still bad and it took Byron quite some time to rejoin his battery.

Con October 7, he left Coldwater on his way to Louisville, Kentucky. 153 He stopped in Indianapolis on the 8th and reached Louisville the next night. 154 He was able to make connections in this early part of the journey and finally reached Knoxville on the 13th. 155 Here he remained for a visit with Colonel Hale until the 19th. 156 He stayed in very comfortable, private lodgings, and met a number of other officers trying in vain to make their way back to the front. One of those he met was Major General Schofield who had been home on leave of absence, and was also in the dark as to where his forces were. 157 Another

. . . . who turned up in Knoxville for a few days was Lieutenant Holbrook denying that he was aware of the major's commission being
offered him. 158 Byron had been somewhat sympathetic with Holbrook's reluctance to face the enemy, but this time he was determined to put his foot down. "Don't know whether he will go to
the bettery or not if not then I shall apply to the 'powers
that be' and have him ordered back. He must stay with the
bettery so long as he is a member of it and I its captain. 159

By October 24th communications were reported open and he left Chattanooga for his battery which he had heard was in Kindston. He rode to Dalton, but the track on to Tilton was torn up and he was forced towalk the twelve miles to Tilton. Here he made connections to Kingston. Arriving in Kingston on October 25, with blistered feet, he learned the battery had moved on. He spent a comfortable night in a private home. next day he rode by train along the Etowah River to Rome and stayed the night. Then on the morning of the 28th he had walked sixteen miles out of Rome when he came upon General Sherman, who told him the battery had left Cedar Bluffs the day before for Chattanooga. Decidedly depressed he retraced his steps back to Chattenooga which he had left about one week past, and which he returned to on November 1st. He went into camp here for several days awaiting new orders. In the interim he had been made Chief of Artillery, and Schofield told him to recquip his battery as they were soon to move out fed Schofield

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after som in girm her with for about a most to tarker , wenter A at Chatterioopa a October 30. Or now in the Transfer is a and to state for and stated for was delen on to have the nattery go will him again - and the Lattery wint , west 1. in. pos sub come for the fold. On the 6th me cotes stay on a paperage the zone on only the place much one of the title of coffee was placed a the care (have, and was of to the sine wiene to reg on the 1015 at dan Paided regard to De l'é au f que mais le receiver orden to que to Yours of the Borry and will be the white or in or the of this France present of the were those desprises and Trains to reflace or perhapse to strangether the existing father - Feet which had jamiced and their Forest are his Consider agrecació acrose els iver fra tes tesen a late sitain The banks . Let up can b.

wanted the 6th Michigan with him. 160 With this surge of renewed responsibilities, the happiness of his vacation quickly faded, and the infection in his eyes returned. He was discouraged and somewhat disappointed, as both he and Eattie had surmised that

Again continuous rain and seas of mud added to the discouraging atmosphere. Also, the amount of paper work was heavy and preparations had to be made for the arrival of the paymaster. In the midst of these frantic preparations came Election Day, in which Byron opened polls for the men. In a brief diary entry he recorded the results as Lincoln fifty votes, McClellan twenty-three. 161 Civilian affairs seemed for removed from army life.

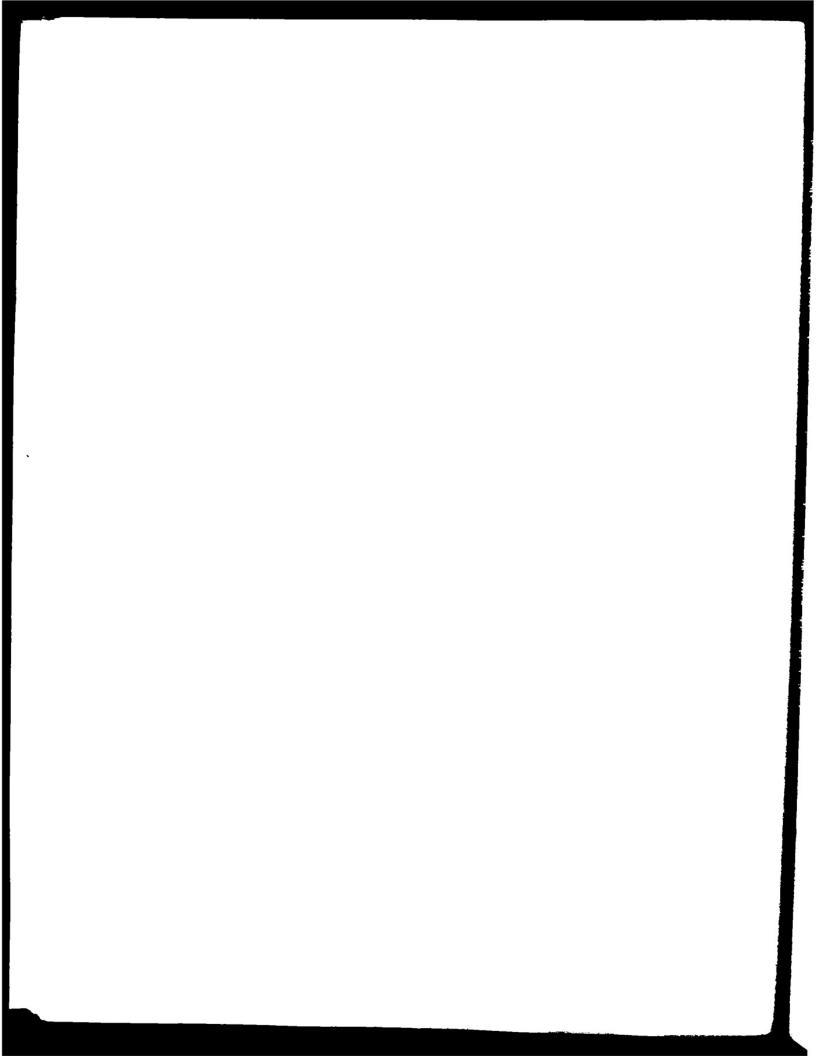
with the fell of Atlenta, his battery would remain relatively

inactive until his muster out date in early January. But soon

they were on the move to the front again. Thof to find the

Much of November was spent in gathering supplies and - affect that replenishing the ranks of the battery. By November 26, they prepared to move out towards the Carolinas and Byron realized that he might have to stay in the service beyond his expiration date, a circumstance which, though a duty, did not please him. The weather was cold and rainy but there was little contact with the enemy. Despite the constant movement and bed weather, food was more plentiful and he writes of having honey, milk, butter, chickens, and turkeys.

One close call occurred on December 2, when they were forced to march fifty-six miles in thirty-six hours to avoid



recorded - 53 -

an enemy force. The rest of the army had been routed in a heavy battle at Franklin and had been forced back to Nashville. To avoid capture Pyron's men out scouting with General Cooper were forced to flee in rapid march. They made it safely back to Nashville by December 9, having covered a distance of over 200 miles. 162 Still, hard work lay shead.

I am tired and almost worn out but there is no rest for me. I must now draw a new bottery and be ready for the field. Besides being Chief of Artillery of the Division I have to take charge of two other batteries. I have now over thirty official communications to answer and still they come. 103

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On December 15, a fierce battle ensued with the rebel forces which had moved into positions on the outskirts of Nashville. 164 Although the enemy were finally driven back, there was great loss of men and equipment, which was heavier on the union side because they fought in the open, charging the enemy's earthworks. This was the last battle of 1864, the crisis year, and December of 1864 alid into January and February of 1865 without marked change. This should have been a time of relief for Eyron as his enlistment was scheduled to end on January 9. However, he had met the Chief Mustering Officer on December 13, at General Schofield's headquarters, and was informed that his three year term in service dated from his commission as captain. 165 "If that be the case Uncle Sam can hold me till September 1, 1866. But I will not stay so long. I am to not to get out if possible in June next". 166 Consequently

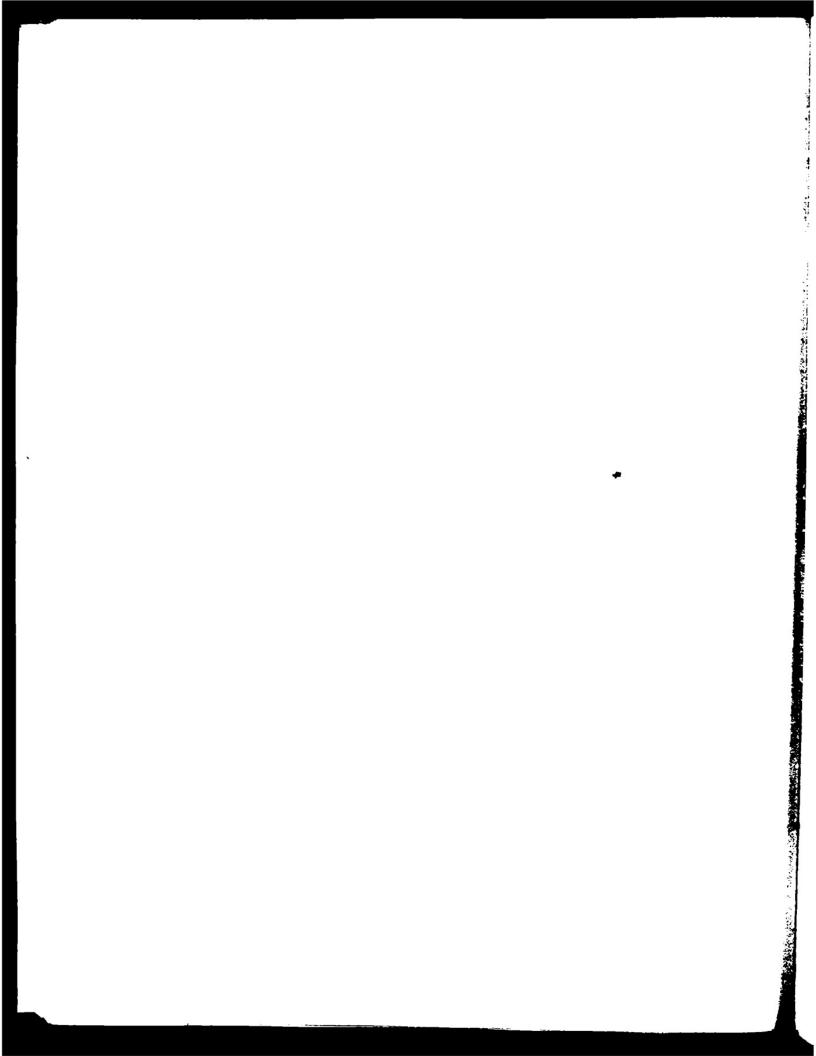
The year 1864 hardly auded make no and toth in dispair and uncertainty with no and of the was in sight." The Confederate army of Tennessee was electrospol; Savannah had laden, here was effectively unmobilized and just hanging an at Petersburg.... As Bruce Cattern wrote in the Cemerica Herbago "The Curl Dan" pa 5 48. "So 1964 came to an and, and as it did the approaching and of the was visible for all to see."

the year of 1861; ended much as it had begun in despair and uncertainty, with no end to the war in sight."

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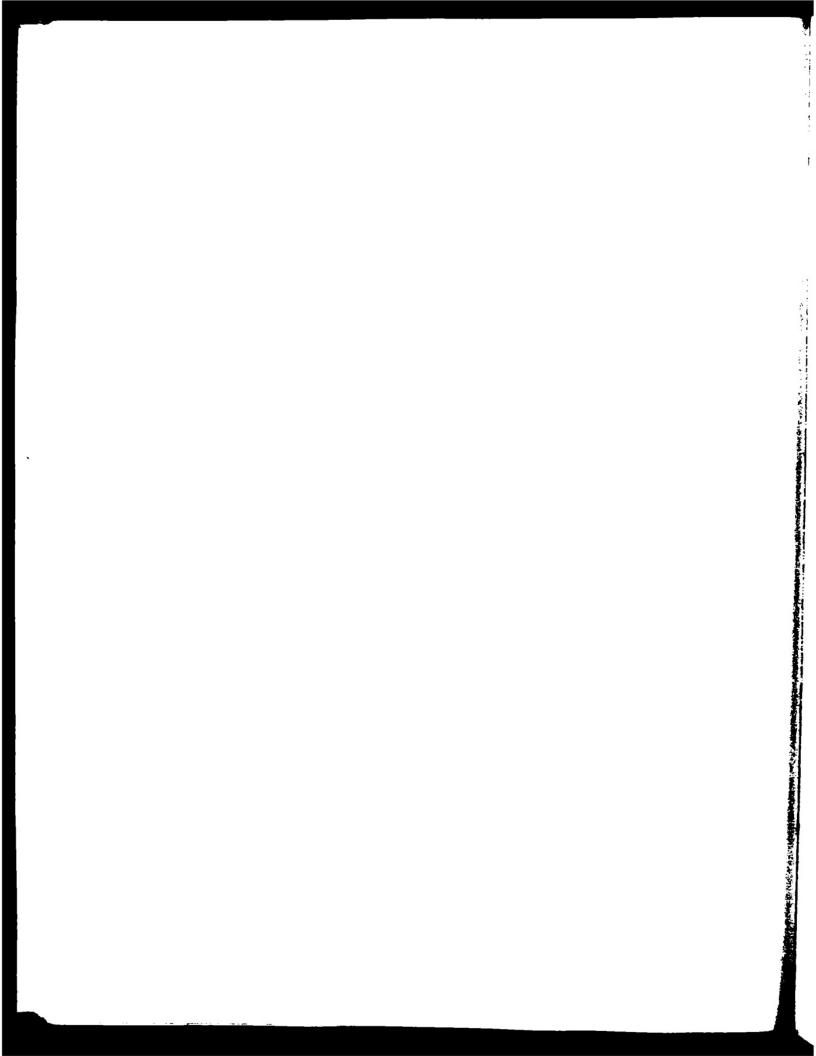
no end is war in sight.

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Footnotes - Chapter V

- 103. Correspondence, July 28, 1862.
- 104. He was commissioned captain of the battery on December 19, 1863.
- 105. Correspondence, February 7, 1864.
- 106. Ibid ...
- 107. Ibid., February 7, 1864.
- 108. ibid.
- 109. Ibid.
- 110. Steele, Matthew F., American Campaigns, Vol. I.
- 111. Correspondence, February 14, 1864.
- 112. Catton, Bruce, This Hallowed Ground, p.223.
- 113. Correspondence, Merch 12, 1864/
- 114. Icid.
- 115. Correspondence, Merch 12, 1864.
- 116. Ibid.
- 117. Correspondence, March 31, 1864.
- 118. see appendix.
- 119. Correspondence, April 5, 1864.
- 120. Ibid.
- Correspondence, May 21, 1864.
- 122. Told.
- 123. Ibid.
- 124. Itid.



Footnotes - Chapter V (cont.)

- 125. Correspondence, May 21, 1864.
- 126. Ibid.
- 127. Cp. Cit., Catton, p.434.
- 128. orrespondence, May 21, 1864.
- 129. Catton, Bruce, letter 10/22/68.
- 130. Williams, Kenneth P., Lincoln Finds A General, p.410.
- 131. Peddock, Edna Littlefield (editor), Record of First Michigan Light Artillery in the Civil War, p.4.
- 132. Catton, Burce, letter 10/22/68.
- 133. Ibid.
- 134. Correspondence, March 22, 1863.
- 135. Steele, p.537.
- 136. Correspondence, June 20, 1864.
- 137. Ibid.
- 133. Ibid., June 25, 1864.
- 139. Ibid . .
- 140. Ibid., June 20, 1864.
- 141. Ibid., July 9, 1864.
- 142. Itid.
- 143. Ibid., July 24, 1864.
- 144. "Disry", July 22, 1864.
- 145. Ibid., July 23, 1864.
- 146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., editor's note.

148. Correspondence, July 9, 1864.

149. Ibid., August 10, 1864.

150. Ibid.

151. Correspondence, August 28, 1864.

152. see appendix

153. Correspondence, September 1, 1864.

15h."Disry", October 25, 1864.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Itid.

158. Correspondence, October 13, 1864.

159. Ibid , October 18, 1864.

163. Ibid., December 9, 1864.

164. vorrespondence.

165."Disry", December 15, 1864.

156. Correspondence, December 14, 1864.

167. Ibid.

Scholad expanently was made on Movember 3 and had nothing to do will Sterman. S.L.

Ne fero to the diary for Morander 3 and observably does not refer to events in 65. SL.

Chapter VI 1865

The year, 1865, found Byron still in Nashville and still unsure of how much longer he would be a soldier. It was apparent that he could not make arrangements for the planned January 9 mustering out, even had it been allowed. Furthermore, it was also apparent that Sherman's Southern campaign was not complete, and Major General Schofield told Byron that when they went back into battle he wanted the 6th Michigan with him. 167

Many of the men in the battery were mustered out and replacements for these men as well as of equipment had to be arranged before the battery could see service again. There was some confusion regarding this transition period as an order had gone out changing many artitlery batteries to infantry.

Byron was against this and apparently succeeded in having his battery exempted from this order. 168 (see to I am)

There was a shortage of officers for the battery, as both Holtrook and Andrews had succumbed to "nigger on the brain". 169

Byron had to fill such vacancies by making recommendations for commissions in writing to Governor Blair of Michigan.

On January 19, the transfer of the battery was completed and they were loaded on cars at the Nashville depot to depart for Loui ville. and supplies. 170 Leaving Louisville they traveled

for February 3. Here is no drang entry for that date, 5.1.

10 Nichmyth.

by steamer was through Ohio and Virginia. The battery would by steamer to Concurrate and then by Frame to Washington whose it stayed at Camp Stevernan which was in the area of anocostia. St.

The bottery handless by shop to Mountand Cosy N.C. and the by cour in resolver. On the day notes from was no "bad" weather but as the deary notes they naw with the would come some found of thatterns. When got such and the terms suffered much. Deary February 22, also to 23 nd. Tooksoles, 176 & 177, are muscless, 177 should rate for the charge for February 22 and 23, 178 should refer to Fibruary 26,

to (moments and by ham (cars) to Washington

by steamer through Ohio and Virginia, reaching Washington on February 2. 171 They remained at Camp Stoneman through the early part of February, there receiving four months pay through December, 1864. Byron drew a complete new battery with horses and equipment, and by February 14, was ready for the field again. 173 He was now attached to the Provisional Corps - Department of North Carolina, 1st Division, 3rd Brigade; 174 And February the term, provisional, was later dropped.

Back in Coldwater, Hattie had to content herself with occasional word from Byron. Since he had no set address, she could not write him again until he joined Sherman's forces in March. However, aside from missing him and worrying about his eyes, her home life seems to have become a bit happier. She wrote in January that her aunt had told visitors what a wonderful boy he was, and even though she had been telling a different story just a short while ago, to the same people, "... queer as it seems I rather like the change for the better and wonder if it isn't all a dream". 175

Newbern on February 26.175 Bad weather en route injured and killed some of the horses, and the man had suffered from the severe cold. At Newbern the weather was warm and pleasant, and Byron described the city as "... pretty but unhealthy.... Here are colonics of Negroes and wherever you may turn a host of Niggars stands staring you in the face. The surrounding country is low and sandy soil Yellow fever is a prevailing disease". 178 Despite this criticism, they were at first in-

The diary March 21. "We are marching to his [Steuran's] relief"... not to return him. SL

inactive and food was plentiful.

Skirmishing began on March 7, and lasted through the next few days. By March 10, the battery had moved to British Cross Roads, and a heavy battle was fought.

Yesterday the 10th as we were about to est our dinner the alarm was given that the enemy were advancing in heavy force on our left flank and in a few minutes they were on our pickets who retreated back to the main line. I gave the order to harness and in a few minutes went down the road on the run and had got into battery in an open field in front of a heavily timbered swamp when the rebels came pouring out into the clearing like a swarm of bees and then a fierce battle began lasting from 12 noon till 420'clock P.M. 179

17a refer Fix 26

The battle was fought largely in the open on the part of the union forces, and, although the enemy was driven back, there were severe losses. Byron's battery lost one man and three horses, with two men and three horses wounded. 180

There were no further engagements with the enemy until

the bettery received orders to relieve General Sherman in the

vicinity of Goldsboro. They drove the Rebel Cavalry before

them and were in hearing of heavy fighting when they were suddenly

ordered to make camp.

Man proposes but Genl. Sherman disposes of this army according to his own ideas of military tactics. When I last wrote you at Goldsboro we expected to have marched the next day to the assistance of Sherman; but lo and behold the army halted and threw up fortifications. On the second day thereafter (this 24th) the general himself and staff arrived and reviewed our corps and on the 25th the whole army came in and went into camp. 181

Franchis are confused. The not a man soler is franch in the change of the not a man soler is

18. ruer is riard. Compression which Cape T of Feet Turner

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The battery saw no further action, and on April 7, received the glad news of the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee, 182.

> The dispetch was read and an order issued that any man found on the streets after half past four P.M. sober would be arrested. I pride myself on strictly obeying orders but failed to do so that time although most every person promptly obeyed and got intoxicated as soon as possible. Last evening drunken officers on horseback were riding into the barroom of the Geston Hotel to drink and out again into the streets making night hideous with their orgies. It may be a proper way of celebrating great events but I have my doubts of it. 183

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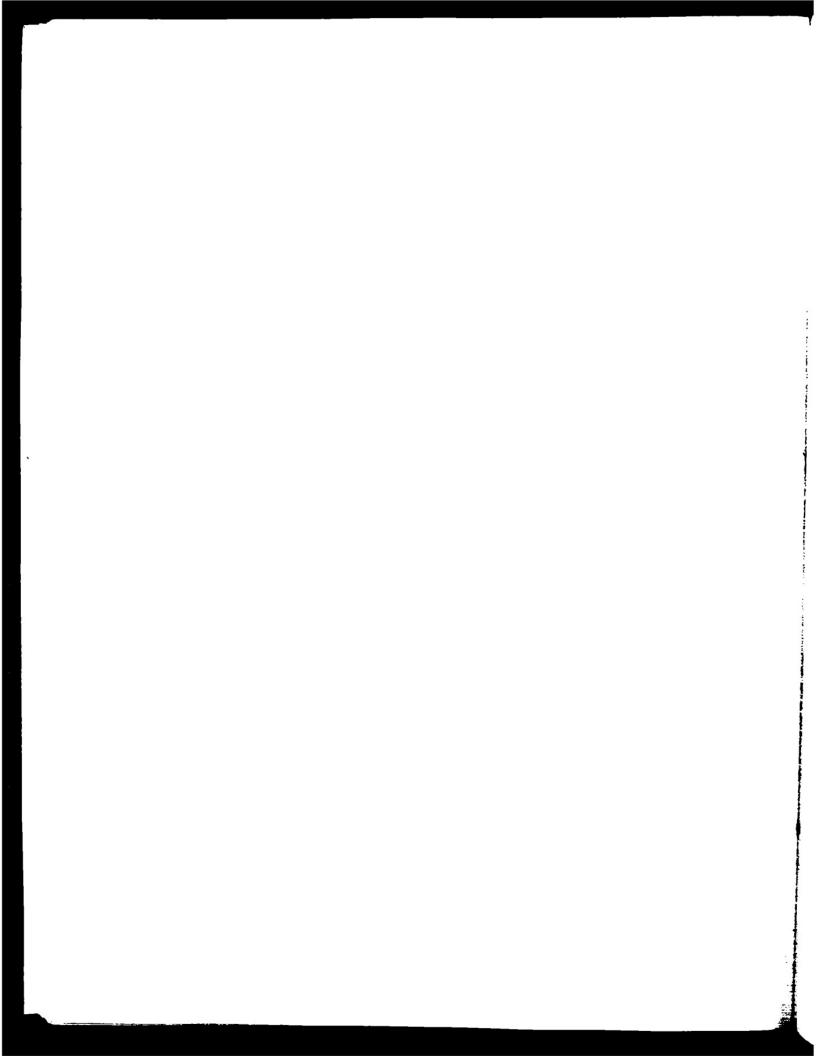
The best of the Capital

0 (24.

With the appearent end to the war, Byron spent most of May settling his accounts and preparing to muster out.

Communications were, as usual, poor, and Byron found this handicap in preparing to be ready to leave the service as soon as the opportunity grose. Even army communications were irregular. Both Hattie and Byron became impatient with the mails, Byron saying mail was the least the hard working soldiers deserved, and Hattie impatient for word of his safety and impending resignation.

Many soldiers from Coldwater were being mustered out throughout the early spring, including Hattie's oler brother, Bradley. She was glad eneough to have Bradley home, particularly as he was in ill health, and she wrote on March 12, of nursing him through the night while her thoughts strayed "to my far off soldier boy and wonder if he is sick who is sitting with him this long night". 184

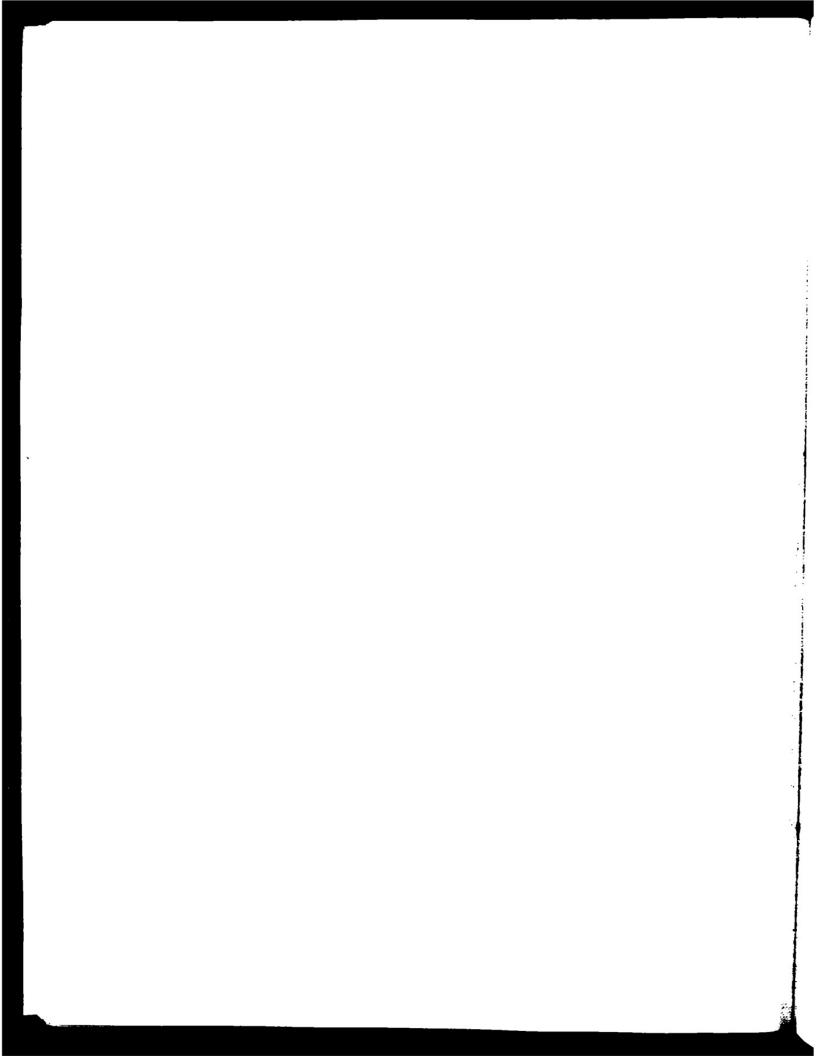


The long night was made conditionably shorter and cheorier by the outbreak of a fire on the main street of Coldwater.

The fire was on the north side of main street below Hale & Chendlers took all the homes and buildings to the corner. The old Billiard saloon and I don't think there is a single regret am sure I am glad of it and wooldn't care if the other should meet with like fate. We need a fire now and then to rid us of these nuisances. 105

Similar exciting events plus the move back into town, worked to make 1865, a generally happier year for Hattie. There seemed to be a common feeling among those at home that the war would end before too long, and she waited anxio sly, expecting Byron to arrive almost any day. Furthermore her family's attitude towards Byron had done a complete about face, and she could allow herself to daydreem of their future together.

Mesnwhile a draft had been held in the Coldwater area and ". . . out of thirty drafted it is reported that only seven passed". 186 Some of those drafted furnished substitutes, and such was the case with Jay Crippen, a notorious cousin of Hattie's. Jay's father had left him a farm and money which he had aquandered, mostly on drink. His brother, James, a more sober sort, had apparently tried to elp Jay return to the straight and narrow, including providing him with a substitute, but all of this was greatly resented. He had threatened James, who then took care to stay at home, but Jay pt hold of a revolver



and came after James with the intention of killing him. Jay's wife, Esther, knowing of her husband's intention sent someone to warn James. James called in law officers who arrested Jay but not without a struggle.

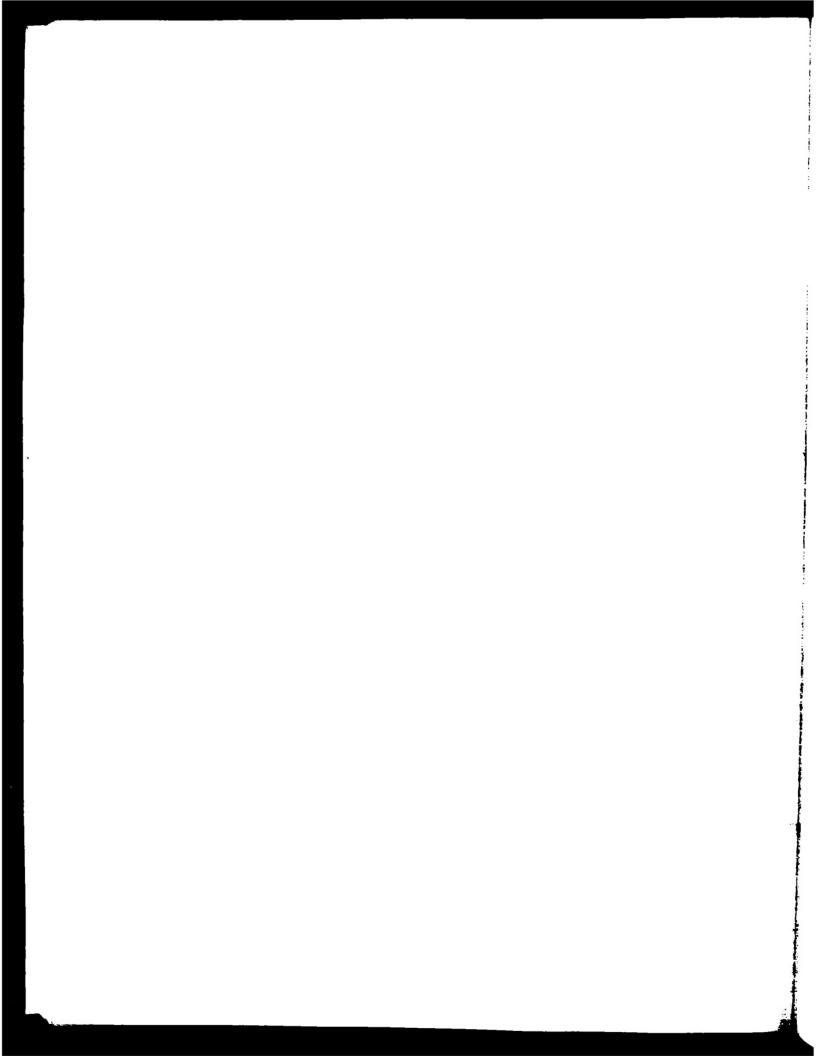
Since his fether's death he has been worse than ever end has lost every perticle of manliness (if he ever had any)... He has spent over eleven hundred this winter and has hardly had a sober moment. If it was anyone else I suppose it would go very hard with them as it is I think James will be lenient as he can be with safety to himself. They hardly knew which would be best to put him in the army or have him sent to Jackson four or five years or keep him in Jail for a while and see if he will come to his senses.

On May 20, there was another big fire in Coldwater, this one at the prison.

Last night our jail was burned with two homes one belonging to the county the other to Mr. Peterson. It made a bright nice fire. It is thought it was fired by one of the innates who thought probably the place needed purifying even by fire. We have lost one of the most uselful public buildings.

Perhaps the burning of the Coldwater prison was a bright omen to Hattie, who had received, on the same day, news of Byron's resignation from the army.

I can't realize any thing of it, almost believe it is a dream from which I must waken soon and dare not enjoy or hope to see you soon with the prom se that you will stay. When I ought to be so very grateful to God I find myself doubting and wondering not even willing to believe that he can have been so merciful. . . I am waiting now till you come home then I know I shall he surely hoppy till then happiness like Truth's cop is so near and yet so far. 109



- 168. "Diary", November 3, 1864.
- 169. orrespondence, January 12, 1865.
- 170. Ibid.,
- 171. "Diary", January 19, 1865.
- 172. Ibid., February 2, 1865.
- 173. Ibid., February 3, 1865.
- 174. Ibid.
- 175. Dyer, Frederick H., Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, p.358.
- 176. Correspondence, January 14, 1865.
- 177. ""iory", February 26, 1865.
- 178. Ibid., February 23, 1865.
- 179. Ibid., February 26, 1865.
- 180. Correspondence, March 11, 1865.
- 181. Ibid.
- 132. Ibid.
- 183. "Disry", April 7, 1865.
- 184 Forrespondence, April 13, 1865.
- 185. Correspondence, March 12, 1865.
- 136. Ibid.
- 187. Correspondence, March 28, 1865.
- 158. Ibid.
- 189. Ibid., May 20, 1865.

* The blush at such hyperbola. S.L.

April 6, 1865. However since he was in the field at the time and communications being poor he did not receive word of his discharge until the end of April. He then left the army and went to Washington, D.C. to have his eyes treated. Upon returning to Coldwater he and Hattie set their wedding date as sometime in early December. For some reason which has since been lost, he was called away from Coldwater leaving Hattie in a rather awkward position.

Just home from church where I have been stared at sympathized with and laughed at and generally honeyed all for your seeming desertion. Some as a matter of course rejoice others are sorry while as many different reasons for your absence and assigned as there are people. A few have the correct one, some are sure that we have quarreled, others are as certain that you had never intended anything serious and they had always known it. It was only done to play off on me in return for something I had done to some far off somebody that nobody knows or cares for. It would be useless to try to set them right. It is of course embarrassing gut I try to make the best of it. . . .

The wedding, despite many obstacles, occurred on December 10, 1865, and produced one of the happiest and most successful unions known to the society of man.

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Triaybe in the 160s when the thesis was written. But in 1991??

Staunchly patriotic, strongly religious, and frighteningly outspoken, he judged everything and everybody in terms of absolute moral rights and wrongs. His character and his way of life were based on abstract, outmoded concepts like duty, honor, truth, and, most particularly, hard work. Doubtlessly it was these very qualities which enabled him to survive so handily in the time in which he lived; enabled him to live life in its darkest hours and come out unscathed. He saw all the horrors of war, even experienced some of them, and yet he did not let these temporary experiences change or warp him. He senses something of this in himself when he talks of a comrade who committed suicide after the battle at Richmond, Kentucky.

Poor boy he must have either been very sick of a soldier's life or deranged... if it has that effect I greatly fear for the reason of half the soldiers in that bettle... Don't you fear that I shall become deranged from the same cause.

Byron possessed a strength of character and determination that were indeed unique. After the battle of Michmond, in which the North was rather severely teaten, he remarked simply, "... have seen some hard times and have been in one pretty rough battle and got badly whipped too but am ready to try them again". 192 This great resilency seems to have been a part of his make-up throughout his life. It had been with him when only 17 he set out all alone from Penfield, New York, for California. It was with him throughout the war when he rose from weartermaster

[Cond when several hundred through other were worked and south also manager to get through the huser and broken by war. 54.]

Ilrs. Frederic P. Lee 7401 Glenbrook Road Bethesda, Ilaryland 20014 July 20, 1969

I knew Byron Paddock when he was an elderly gentleman living with his clauditer. Mand Paddock See. I was his grand-daughter-in-law-being the wife of Frederic Paddock See.

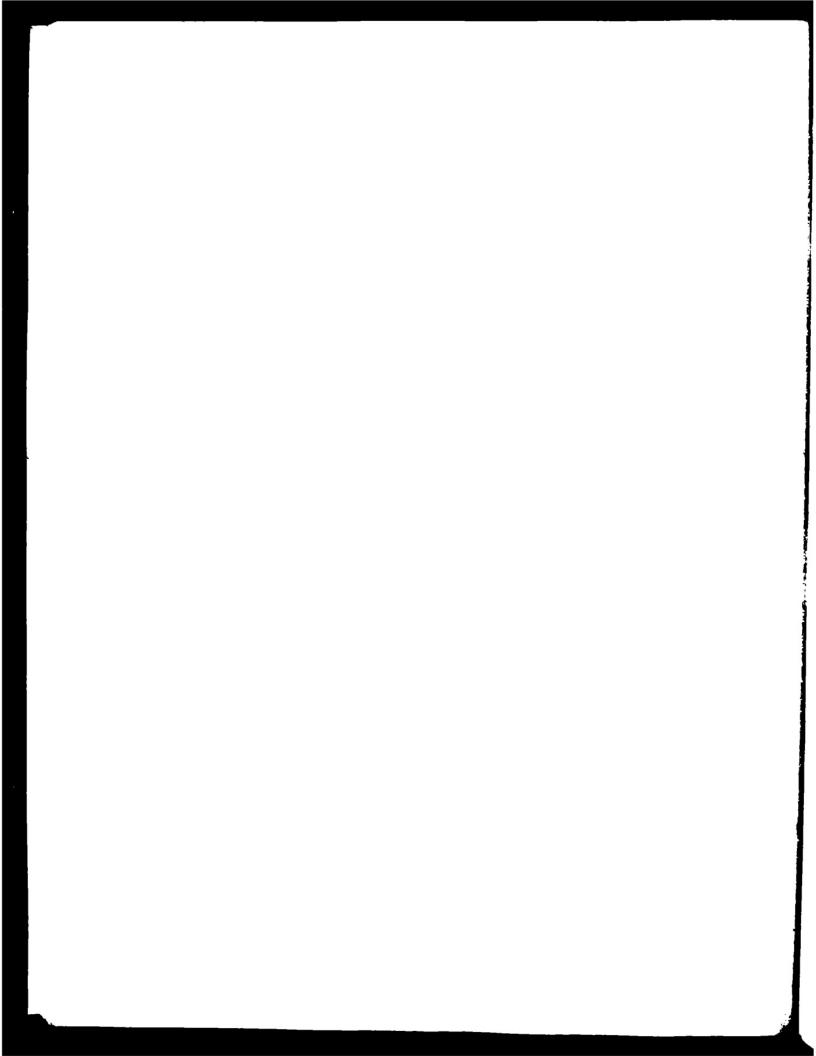
I remember grand father Paddockas a delightful, soft spoken, quiet and unassiming gentleman. He had a keen sense of human and when annised his face would light up and his eyes twinkle. I often enjoyed hatening to his stories of his life in California during the gold rush in 1849 and his tales of the livil him.

of 87.

Marian arusting be

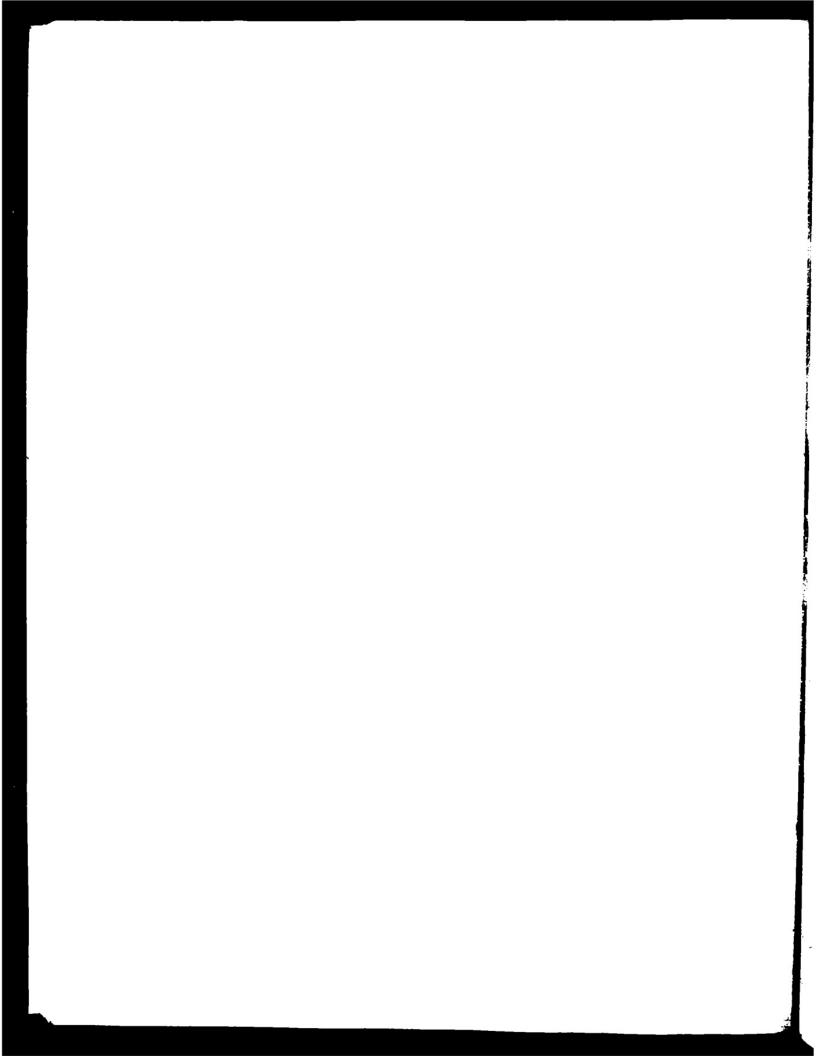
Sergeant to Captain, and this same resiliency was still with him in later years when he won a wife whose family and friends were deadest against him. But, most of all, it was what carried him through the amony and exhaustion of war when lesser men to bought substitutes or faked an illness.

Byron Paddock, a man with little formal education, but much common sense and practicality, belonged to an earlier age; an age where life and living depended on human life, and living depended on human talents and human ingenuity, rather than on the flick of a switch or the turning of a dial. He spent his last years with his oldest daughter's family, my mother's mother, in Rutherford, New Jersey, and my mother remembers him as an arthritic old non whose favorite pasttime was playing old civil war songs on a phonograph while thumping out the rhythm with his hardwood cane.

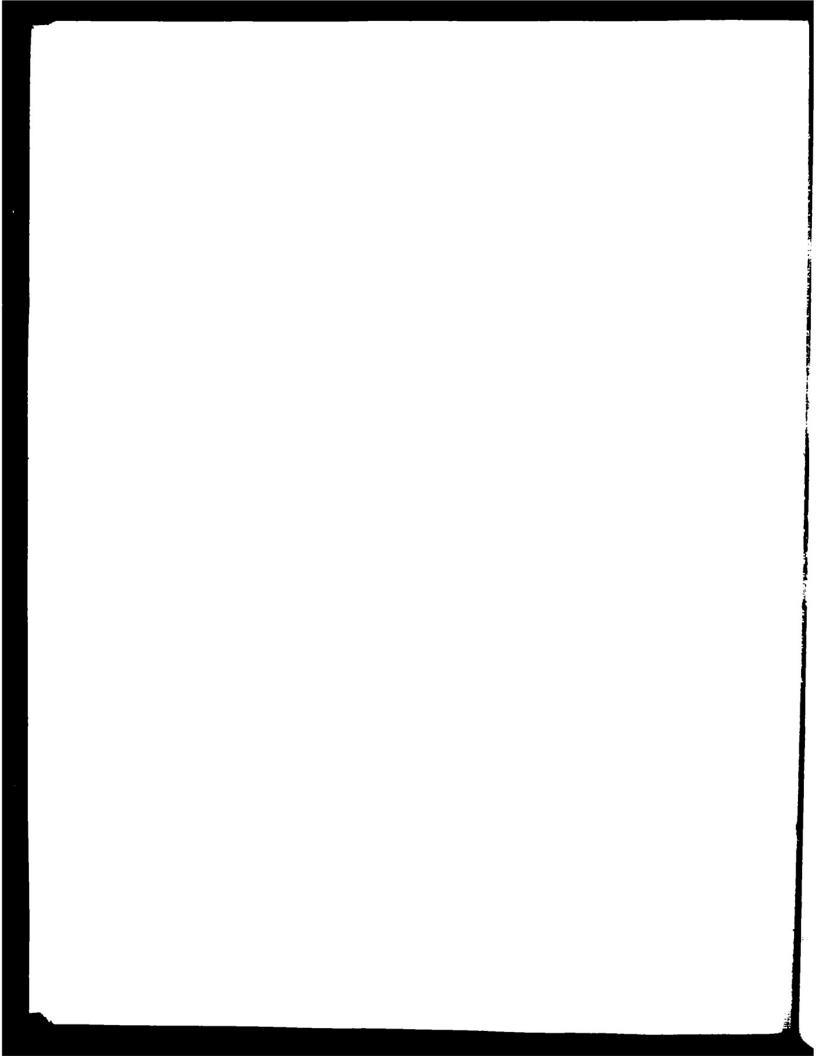


- 190. Correspondence, December, 1865.
- 191. <u>Ibid.</u>, September 3, 1862.
- 192. Ibid.

Appendix



Head Quarters. Minifordille My. Sept. 4"1113. General Croses ful duly of the brooks of this comment, in accordance Quarters Dept of The to portruse the execution of fire my in viz: 4 mondes. Trazier Carman of Company, I, James M. anderson and Janus JA. Sinter, of Company If, and John W. Coffee and Christophy Coffee Company le 24" Reginnent Sty. Vols. Duft, for the crime of desertion: This extrese, in all civilized countries, hours murited and received the highlest pursushment known to military law- death. It I the left of the main road as the portion bridge on thru sides of a square: the 27" Oligh. Chy. Vels. Auft. on the right, the Whi Michigan Cathery on the rear, The 330 Righ. My Vols Dut. on the left the troops will forme in Their. The execution party will consist of forty men, to be relicted from The 27" Ref. Chy, Vils, Creft for Their solderly qualities and un-



Hindring integrity, under fire surgeants each to continued hight men, under the orders of Lieut. James St. Finger, From Marchal. Dr. pieces will be loaded in The most eareful man of sight of the firing party: he will see that are piece in each surgeants command is boaded with a blunk earlidge. The pricesson will interined thisting bons the right in The following order, nizi

1. Provost, marshal.

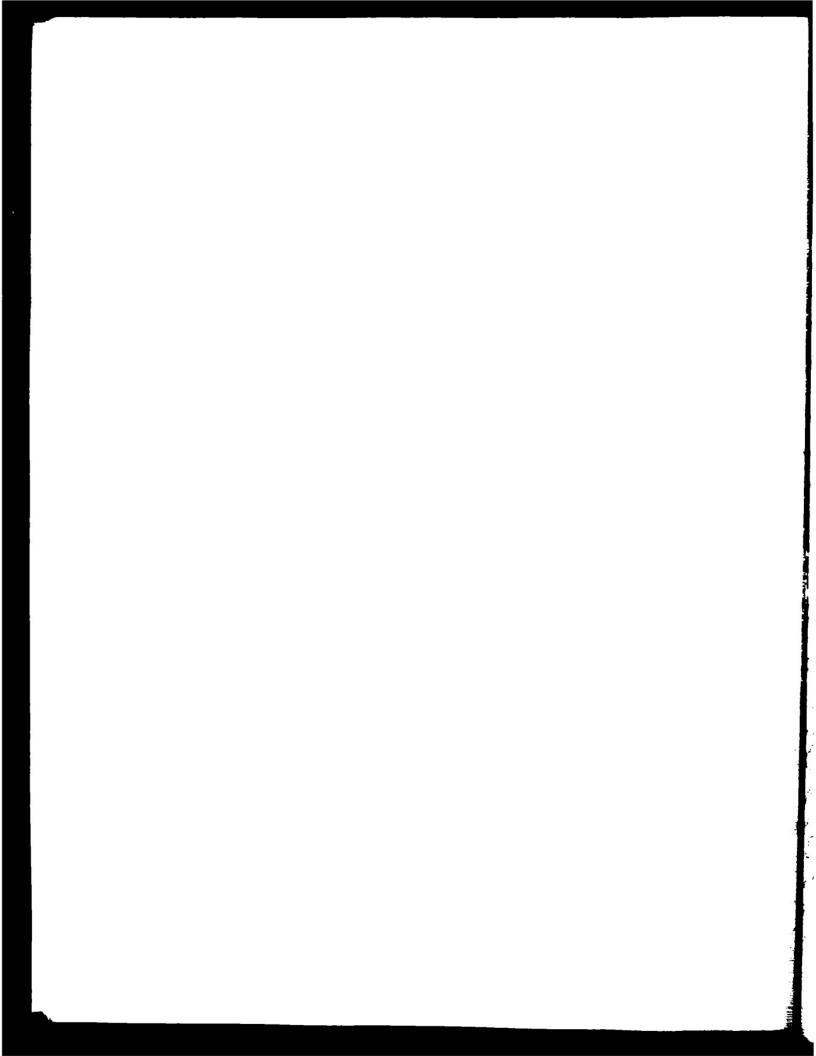
2. Band of 27" My. Vols. Infr. playing a funeral

3. Finne party

4. Coffins, borne by four onen, each.

5. Prisoners and Chaplain.

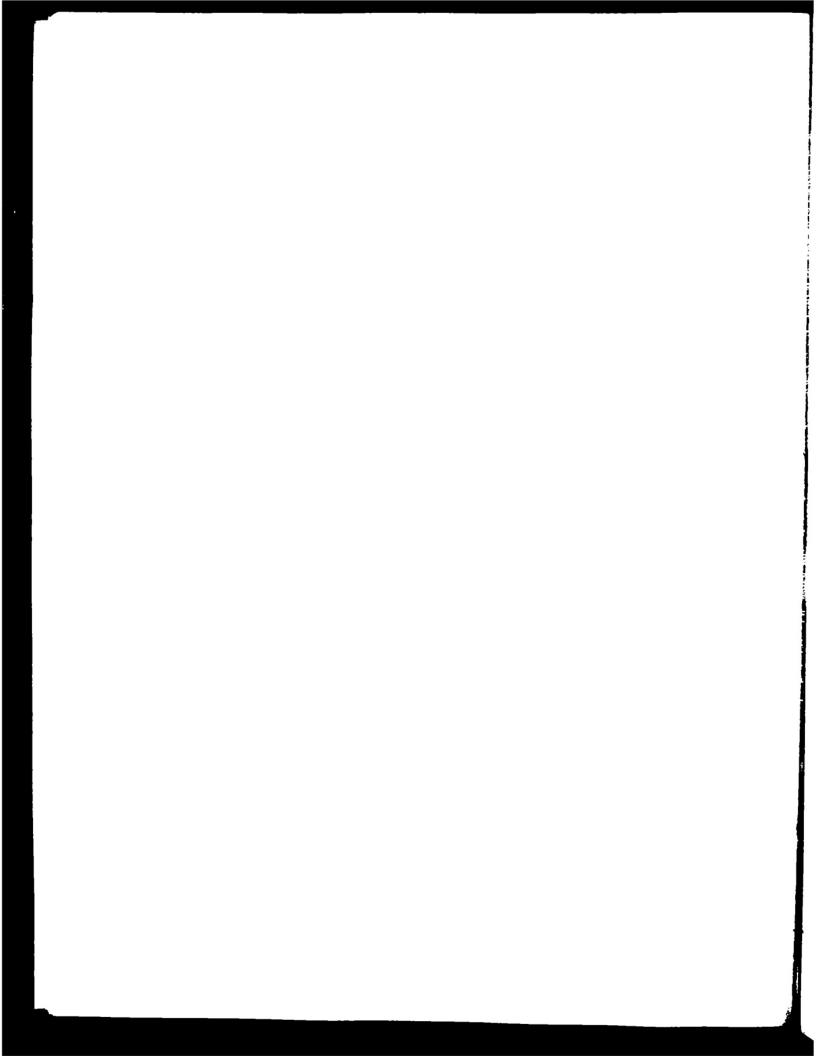
a tapeorti When The procession shall have ruch the right of the division, The front lines of the batter shall have to The rear, and the procession in bass between ou lines of the ballalines arive. to othe left of the division. It will hall and form, facing outward, on the vacant sid of the square. During it's passage, The land of the regiments whigh it passes shall, in purcussion play funeral marcher, and of its passago, sach line in the front rank will, in succession, face to the fruit. On arriving, at the open space, the music



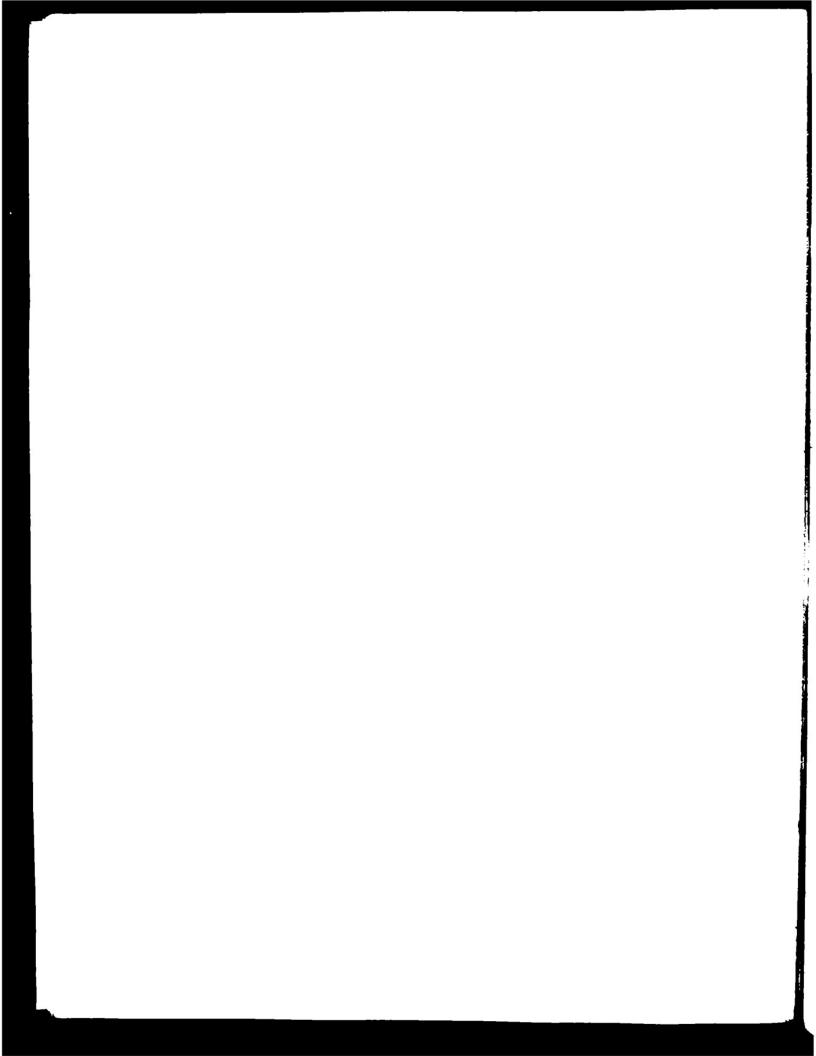
ceases; the prisoners will by placed on the futal spot marked by Their coffins; the turge, finding and sentences of the court martial, Il be read to the culprito by the proser maished I also, at the same lineo to elich regiment byits futant, and to the battery by its first Resgener, chaplain having engaged in prayer with the ind at six paces from the prisoners, and the insthe signal from the provon murstral. In fire does not prove instantancously effectual all be the duty of the prevol marchal to complete sentence with his pistol. The fire of his pieces of be reserved for this painful contringency.

The execution, the troops will hear intochum.

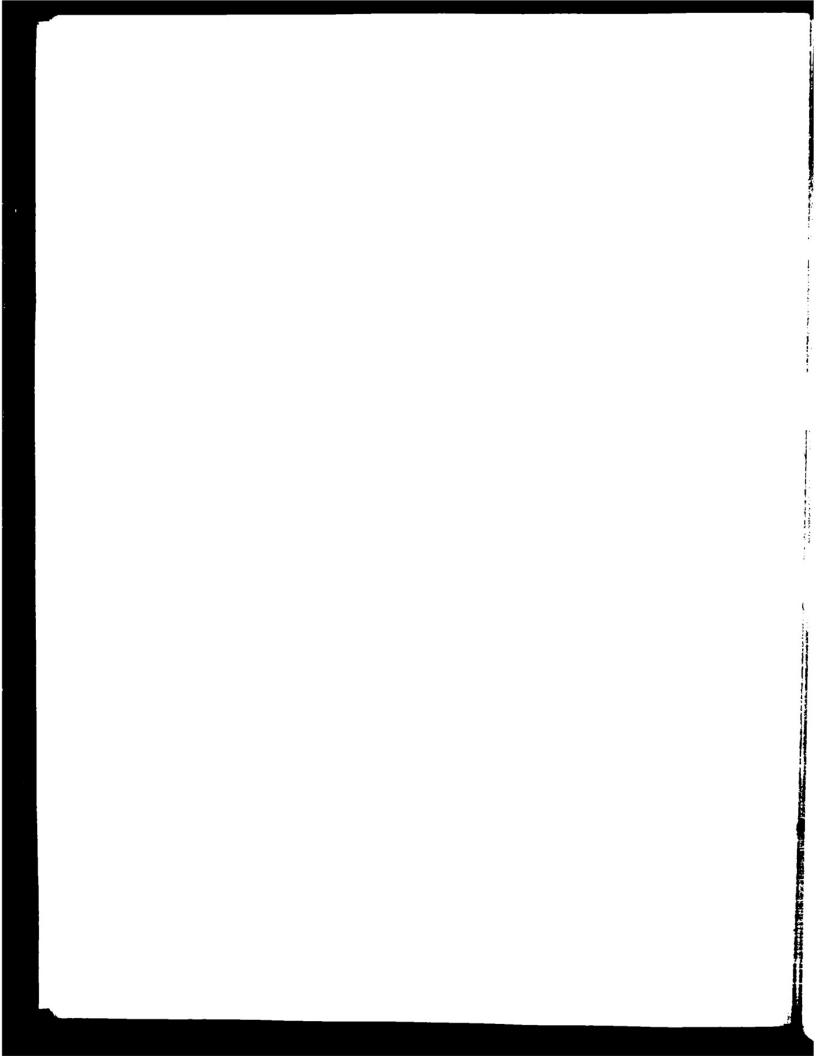
In right, and more part the corpses in plow hime, The assembly will be sounded at 11.15 a.m. ed the regiments and hatteries will Take position Tu place and in manner preserved, NILO MIN. pricession will leave the Jail at 11.45 A.M. The endion to take place at 19.15 Pin. The regimental Jurgeon, A.R. Heston and at Overg Mild fell will approach the lodies our as the rolley is fired and a drise the in A marshal of precessary By command



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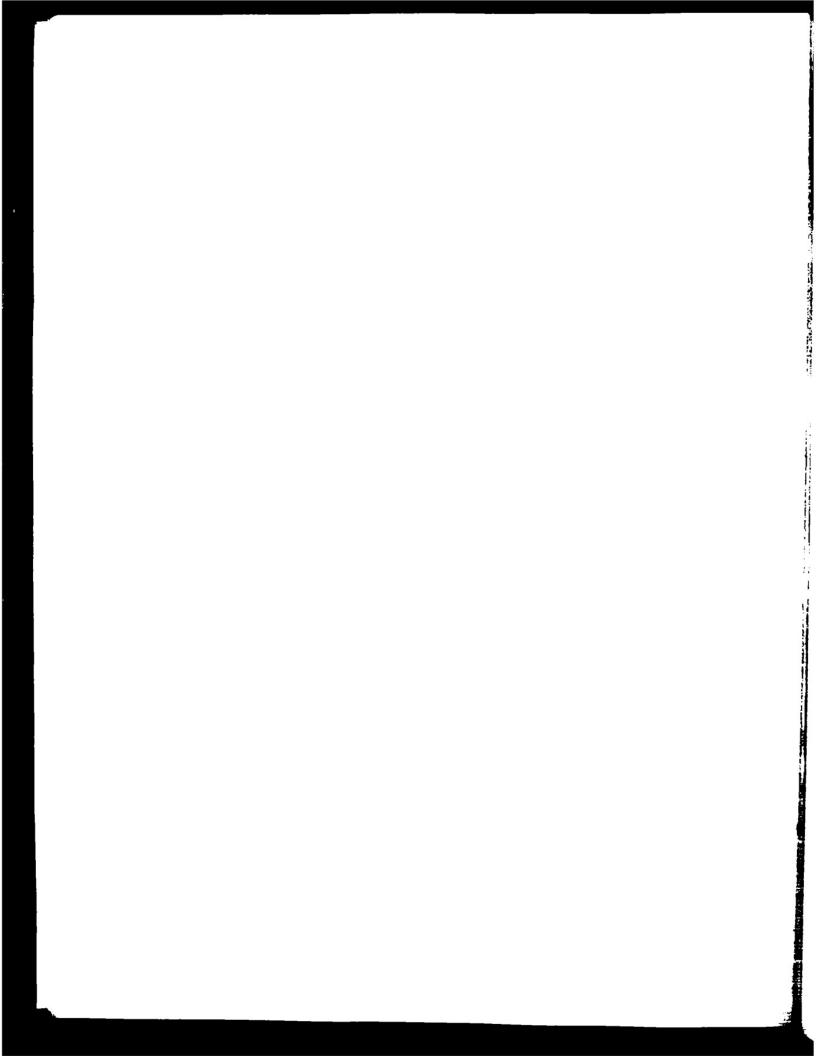
Beadquarters Department of the Ohio, Kenoxville, Dont Starite SPECIAL ORDERS, g/o____ [Extract.] simo Il Com Wat 1 and my is hereby accepted, to take effect There with the condition that he shall receive no final payment until he exhibits satisfactory evidence from the head of the Ordnance Tepartmen!, and the proper accounting officers of the Freasury, that he has made all prescribed returns, and is in no wise indebted to the Government. Showland Stajulant General. Buty de I Mich Daily



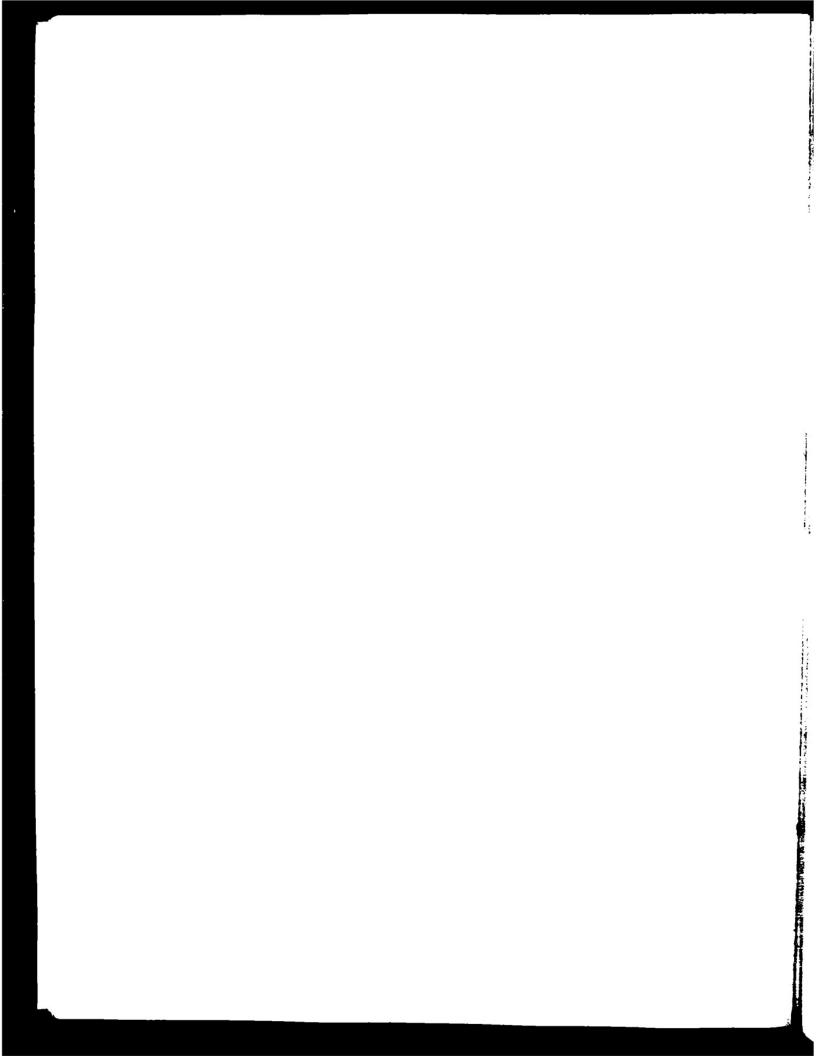
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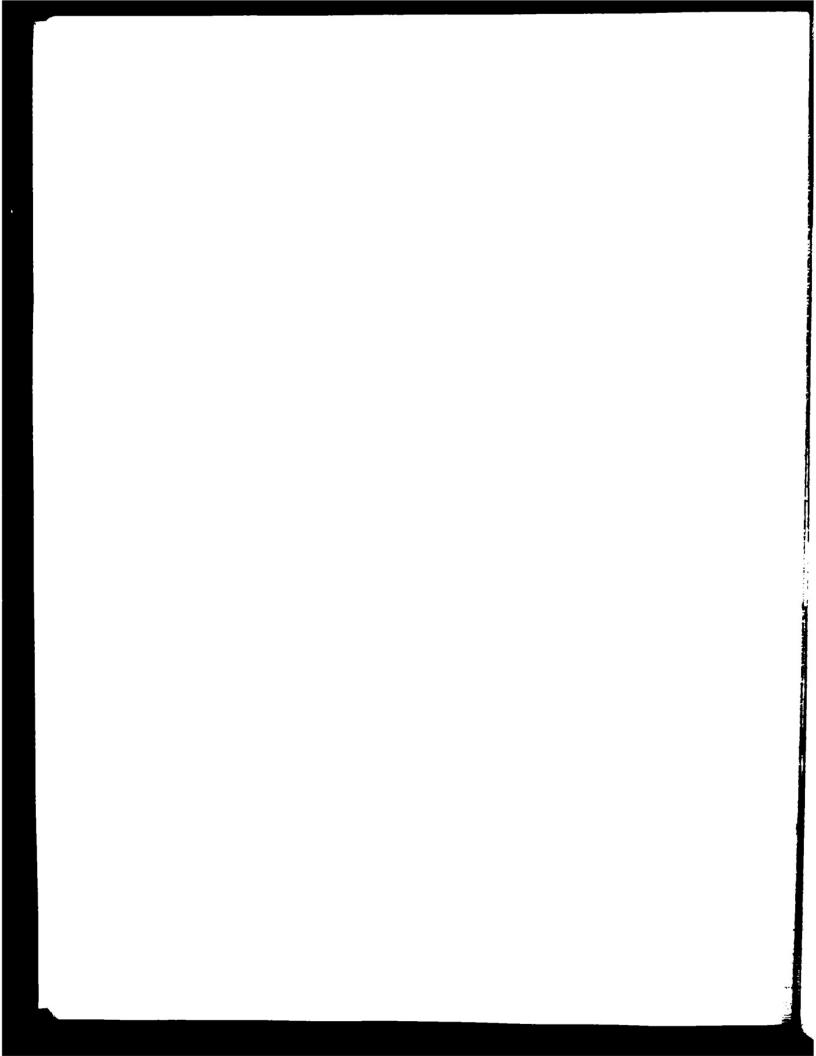


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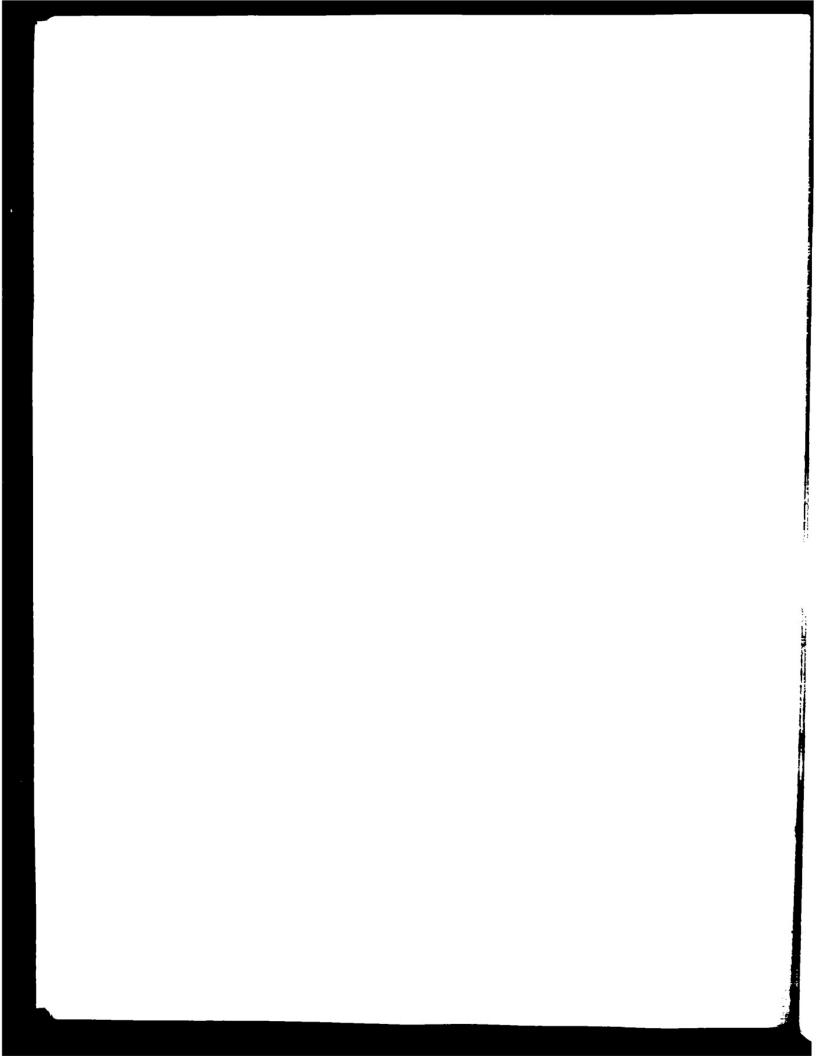


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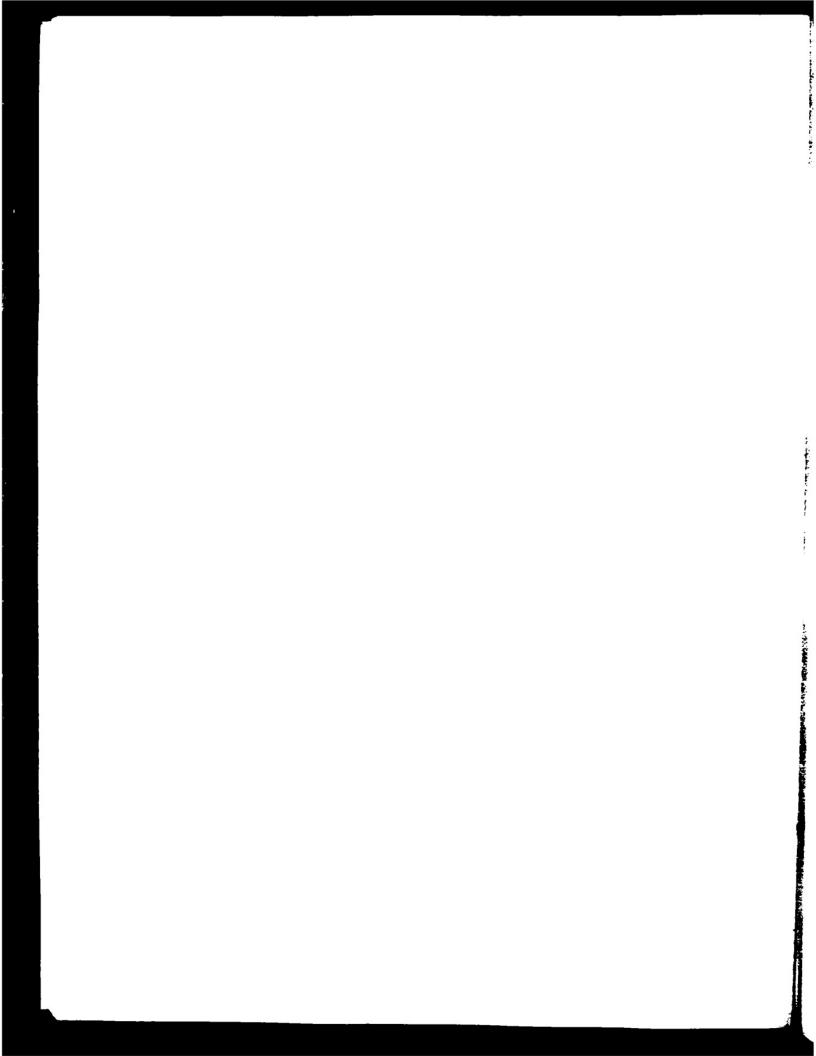
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Head Box 2 Dir 25 A.C. Before allaula In aug 217184 (iraular! -The May hook Comey The anny of the this has again from it precessing to issue on order against moranding, hous healing, & Thering. I regret to say that such me order is massary in my command. (Islanday, while the commans was out at the front pour of the men of the ggt this as soon is they went place on the Skinnich live in The mondial - presence If the Enemy when are allack was very likely to be made sommedially left them posts and places and belook themalors to tuling hogo and to all manne of plumer diagniculal alike he themselves and to the command. This was done in the pusines of one of the Paplains of the regt who mode no offert to but a olot. he finch practices I mention this account it napposed to Orme moder som, onen Thousandson I have reason to fear shot the when reger behave equally but when occasion offers. Every house we come he is so the so, similares. many have no dien to remain inger

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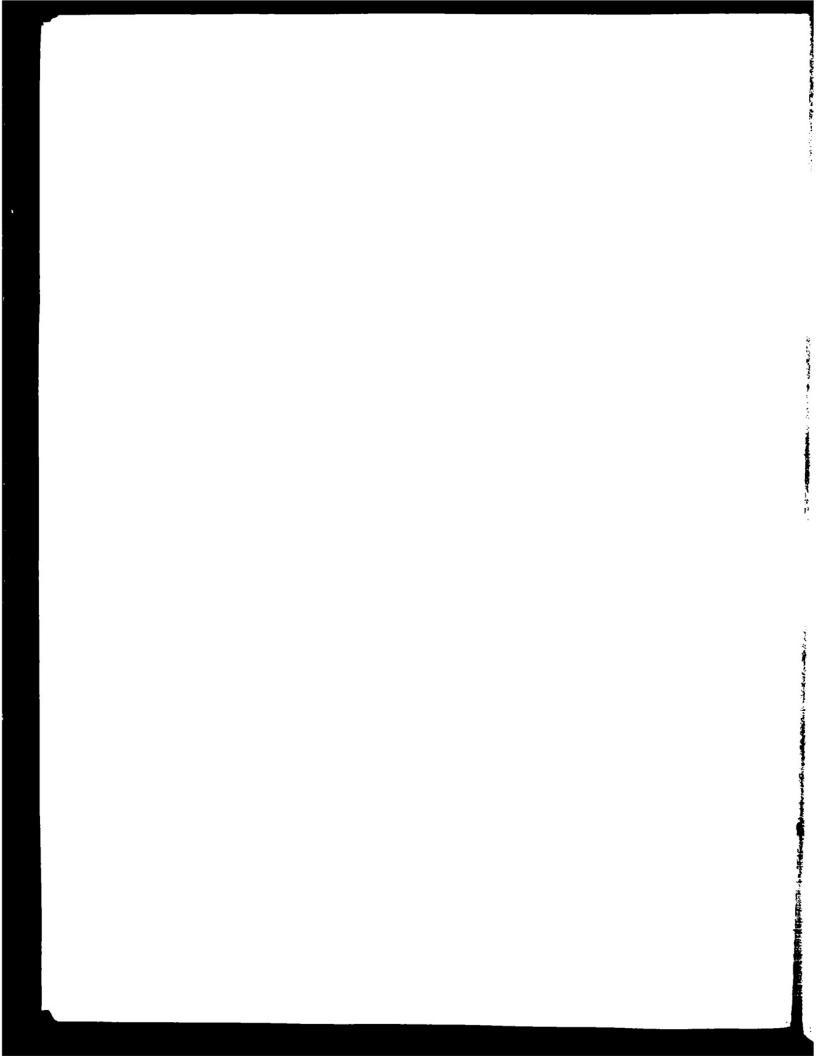
Commander are authorized sohnew hy find their men probabing orders in these respects to have Them lied and given the lash atone. If it is done in the presence of their officers and with Their Browledge, heat Them in the same manner. I have already has 15 or 20 men Caftin in The last tim days on account of the orders They have Taken for the purpose of planding + maranding. Courts Martial are altogratulo flow a remedy for these monotrons Evils and the lash must be applied at once. The is a from remedy but it is betwee than to have . The Ormand de moralized, defeated and disgraaced. The il vision in other respects is all that conts or desired and I confidently believe if these Ends I have alleded to comes be prev ented permed be the best in the service. It may he and probably is the case that other visasions are as but as mus in The respect, but that is no encuse for us. Battery commanders will prinish their men The same as Boyace commanders and will be held we The Same manne responsible fir their Conduct. All S. Harcoll

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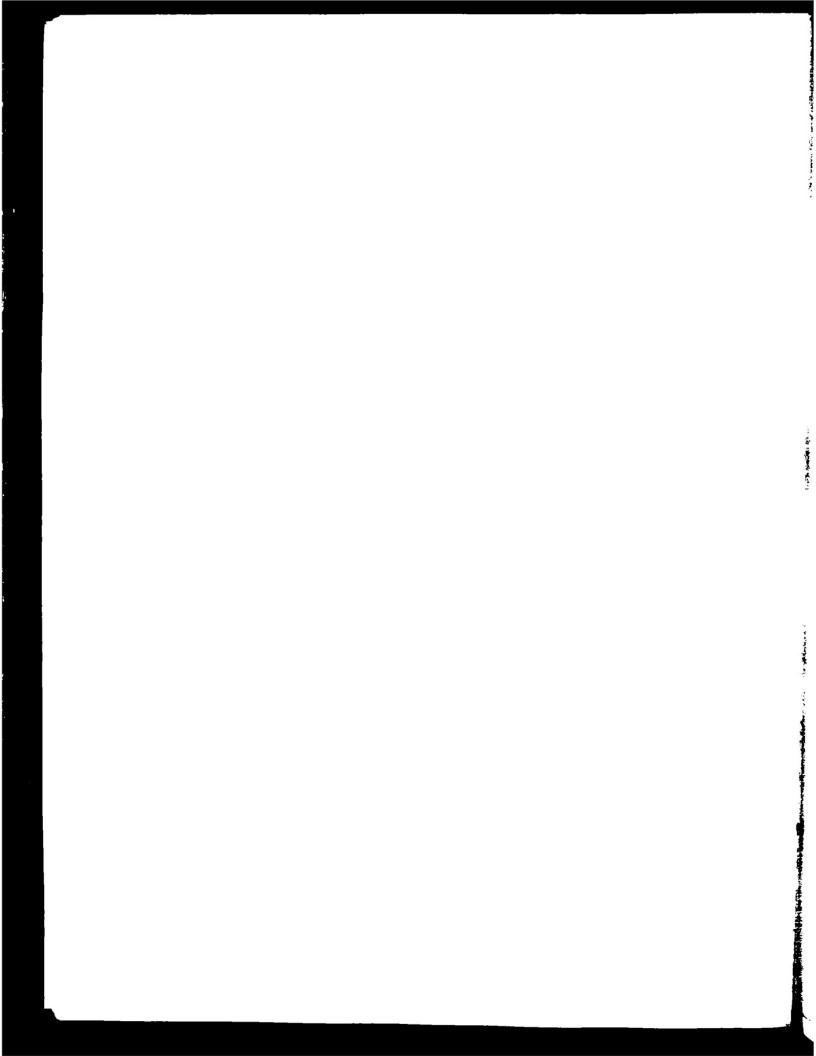
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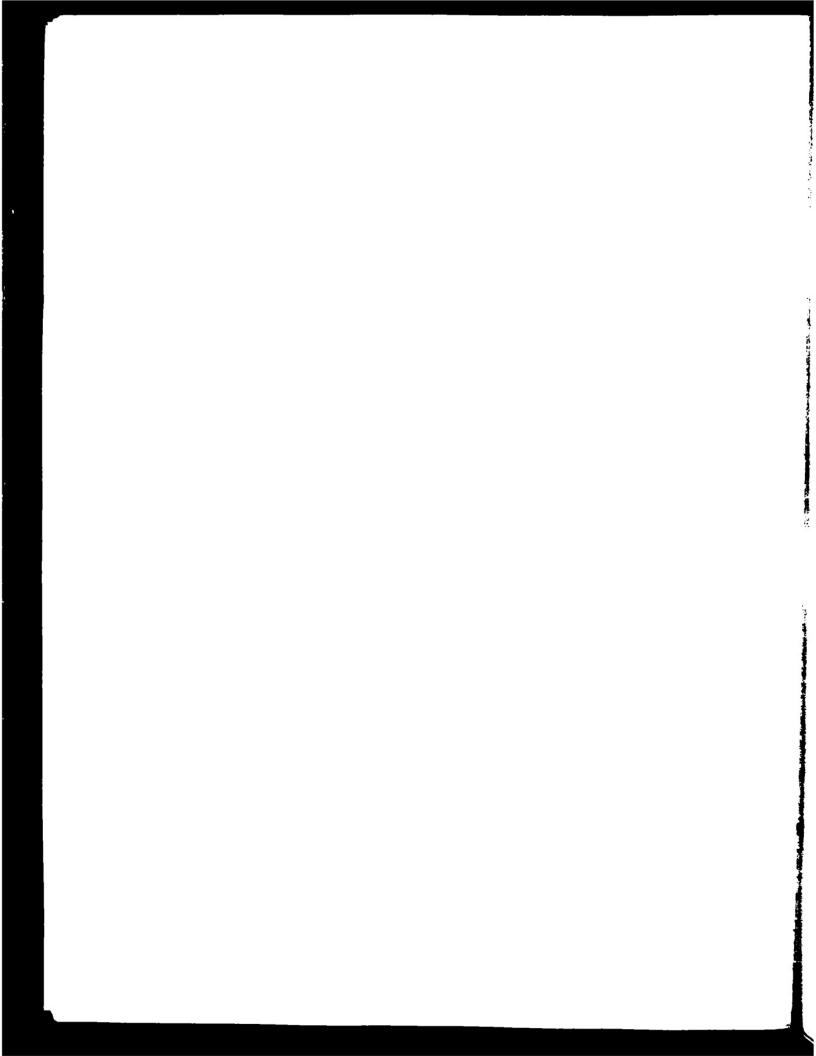
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at Lord Water-Muchigan (the place of general re (when mustered in) to the 18 day of thence to Friendle of , where it NUMBER OF EACH GRADE. JOINED FOR SERVICE AND ENROI COMMENCEMENT OF FI NAMES. AGE. RANK. PRESENT AND ABSENT. (Privates in alphabetical order-the first christian name WHEN. WHERE. to be written full length.) ymld Paddock! 1284 RECAPITED & RECAPITULATION. STRENGTH-PRESENT For duty ... Extra duty ... ALTERATIONS AND CASUALTIVE SINCE LAST MUSTER. (By E PRESENT. By I No. JOINED . Free Exp No. For DISCHARGED ABSENT .. Prisoners of war. No. No No.

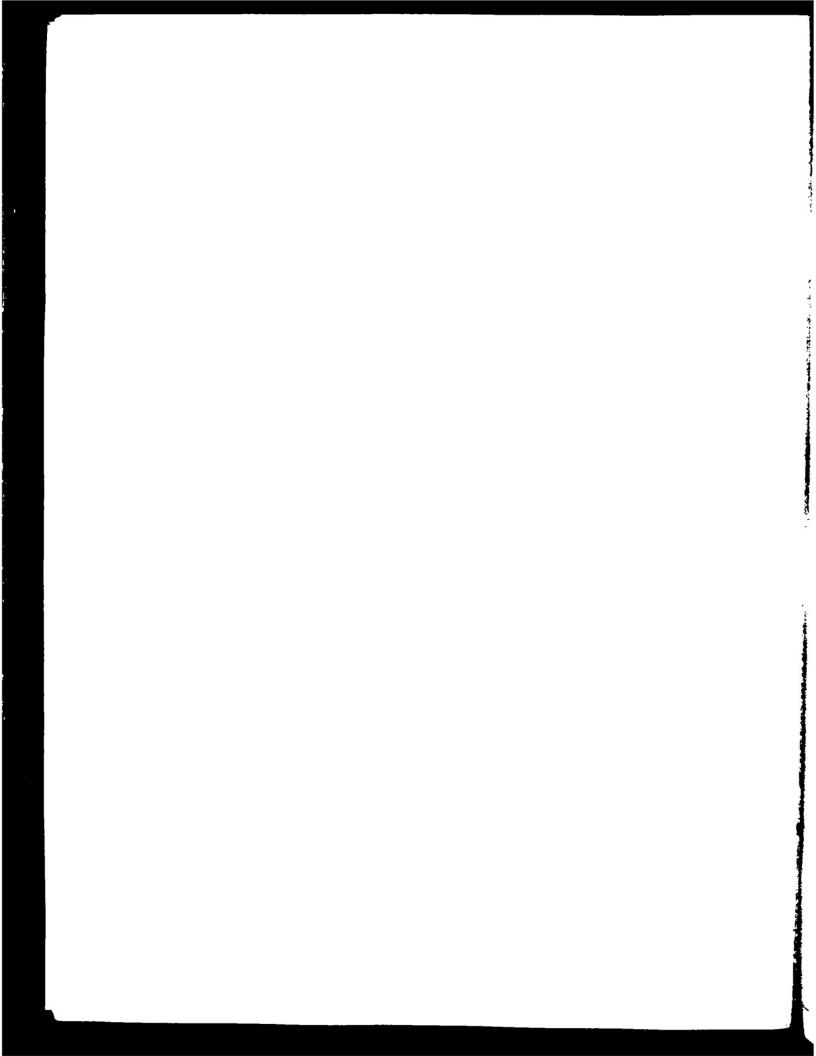


186 17 to serve for th dezvous) on the The Company was o. a distance of ED AT GENERAL RENDEZVOUS-LAST PAID. ST PAYMENT BY TIME. BY PAYMASTER. TO WHAT TO PERIOD. Capa Guarius MUSTELING CECICERS. thag Master' of Officer will see that five copies of this Roll are made for of which be will retain, the firth will be retained by the offic y for machin, or, in core of Pall and Staff and Officers and and ared out of service separately or in squade, by the Senier rau. · No commissioned Officer, or Private standing first on the list r ... n consistered out. The Mustering Officer will dispose of the opics retained by him, as follows: One will be sent to the Adjuis and of the Army, and one to the "Bounty Bureau," Wash-, to C, and two to the Paymester by whom the troops are to

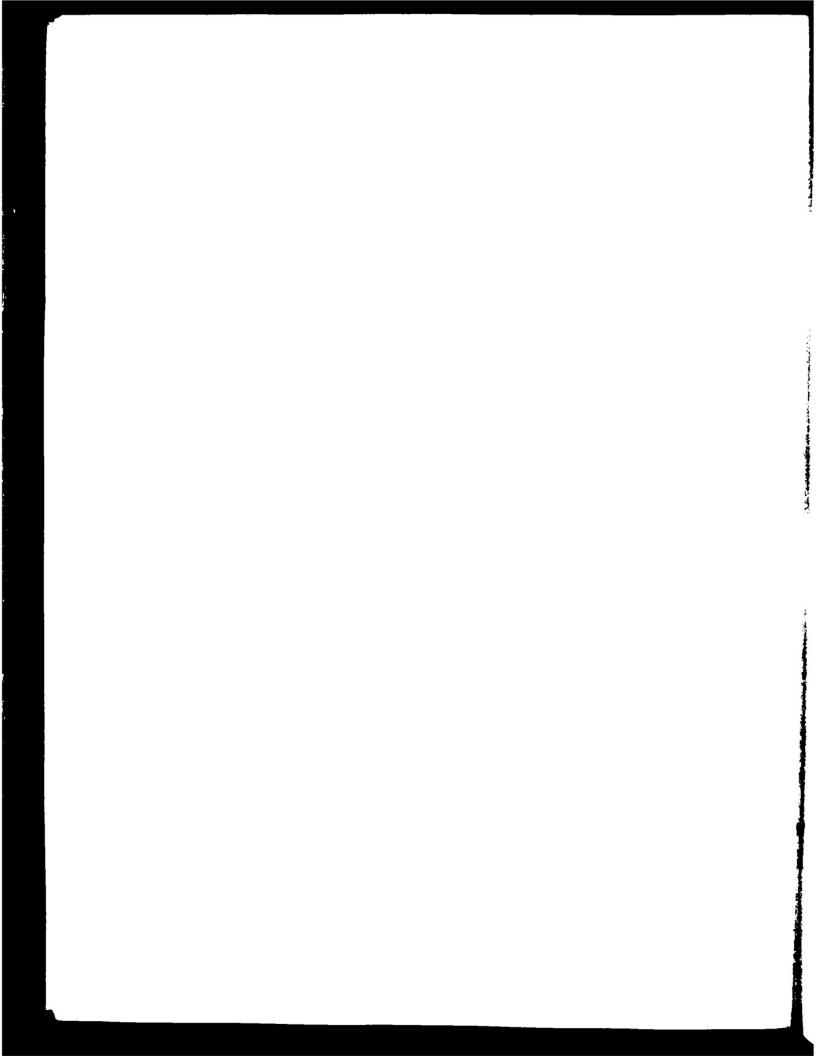


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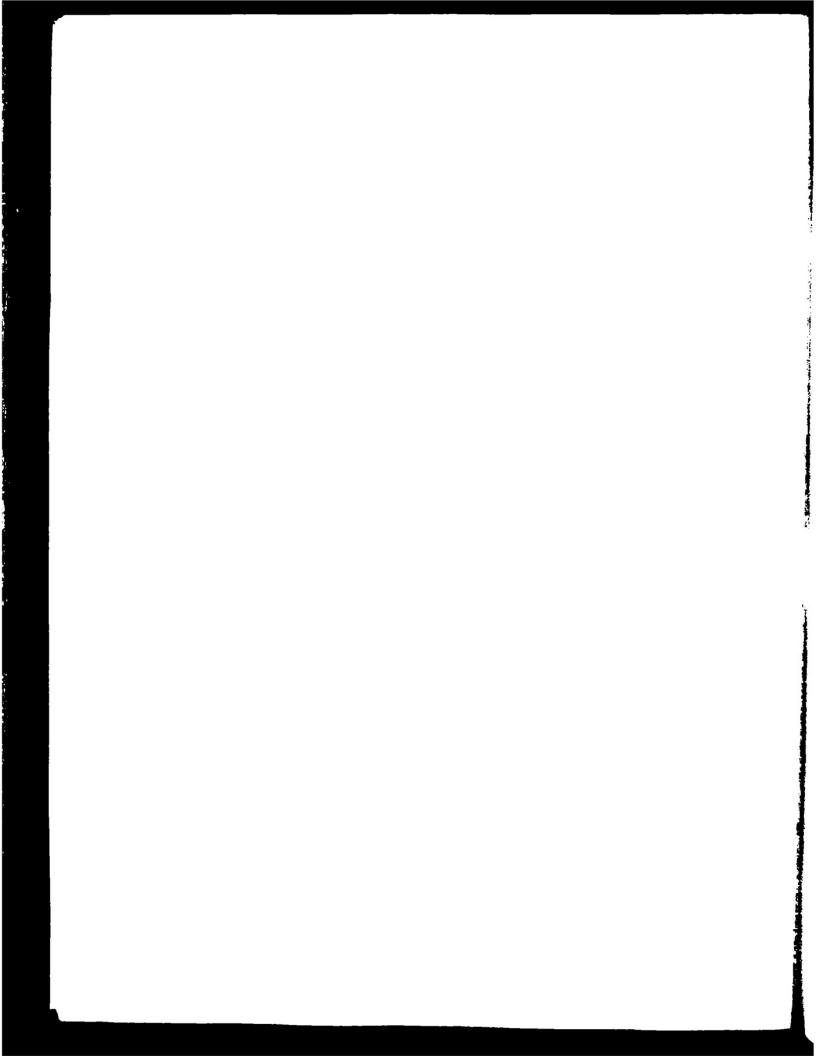
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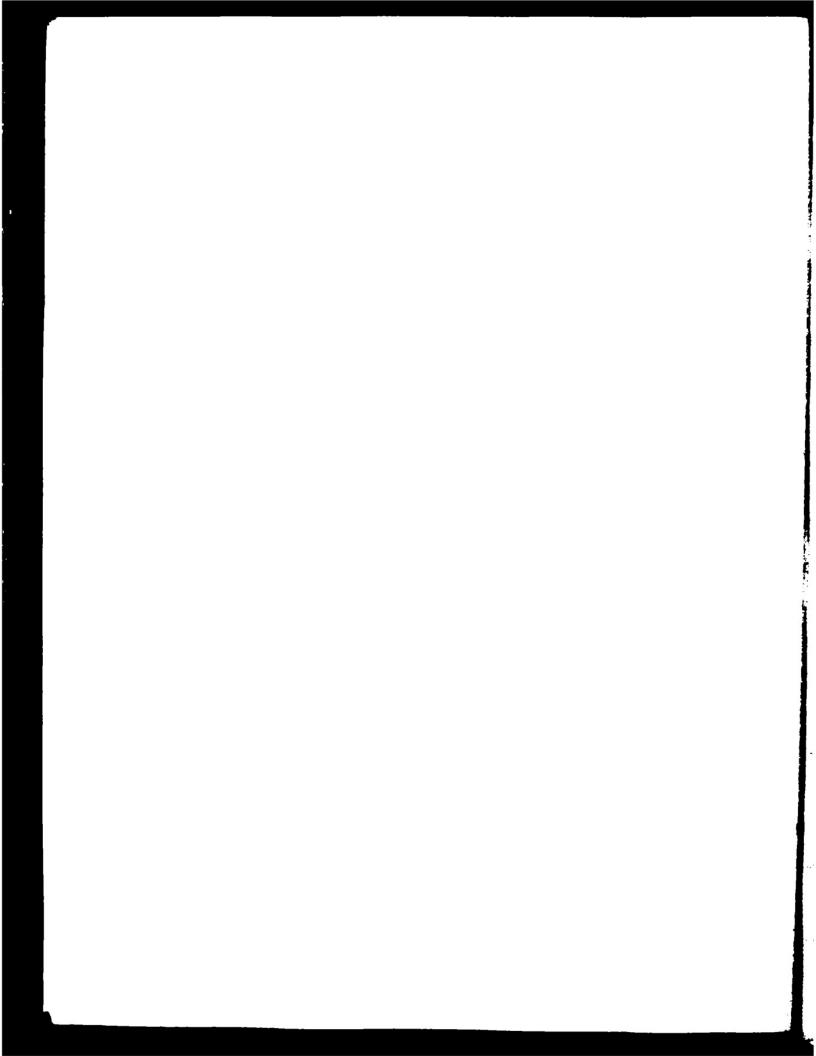


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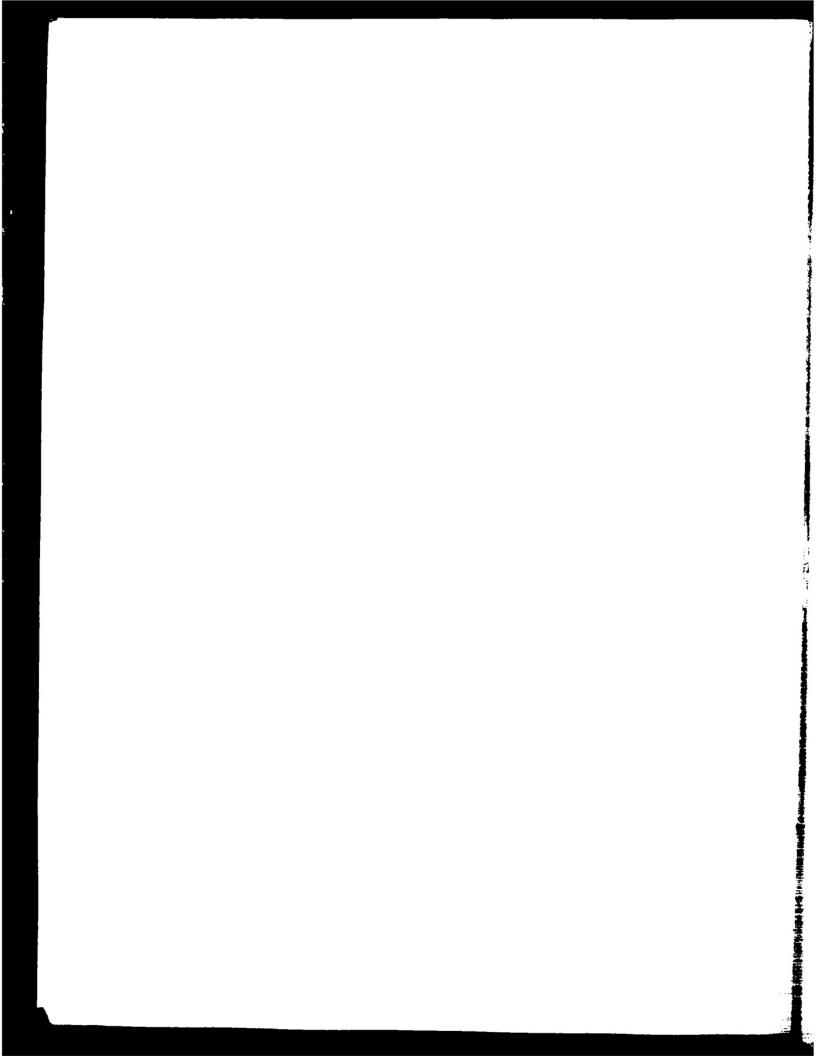
The undereigned hereby relinquishes the commands of his Dinion to Buy Sen Hills & Harcall U.S. Vol., by order of the Way Gent Gentle Way Gentle Onity 23? a.c. He will ever watch with awaity the performances of a command which is his chiefest pride, and poays that when again hought anti conflict with the enemy its devoted gallanty may be rewarded with results more gratifying than were pennitted to it in the action of the 14" wist.

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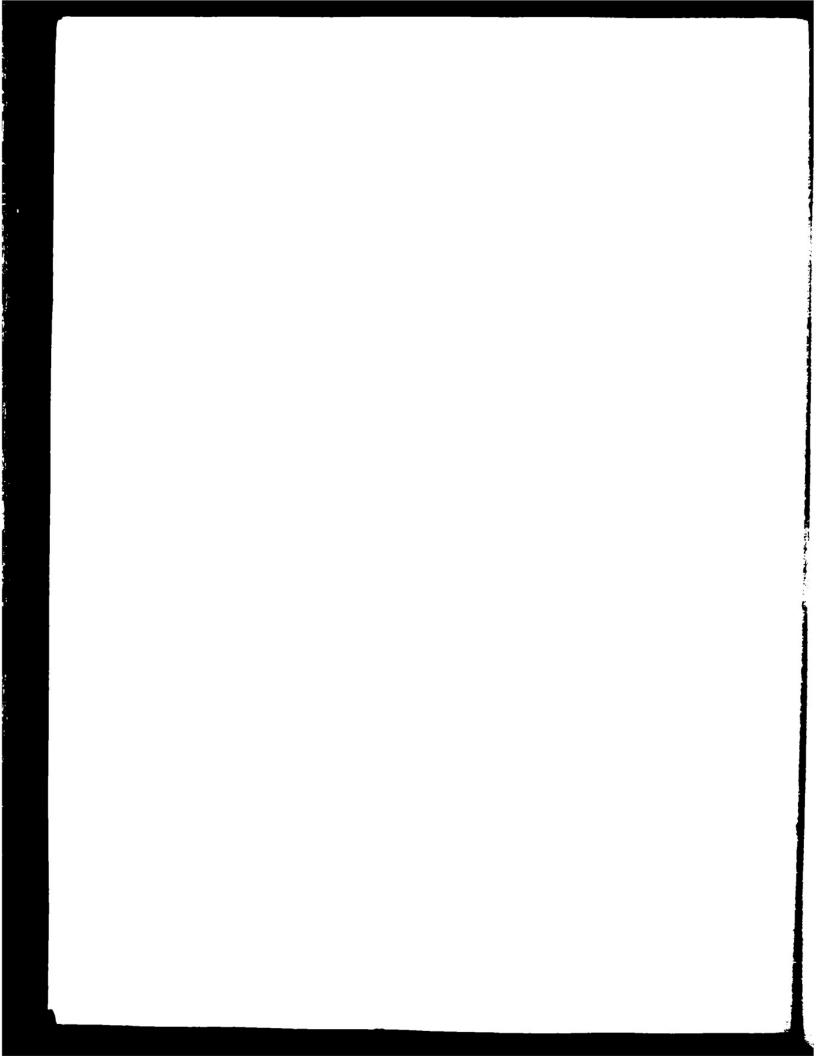


23th Anny Gorfs.

Lufmit of bacable 42, Illey 19th 1864 Division and Borgade Communders are authorized and out traging parties in charge of a Communion de ficer to forcure subsistence stores forige and other ticle absolutely necessary for the are of the array In all cases recepts well be given by the un in change of the foraiging fasts for all property I'm and the property turned over to the A lo & or, IM of the Division or Bougade to be taken up on a neturns, accounted for as public property and west to the troops all collered dispirty, contraband of evar out source for turned of the army will be turned over to the count should " west of the borgs to be disjoined of as fronted existing orders from the man Dift. In Illies will be firmitted to enter a private wer under any faitest whatever without wetter authority ment to which is believed One Ist And Taking forfirty wany other

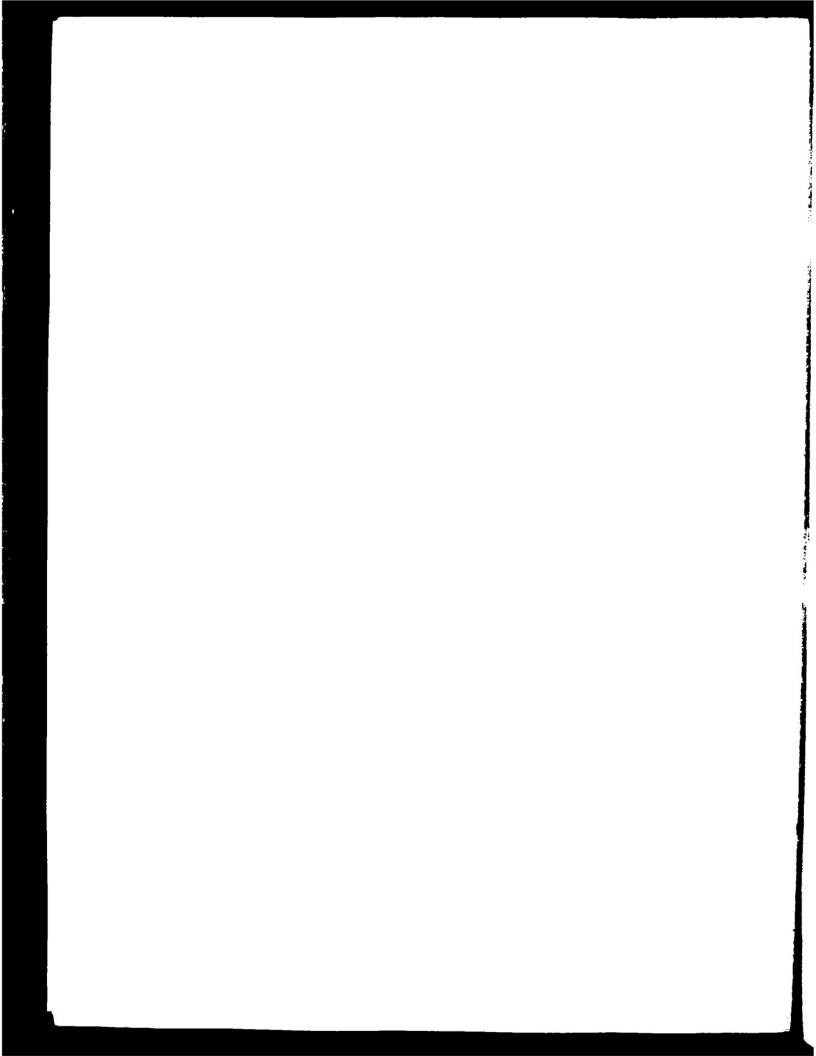


Mead Quarters army of the Olice 237 any borts 3 du front of baseville Gen My 19th 1864 Division and Brigade Communders are outhorised and out loraging parties in charge of and immerior liver to procure aubritince stones. Image whether Tile absolutely necessary for the rise of the array In all cases recepts will be given by The in in chory of the foraging party for all property I'm and the firsty turned over to the I la. 8 or I'M of the Dission or Bongade to be token up on actions, accounted for as public proper jund used to the troops all collered assperty contraband of erare aired for there of the army will be turned over to the most Marchal Generals of the books to be distored of as fromthe , existing orders from the man Dift. In Ideis will be firmitted to enter a frivate on the Commanding officer of the companie or detaches ant to which he was taking I feety wany etter



more the attendice. The order, or a rilding Engaged in This mountain and innecessary duty Then if fronte for firsty will be at once assested and aummarly funished to the fullest extent of military Division Commanders will detail a near quant in charge of a competent officer to march in the seas of their respective Divisions. It will be the duty of crear quard to anget and bring into Camp every toldier found sating gling from his commenced milhant proper authority All ferend trought into camp by the near Guard will be turned over to the Devicion Porroal. Merchal, to be furnished as the Diversion Commands onay direct This order will be read at the head of every Regiment . Battery and detachment in the Corfs and Commanding officers will be held responsible for ile strict Enforcement in their respective . Common on the By Commandy Maj Gen Schofield (Signed) J. a. Barmphill

a.d. Ferenal Official; Ex. C. Ninklike Coff. + any boly.



Piendquarters Army of the Ohio,

In the Field Before attanta, La aug 24 1864.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS,

Na 94.

"EXTRACT."

LEAVE OF ABSENCE is hereby granted the following named officers. for the number of days set offosite their respective names:

Capt. B.D. Padarche, Ballery F. " Mich. Light arty thirty (30) days.

The following extracts from Regulations and General Orders, relative to Leaves of Absences, will be strictly observed:

- . Whon not other wise specified, leaves of absence will commence the day an officer is relieved from duty at his post, after receiving the order granting him leave
- "At the espiration of his leave, the officer must report in person with his command, and not at the office from which his leave issued.
- " See fleer is permitted to visit Washington without special permission of the Secretary of War, which must be stated in the order granting leave of absence.
- "If an off or he notable to travel at the expiration of his sock leave, he must report his abbrew to the commander of his post, regimen, or corps, and also to the Adjurant Gineral of the Army, and in his first report that the day when his leave of absences, our sense. These reports must be a posted overy twenty days, and each one must be accompanied by the certificate of a medical officer of the Army, in deciden he usual form, and stating that the officer is not able to travel. If there is no army plander in in the plan, where the officer realized feet the officer physician, the truth of which must be so not to before a civil magnitude, may be substituted. Extensions of leave are not granted in orders.

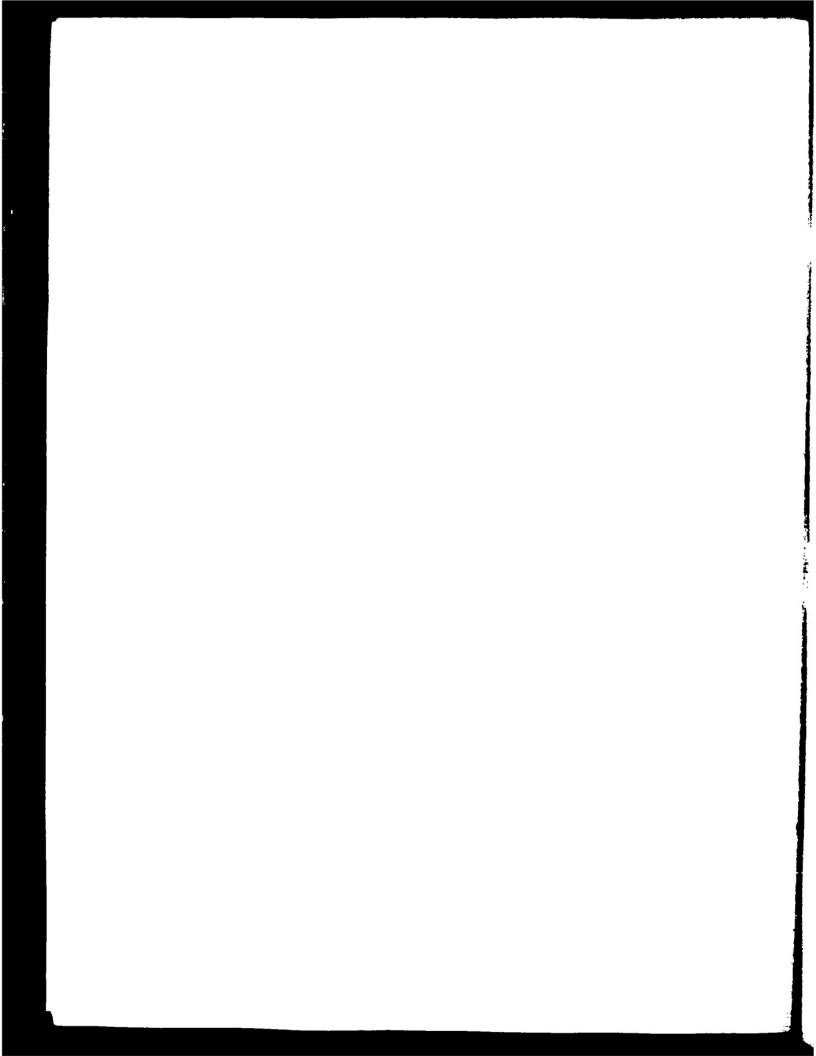
"Officers also not from duty without leave, or beyond the time of their haves, will not be allowed to draw pay until a court or commission, which will be ordered on their return to their post or common it, shall determine whether there was collected for their absence. They will accordingly provide themselves with a full description of the nature and cause of their disability, certified by the proper modical authority, as required by existing orders and regulations.

" And be it further engeled. That any officer absent from duty with leave, except for sickness or wounds, shall, during his absence, receive half of the pay and allowances prescribed by law, and no more; and any officer absent without leave shall, in addition to the populates prescribed by law or court-martial, forfeit all pay and allowances during such absence."

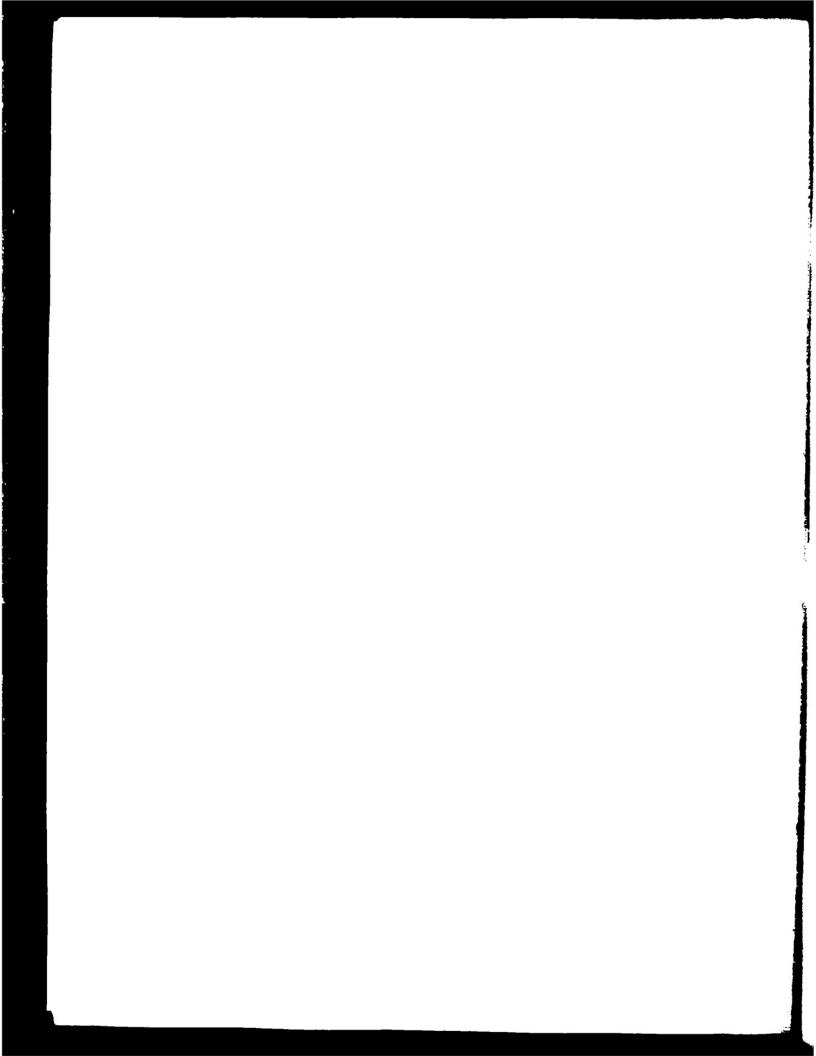
By Command of Major General Schofield:

Cafe Puddock

Assistant Adjutant General.



Ad for Rathery 71 Winch El-artillery newbern M & March 27, 1865 General Ordere 3 The Gundy four front his Experience during the Mark Lines Gening Hashille his became Comme of the exceptly of faming a me detachment to be disignated To this will be assigned all There number of the Pating who are the lay; and worthly to furform Such duties as may durke ufun Them from time to time Thenty faring jurther were and fired Seldier To de That, which Such Coundly Miles an but to Willing to have them perfore - whilst they I' war off to Some hiding frau and remain until all the work is accomplished - Who dulies of the number of this detectionent will be and Auch as degging Hicks. folicing Comp and Sim red pupurmonunain The members will be assigned therete, Capilly as men an men fund when the fines decide an. Entitled to a finition in this new organization -BD Paddock Caft-Onney Battery



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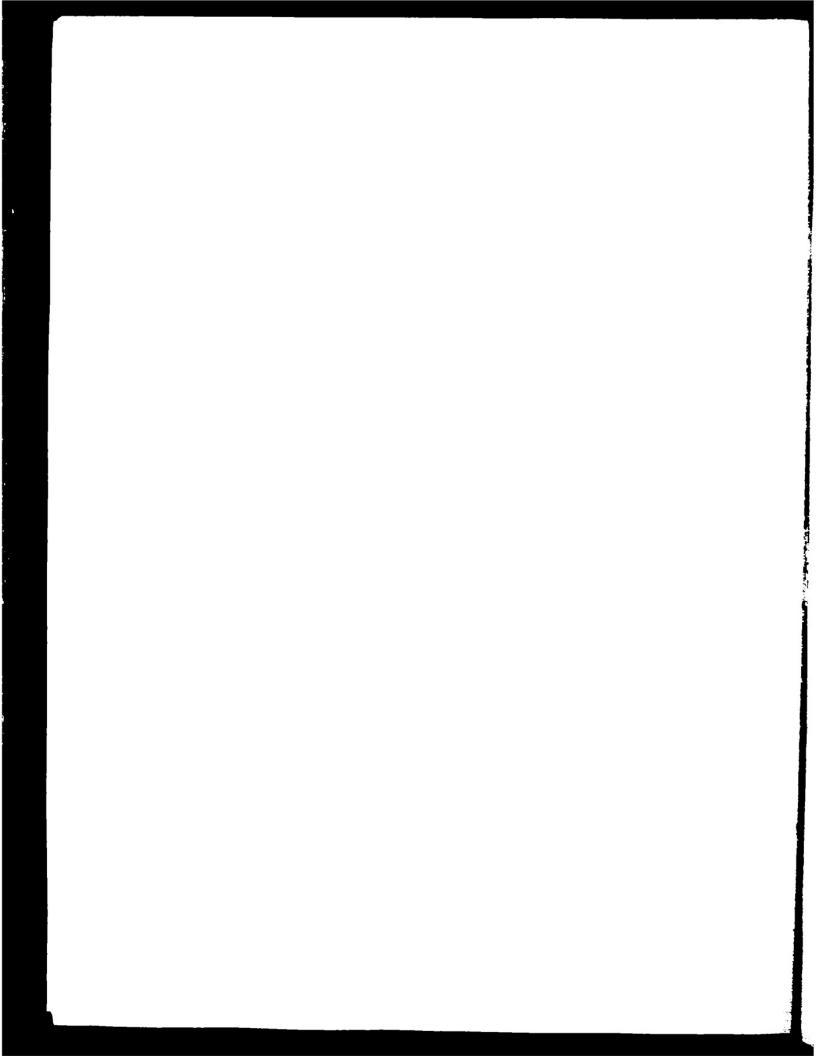
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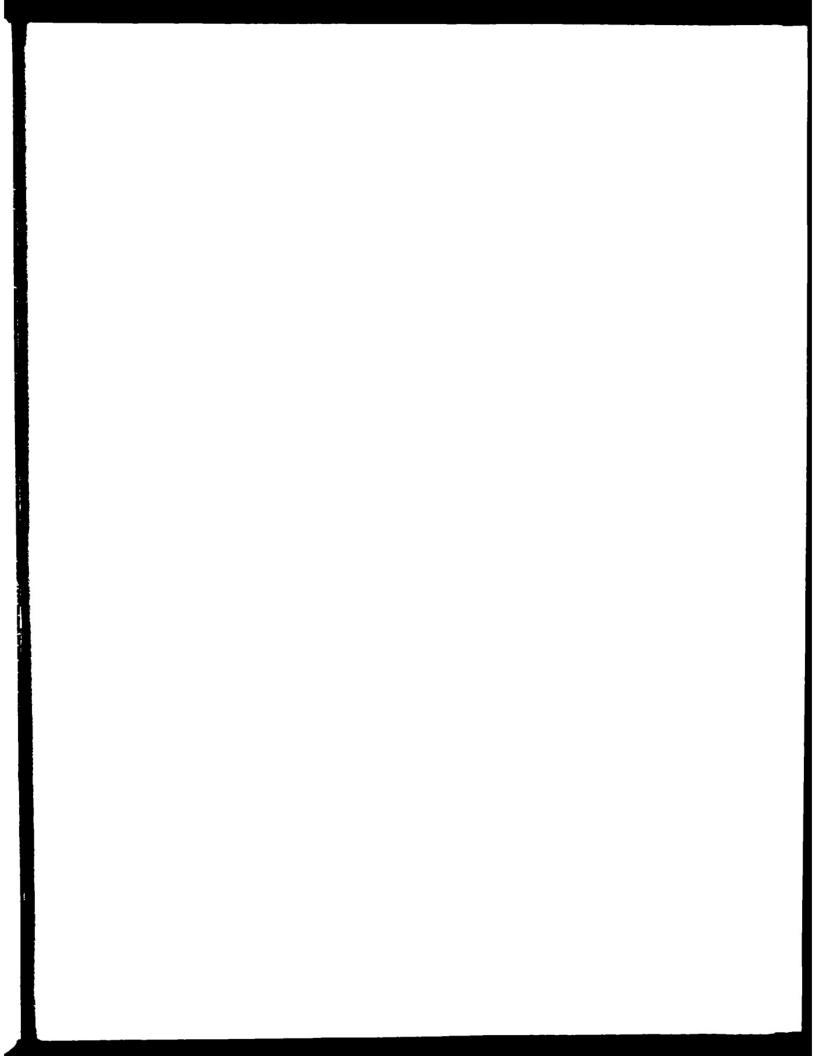
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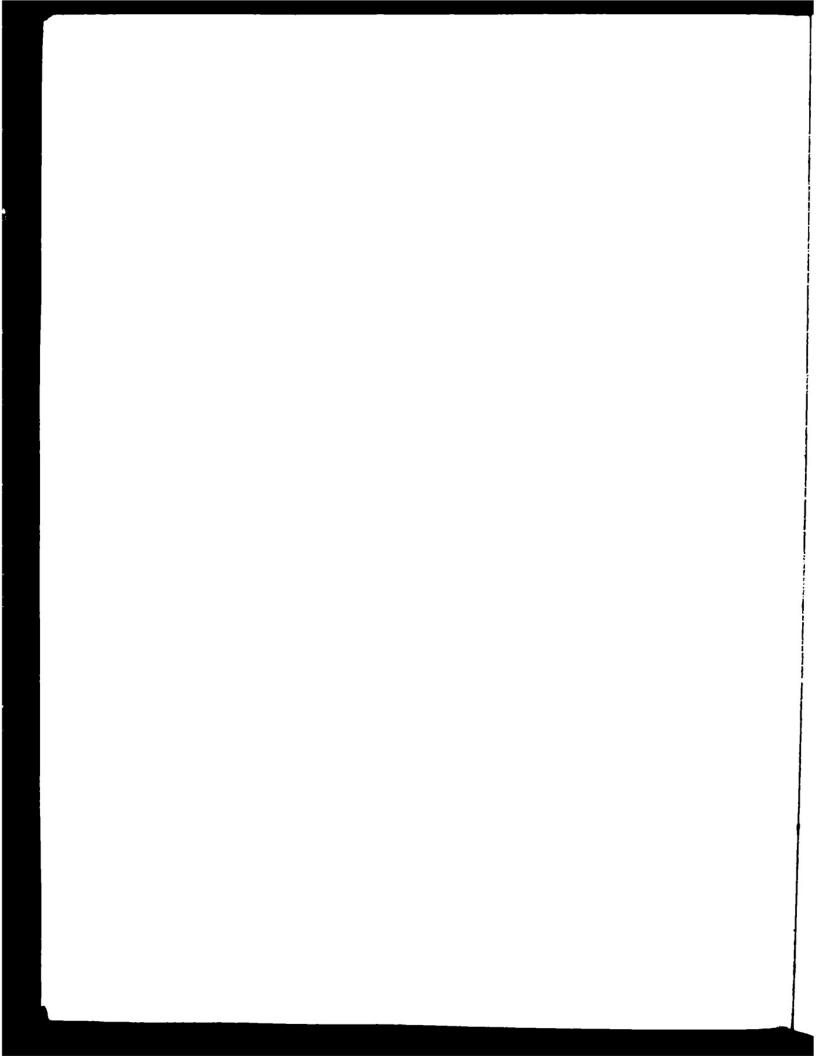
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