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The President's Page



Jury Trial

“IN SUITS at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.”

The foregoing Amendment, which is the Seventh Article of the Federal Bill of Rights, applies exclusively to trials in civil cases in the Federal Courts. The Constitution of each state however includes a similar provision for trials in state courts.

While the right of trial by jury in criminal cases was provided for in Section 2 of Article III of the Federal Constitution, this right was not extended to civil cases. In the Constitutional Convention the necessity of jury trials in civil cases was urged to guard against corrupt judges, but the argument against such extension, that it would be difficult in a Constitution to discriminate between a law case, and an equity case in which juries were not proper, prevailed. This failure to extend the right to civil cases was one of the chief grounds of opposition to the Constitution expressed during the debates over its adoption in the several states.

Actions at common law do not include suits in Courts of Chancery or Equity, such as suits for specific performance of contracts, injunctions, enforcement of rights under trusts, and similar relief, and for divorce, and no right to a jury trial exists in such causes.

The right of trial by jury means that the parties to an action have the right to submit to a jury every question of fact arising in the trial of the action, the questions of law being for the determination of the judge who presides at the trial.

While in a proper case either party to an action at law may insist upon having his case submitted to a jury, both parties occasionally waive this right, and thus questions of fact are passed upon by the judge, who then performs the duties of both jury and court.

Trial by jury is doubtless the chief constitutional element which our country has inherited from England. It has been defined as the "bul-



JESSE R. LONG, *Editor*

Reelection of Officers

At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio held June 6, 1947 at 1304 Toledo Trust Building in Toledo, the former officers of the Society were reelected for the year 1947-48. These officers are: Richard D. Logan, President; George D. Welles, Vice President; Carl B. Spitzer, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Max Shepherst, Librarian.

Annual Meeting of the Members of the Society

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio was held on June 6, 1947 at 1304 Toledo Trust Building in Toledo. Trustees for the term expiring in 1949 were elected, namely: Horace E. Allen, Will F. Broer, Randolph C. Downes, Walter A. Eversman, and Julian H. Tyler. Also elected were John H. Taylor to fill the unexpired term of the late Fred Bissell and Mark Mennell to fill the unexpired term of the late Silas E. Hurin.

President Logan reported in behalf of a committee appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed at the annual meeting of March 19, 1946. This committee, consisting of Carl B. Spitzer, Lehr Fess and the President, conferred with the Board of County Commissioners of Lucas County for the purpose of securing an appropriation from the Board for the year 1947 to provide for the financial requirements of the Society under the authorization of a law enacted by the Ohio Legislature in 1945. As a result, the President reported, the Board of County Commissioners granted an appropriation of \$4900 to enable the Society to obtain the services of a director, editor and secretarial assistant and to promote an enlarged program of historical service in behalf of the Society.

The members of the Society at their annual meeting, thereupon pass-

ed a resolution authorizing the President to execute an agreement providing for the employment of Professor Randolph C. Downes of the University of Toledo as Executive Director of the Society and Editor of the NORTHWEST OHIO QUARTERLY.

The duties of the Executive Director were defined as follows: "Enabling the people of Lucas County, Ohio, and the members of the Society, to obtain a better understanding of local history . . . the conducting and promotion of historical research; the organization and supervision of historical pilgrimages and tours; the publication of articles and books relating to history; the building up of the membership of the Society; the solicitation of gifts and endowments; the maintenance of relations with other historical societies and similar organizations; and such other duties as the Society through its Board of Trustees or Executive Officers may deem advisable to promote its best interests, and the historical interest of the people of Lucas County."

A resolution empowering the President and Treasurer to obtain the appropriation from the County Commissioners was passed as well as one authorizing them to employ a full time secretary and provide necessary office space and supplies. The members then by unanimous vote, extended to the County Commissioners their thanks and appreciation for the interest shown in the purposes and activities of the Society.

The report of Mrs. Max Shepherst, Librarian of the Society, was received and an appropriation of \$200 made to defray the cost of binding books and periodicals of the Society. Mr. Ernest W. Roush of Lindsey, Ohio, presented to the Society two volumes bearing the title "The Roush Family in America" and a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered to him for the gift.

Freedom Train to Tour Nation

A "freedom train" bearing the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, Washington's Farewell Address, the Emancipation Proclamation and 150 other famous American documents will begin a 23,000 mile journey on September 17.

The train will start its tour in Philadelphia and swing through the nation, coming through the Middle West during the summer on the last leg of its return journey.

Attorney General Tom Clark announced plans for the exhibition, abroad and by subversive groups within our borders emphasize the need

which will be managed and financed by the American Heritage Foundation, Inc., of which Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank, is chairman.

"The attacks upon the basic principles of democracy by governments for a renewed awareness of those principles which have given America its strength," Aldrich said.

On its long journey the eight car train with its priceless cargo will be guarded by 26 Marines.

Forest Honoring War Dead is Dedicated

Major General Curtis E. Lemay was the chief speaker at the dedication of the Ohio Memorial Forest on April 27 when the 3,500 acre tract was officially accepted as the gift to the state from the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs.

Accepting the forest as a state shrine for Ohio's 16,800 dead of World War II, Governor Thomas J. Herbert said the memorial must also be a constant reminder that we shall not have discharged our obligation to them until the objectives for which they fought and died have been achieved."

Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King represented the Navy at the ceremony.

The forest is 20 miles south of Mansfield along the banks of Pine Run Creek.

Mrs. Floyd Dewey and Mrs. Robert Witchner represented the Toledo Federation of Women's Clubs at the dedication.

State Society Appointments Announced

Staff appointments and promotions were announced in June by Arthur C. Johnson, president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. They include:

Erwin C. Zepp, appointed Director.

James H. Rodabaugh, appointed Research Associate and Editor.

John O. Marsh, appointed Curator of History, Archivist and Librarian.

Richard S. Fatig, title changed to Supervisor of State Memorials.

Lawrence J. Gray, promoted to Assistant Supervisor of State Memorials.

Vinnie G. Mayer, appointed Cataloger.

Elizabeth C. Biggert, appointed Documents Librarian.

S. Winifred Smith, appointed Assistant Editor.

Lincoln Documents Sought

The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgement of assistance will be fully made upon publication.

Ohio Oil Company Anniversary

A history of the Ohio Oil Company's sixty years of operations will be issued on August 1. The book entitled "Sixty Years of Progress" will denote substantial space to the origin and the background leading to the formation of The Ohio Oil Company on August 1, 1887. It will trace the growth of the Company since its inception as a local oil producing enterprise in the Trenton Limestone field in northwestern Ohio to its present position as a nationwide oil company playing an important part in all phases of the petroleum industry—production, transportation, refining and marketing. Mr. O. D. Donnell, company president, stated, in announcing the forthcoming issuance of the history, "The purpose of this book is two-fold; to record The Ohio Oil Company's progress and to report to the public on the position of the Company in the community and industry."

Library Gets Canton Repository Microfilm

The State Archaeological and Historical Society has received 50,000 feet of newspaper microfilm of the *Canton Repository* and a complete copy of its files since the first issue, March 30, 1815, will soon be available. John D. Raridan, executive editor of the Brush-Moore Newspapers, Inc., reports that current films will be added each month.

University of Toledo Anniversary Planned

Dr. Frank R. Hickerson, University of Toledo historian, is chairman of a committee now making plans for the celebration of the institution's seventy-fifth anniversary to run through the school year of 1947-8. Scheduled for publication in early fall in connection with the observance is a

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complete alumni directory, a pictorial volume, a history of the institution and a new issue of the university catalog.

Living Memorial Dedicated at Newark

A living memorial of native flowering trees was dedicated at Mound Builders State Memorial, Newark, on May 25. More than 200 trees were planted by the Garden Clubs and citizens of Licking County in honor of World War II service men and women.

Otterbein Site Acquired

The site of the old Bethlehem Church, six miles east of Ashville in Pickaway County, has been acquired by the Southeast Ohio Conference of the United Brethren Church for a memorial to the founding of Otterbein College in 1846. It was in this church on October 28, 1846 that the Scioto Conference transacted the purchase of the two buildings in Westerville where Otterbein College was born. A roadside park will be developed at the old church site.

Old Church Destroyed by Fire

One of the landmarks of Central Ohio, the 102-year-old St. Peter's Catholic Church in Chillicothe, was destroyed by fire on June 19.

Most serious loss was ten imported windows, but the church's holy relics were saved.

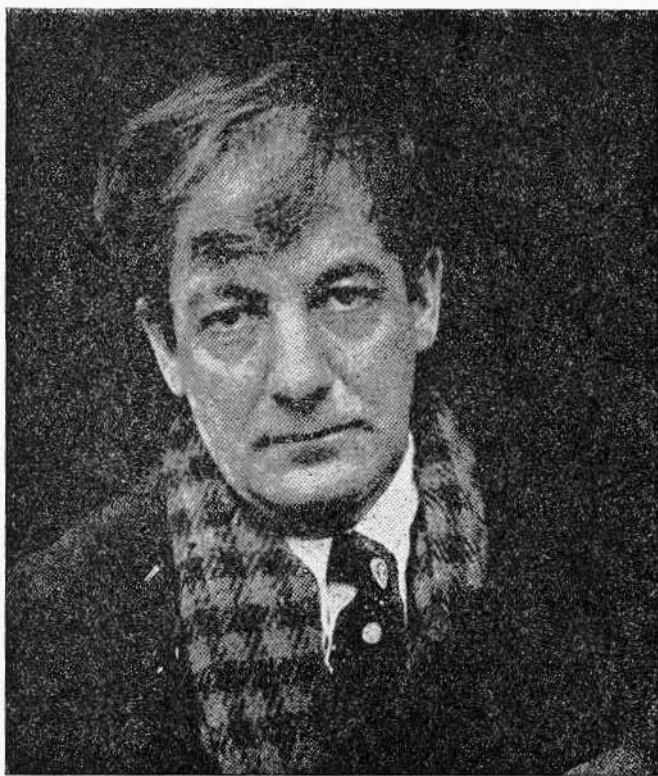
The top of the 180-foot steeple fell during the blaze.

Reopening of Bucyrus Museum Sought

A movement to revive the Bucyrus Historical Museum has been launched as a result of an article in the Bucyrus Telegraph Forum of June 2 in which Donald E. Wynn described the dust-covered collection of material now locked in the Bucyrus Public Library. His article was followed by publication on June 10 of an editorial which urged the reopening of the museum, especially in view of the great success of the Wyandot Museum in Upper Sandusky.

Personal Items

Dr. Emil Lucki, associate professor of history and assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Toledo, has accepted appointment to the faculty of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City.



SHERWOOD ANDERSON

Photograph by Alfred Stieglitz

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Sherwood Anderson: *The Clyde Years* 1884-1896

BY WILLIAM A. SUTTON

But I must hurry through my stories of childhood and boyhood. There is the temptation to go on and on with them. The impressions gathered by a writer, let us say, in the first twenty years of his life, impressions of people, and events experienced during these formative years when the imagination is most alive, are bound to become source materials for him all his life, and often you have to go far back into childhood to recapture some of these impressions that become materials.¹

Again I begin the endless game of reconstructing my own life, jerking it out of the shell that dies, striving to breathe into it beauty and meaning. A thought comes to me.

When I was a boy I lived in a town in Ohio and often I wandered away to lie upon my back, thinking, as I am doing now. I reconstruct and begin to color and illuminate incidents of my life there. Words said, shouts of children, the barking of dogs at night, occasional flashes of beauty in the eyes of women and old men, are remembered . . .²

The two quotations just given seem to present rather well Sherwood Anderson's way of looking back upon his boyhood and youth in Clyde, Ohio, in the days when "the modern world had not come into full flower." As he remembered it, Clyde was "a fair and sweet town." It had been settled by the New Englanders who had come to Ohio's Western Reserve. "There were many little white frame houses. All the residence streets were lined with maples."³ It was in this pleasant town surrounded by farms that raised all sorts of fruits and vegetables, notably cabbage and berries, that Anderson passed the years between the time he was eight and perhaps twenty.

Any one who has read *A Story Teller's Story* will recall that there "Never was such a family to take the haunts out of a house"⁴ and the episode of collecting cabbages at Hallowe'en.⁵ "It is true that I remember whole winters when there was no such thing as white flour in the house. There was, during a whole winter, no butter to spread on bread."⁶

Heavy emphasis is laid on the poverty Anderson had known in many

places in his writing. In *Hello Towns* he wrote, "Alas, this editor was born poor. Winter is ahead. As a child the coming of winter always brought fear of cold and hunger. The old dread holds. In contemplation of winter I am always afraid."⁷ A fuller analysis and a more illuminating one is found in the following passage:

If our family was poor, of what did our poverty consist? If our clothes were torn the torn places only let in the sun and wind. In the winter we had no overcoats, but that only meant we ran rather than loitered. Those who are to follow the arts should have a training in what is called poverty. Given a comfortable middle-class start in life, the artist is almost sure to end up by becoming a bellyacher, constantly complaining because the public does not rush forward at once to proclaim him.

The boy who has no warm overcoat throws back his head and runs through the streets, past houses where smoke goes up into a clear sky, across vacant lots, through fields. The sky clouds and snows come and the bare hands are cold and chapped. They are raw and red but at night, before the boy sleeps, his mother will come with melted fat and rub it over the raw places.⁸

One may gather from this statement that Anderson felt there was a connection between being poor and being an artist. Elsewhere he was to make a more overt statement concerning this matter. "Let us say the average young American writer comes from a poor family. Most of them do. I don't know why. They are lucky if they do. They may get a little real education that way." "My heavens," he exclaimed, if the average American millionaire knew "what his monetary success cost him . . . in real contact with life," he would "go Bolshevik." He went on to say that if he had never tried to rise, "had earned my bread and butter always with the same hands with which I wrote words I might have had something real to say with the words I wrote."⁹

What evidence now exists shows that the poverty of the Anderson family was not abject. A woman who knew the family well has said that the family was "'aristocratically poor' . . . very clean and respectable. Sherwood was the liveliest of them, and he was rather quiet, too, 'well brought up' and 'not rowdy.'"¹⁰ Anderson himself has written, "Although we were poor there were always plenty of books in our house and mother always managed to get materials to make cookies."¹¹

The soundest view of the position of the Anderson family in Clyde seems to be that conditions, though at times difficult, were seldom if

ever desperate. The children do not seem to have known plenty, and life was linked with toil from childhood. It was assuredly a hard life, but it was not so hard that Sherwood's imagination could not harden it still more. The statement that the family lived in haunted houses can not be substantiated. Mrs. Winfield Adare recalls that the family lived in the Piety Hill district (Race Street), on Spring Avenue, Vine Street, Mechanic Street, and Duane Street.¹² Late in life Anderson was able to pick out "six different houses we had lived in" when driving about Clyde.¹³ Whatever the reason for perhaps a half-a-dozen moves in a dozen years, it is more likely than not that the rent was paid. After all, the family has been called "respectable." Furthermore, however negligent a provider the father may have been, the boys all worked as soon as they were able, and Stella taught school between 1892 and 1894.¹⁴

Perhaps some of the earliest work the boys did was to help their father with his painting:

I remember that the father with his group of boys attracted much attention in that little town, and that at least two of the lads were considered remarkably "smart." The father used to say that every body "ought to have a trade." I recall one day watching "the tribe," as we called them, painting a small wooden building, and how well the two boys on the hip roof, with their father, managed, and how industriously they plied their brushes in seeming ignorance of the gallery below.¹⁵

Apparently the necessity of working and earning money was early a major factor in the life of Sherwood, who became known as "Jobby," a nick-name still recalled in Clyde by those who knew him. "I was the boy eternally seeking jobs."¹⁶ Doubtless it would be impossible to list all the jobs he held while in Clyde, but a composite list would include his activity as newsboy, waterboy, cow-driver, groom, grocery boy, errand boy, corn-cutter, cabbage-planter and reaper, worker in a bicycle factory, labor, and possibly printer's devil. "The truth of the matter is that . . . (he) . . . did anything and everything to earn an honest penny."¹⁷

Possibly his preoccupation with work is at least partly responsible for the fact that Sherwood's school record is only average. The first record of any of the Anderson children in the Clyde schools is for September, 1884.¹⁸ Karl and Stella, listed as ten and nine years old, respectively, were in school on September, 1884. Sherwood, age eight, started his attendance in the second grade, then called C Primary, on October 1, 1884.

The school records in Clyde are chiefly those of attendance. In the third grade Sherwood's attendance was good. In the next year he was in the fifth grade, apparently having skipped a grade. During this year his attendance declined, he being present only three days of the third term. As a result, apparently, he was enrolled in the same grade the next year, 1887-1888, in which he was excused from attendance often and withdrawn entirely for nine weeks of the second term. His attendance record for 1888-89 is missing, but he is in the roll of the sixth grade for that year. Much tardiness occurred in 1889-90, but attendance was normal while he was in the eighth grade, 1890-91.¹⁹ One friend said Sherwood's absences from school were due to his work outside school rather than to illness or mere "hookey." He had so many jobs his schoolmates teased him about them.²⁰

The record of Anderson's scholastic achievement while in grammar school is very brief. For 1886-7, when he was in the fifth grade, there is a record that contains only a few marks, all of which are good. This is the year his attendance was so poor as to cause him to repeat. There is a fuller record for the seventh grade. It shows him making good and average marks in such subjects as geography, practical arithmetic, mental arithmetic, music, and history. He was weaker than average in spelling and stronger in reading.

His high school career included nine months in all. He attended during September through March of 1891-2 and January and February in 1893. In those months he attended a total of 144 days out of a possible 176. His grades were average to a little less than good in algebra, physical geography, Latin, music, and physics. He got one 89 in rhetoric, and his grades in deportment and "workmanship" were in the 90's. One may assume that his record would have been better if he had been undistracted by outside work. The two months of attendance in 1893 may be taken as evidence of an attempt to get more schooling, but this was the last schooling he was to have until he went to Wittenberg Academy in 1899.

It should be mentioned that in those days it was unusual for the average boy to be graduated from high school. By no means was it abnormal that Karl had about a year and half of high school and Sherwood not a complete year, while only Stella was graduated from the Clyde high school (in 1891). Further it should be noted that she had only 27 days of absence during her four years in high school. Perhaps the reason for her being allowed to finish school was that she was an excellent stu-

dent, the class valedictorian with an average of 92.1 for all subjects. The Anderson family in Clyde could never be denied a certain prestige while the boys worked so hard and the daughter was such a good student.

When Anderson asked "a boyhood companion" what impression he had of him as a boy, ". . . he told me that he remembered me only as a lazy fellow, sitting on the curb on the main street or before the little frame hotel at evening, listening to the tales told by traveling men. Or I sat with my back against a barn wall listening to men talking within a barn or to women gossiping in the kitchen of a nearby house." The man continued, "I would come out of the house. I wanted you to go play ball with me or to go with me to bring home the cows. I remember your sitting there, your eyes glassy, and that I walked over and stood before you. I shouted but you did not hear. I had to lean over and hit you before I could get your attention. With a book in your hands you were ten times worse." When Anderson protested that he had been called "Jobby," the man replied, "You were both a hustler and bone lazy . . . I do, now that you speak of it, remember periods of intense activity, when you worked feverishly at any job you could get. You used to go about at such times declaring your determination to be a rich man, the most powerful man in the state, and when we others laughed you wanted to fight."²¹

In spite of his preoccupation with work, Sherwood found time to play, to day-dream, to accumulate memories such as this one: "I used to crawl in . . . (the cornfield) and lie under the corn. It was warm and close in there. On the ground, under the tall corn, pumpkins grew. There was the singing of the insects. Little insects flew about my head or crawled along the warm ground."²² The episode in *A Story Teller's Story*²³ which tells how Anderson and his brother, Irwin, lived the parts of La Longue Carabine and Uncas, respectively, is a fine monument to the imaginative play of childhood. A playmate recalls the "pirate's cave" Sherwood and his companions had. "It was Sherwood's idea that each boy must sign his name with his own blood, on a large rock, before he could become a real pirate."²⁴

It might be mentioned here that Anderson's most lasting boyhood friendship was with Herman Hurd, now a Clyde grocer. Possibly exaggerated but certainly indicative is this statement: "Sherwood used to eat more meals at Hurd's than he did at home."²⁵ The memory of his visits in the Hurd home was a pleasant one, as the *Memoirs* showed.²⁶

The tendency to lapse into silence was mentioned by the friend whom Anderson questioned. Another friend recalls going fishing with him. To

this man Anderson seemed very moody and changeable. On some occasions he would be "quite genial"; on others he would only grunt when spoken to.²⁷ What was happening within Anderson in these times when he was hard to rouse, could only grunt in answer? Perhaps this statement is a clue:

I sat under a tree alone on the summer afternoon and it seemed to me that I held my own life in the palm of my hand. Periods of a strange weakness had been coming upon me for weeks and now another came. I felt faint and ill. It seemed to me that I held my own life in my hand and that it slipped out of my grasp.²⁸

From what evidence there is, it seems quite possible that Anderson was able as a youth to lose contact completely with his material surroundings, to become lost in some such vision as the one above, a day-dream, an imaginative flight.

Akin to his power to lose himself in himself, so to speak, was his power to concentrate on the reading of a book, which Anderson's friend also mentioned. Miss Kinter concluded:

We may picture him "hanging out" at Becker's tailor shop with his nose in a good book. He was always reading good books, the tailor remembers, as does his friend Mr. Hurd. His ability to concentrate was a source of amusement to his friends; they had to shake him to get his attention when he was reading.²⁹

To this may be added his own statement. "I read . . . any books I could get my hands on. I went fishing with a book under my arm, went to ball games and read in a book between innings. There being few books in our house, (a contradiction of a statement quoted earlier) I went book borrowing through the town."³⁰ The townspeople, he has related, were sympathetic to his quest and lent him many books. The superintendent of schools gave him a key to his library and told him to use it as he pleased.³¹

But one must not think Anderson was always reading, having spells of concentration, or busy working. One Clyde resident has said Sherwood was always full of pranks, such as playing practical jokes whenever the occasion offered. "I wouldn't call him a steady home boy. He was in for a lark."³²

It may be wondered if the church had any influence on Anderson during this period. As far as can be ascertained, whatever influence there may have been was indirect. Mrs. Anderson and Stella joined the First Presbyterian Church in Clyde in March, 1892. The only other members

of the family to join were brothers Ray (Feb. 11, 1893) and Earl (April 12, 1896, after Mrs. Anderson's death).³³ There is no record that Sherwood had any connection with the church, but he may have attended Sunday school as a child. Certainly the connection of the family with this church began before Mrs. Anderson and Stella actually joined, for Stella gave recitations in exercises on Children's Day and at Christmas in 1886.³⁴ Too, it must be remembered that Mrs. Anderson has been described as a "devout Christian,"³⁵ and it seems very likely that she would have insisted on the enforcement of her standards in the upbringing of her children. Anderson himself bore testimony to her firmness of character.

As one looks about for other evidence of influence his life in Clyde may have had on Anderson, one should not fail to consider that Clyde was basically a farm town. Though none of the Andersons in Clyde were farmers, what Sherwood saw and did in Clyde gave him an understanding of the farmer that was to be useful to him later when he was earning his living in the field of agricultural advertising. Anderson remembered his days as a field-worker.

The cabbage fields grew larger and larger and, as we grew older, my brothers and I went every spring and fall to work in the fields. We crawled across the fields, setting out cabbage plants in the spring, and in the fall went out to cut cabbages.³⁶

His observation of farmers helped him to develop a sympathy for their problems:

. . . I remember a sight I saw when I was a small boy. There had been a heavy hailstorm and a large wheat field, almost ready for the harvest, was destroyed. I happened to be fishing in a nearby stream on that day and had got under a tree. The farmer who owned the field came down after the storm and knelt in a fence corner. I heard his prayer. He was praying for strength not to give up. "Give me courage to plant again next year", he prayed.³⁷

It would have been a little unnatural for Anderson to have grown up when he did in a small town without an appreciation of horses. Partly that was because

Almost every boy and man hanging over the fences along the home stretch at the big mile tracks, at the state fairs where the fastest sometimes came, at the little dusty half-mile tracks at the county fairs, knew his horses. He could recite for you the blood lines of his favorites. In every American town there were a few

men, owning a few good ones, colts they hoped might come on, get in the big time. It was the sport of the small town men, the farmer.³⁸

Herman Hurd recalls Anderson spent much time at the Clyde race-track.³⁹ Years later Anderson could write in lyric vein of the hours when he watched the horses.

There was a boy, myself, hanging over the low fence in the in-field by the judges' stand. How his heart beat. There was something in the sustained rhythmic swing of the legs and bodies of the horses going at speed that touched some secret hunger in him. And morning after morning, when the horses were in training, he cut away from his father's house alone and raced through the corn fields past the water works and the engine house to the fair grounds to catch what he could of the glorious sight before he was compelled to go off to school. He stood by the low fence trembling. He leaned far over the fence. Tears sometimes came into his eyes and a lump into his throat. It was his first love. Oh, how the beautiful, the courageous and the aristocratic creatures stirred him. He grew sick with envy of the drivers in their high-wheeled carts whirling about the half-mile track, their hands on the reins. With all his heart he longed to hold the reins over some such beautiful beast and a heavy sadness came into his heart when the first school bell rang and he had to go, with dragging, reluctant feet, away from the racing track and toward the distant schoolhouse.⁴⁰

My race track experience must have been when I was about fifteen and sixteen. There was a man named Tom Whitehead who owned a string of race horses. I went to county fairs with him in the lowly position of "swipe" or groom.⁴¹

This experience working for Thomas C. Whitehead, who was one of the directors of the Clyde Fair in 1887,⁴² should not be confused with Anderson's later experience as a groom in a livery stable in Clyde. According to Anderson, he was living at the livery stable at the time of his mother's death in 1895.⁴³

Probably it was through his race-track connection that he met the two prize-fighters he says he knew personally, "Bill McCarthy, a lightweight, and Harry Walters, a heavy."⁴⁴ Doubtless he saw at the race-tracks many characters who fascinated and educated him. He has told of his observation of "flash men", sharpshooters, touts, gamblers, politicians, and most of all a strange kind of sensitive and foot-loose man or woman,

unfitted for the life of a hustler, not shrewd, usually lovable and perplexed, feeling themselves out of touch with the mood of the times and often spending life getting drunk, wandering about and loving to talk away long hours on bridges in cities, on country roads and in the back rooms of saloons, which for all the evil they are presumed to have brought upon us I thank my gods existed during my youth.⁴⁵

The chief fruit of Anderson's interest in, and observation of, horses and track life was *Horses and Men*. Just as direct a connection may be seen between *Poor White* and Anderson's experience with the industrial revolution in Clyde. *Poor White* is a chronicle of the changes wrought by the coming of mass production and Big Business in the imaginary town of Bidwell.⁴⁶

There was something strange happening to our town that must have been happening at about the same time to thousands of American towns: a sudden and almost universal turning of men from the old handicrafts toward our modern life of the machines.

I was to see it happen. I was to be part of it. It meant the end of the old craftsmen of the towns, the shoemakers, the harness, wagon, buggy, furniture and clothing makers. All the little shops scattered through the towns, shops in which men fashioned things with their hands directly out of raw materials furnished by nature, were to disappear with amazing rapidity. It was a strange time and, as I now look back upon it, it seems to have happened almost in a day. It was a kind of fever, an excitement in the veins of the people, and later when I tried to write of it, using not a particular individual but rather an American town as the central character of my story, it became to me strangely dramatic.

There was a kind of blind faith in what we were all doing, a belief that the machine would solve an old, old problem for men, lifting the load of heavy brutal toil off men's shoulders, making a new life of ease and comfort for all. This, however, all mingled with a feeling of doubt and fear among the elder men of the towns.

This feeling of change was in our own little house. It was in all houses along the street. It was in all the houses in every street of every town. Men proclaimed it while others protested. It was the end of the old workman.

It ran all through our Middle West. Here and there, in towns nearby, oil and gas began to spurt out of the ground.⁴⁷

Clyde was not as greatly affected as some of the other towns, because its gas wells never produced, to the great disappointment of the town's leading citizens.⁴⁸ But it was this same movement that was perhaps partly responsible for the rocky economic road the family had to travel. Irwin Anderson had to abandon his craft, presumably because there was no longer a need to pay more to have one's harness made by hand when it could be done for less by machine. Although the evidence shows that Irwin Anderson drank and was not generally a good provider, part of the reason for his drinking may have been his frustration at having to give up his trade.

The big industry that did come to Clyde was the bicycle factory. Just when Anderson worked there is not clear. It must have been after he dropped out of high school the first time in March, 1892, and if he was in the factory for any extended length of time, it must have been after he finally gave up high school in February, 1893. Anderson's statements are confusing. Already mentioned is the statement that he was "about fifteen and sixteen" when he had his "race track experience."⁴⁹ This can not be reconciled with the following:

As for my factory experience, I began as an employee in a bicycle factory in my native town of Clyde. Afterwards, I worked for a year or two around race tracks. I drifted for a time from town to town. I worked in an iron foundry in Erie, Pennsylvania.⁵⁰

However, it is not necessary to know precisely when he worked in the factory. It is enough to note that this experience started a train of reflection and investigation which was to last all his life. He was particularly interested in the reaction of the factory worker to work in the factory. In *A Story Teller's Story* he spoke of the constant vile talk in the factories, an unconscious assertion, he thought, of impotency induced by mechanical standardization.

In the many [?] factories where I worked most men talked vilely to their fellows and long afterward I was to understand that a little. It is the impotent man who is vile. His very impotence has made him vile and in the end I was to understand that when you take from man the cunning of the hand, the opportunity to constantly create new forms in materials, you make him impotent.⁵¹

The same theme is developed in the *Memoirs* (pp. 84-89) through the presentation of one Rice, the boss of the bicycle factory. This man had formerly been a carriage-painter and despised the methods of mass-production. He expressed his frustration in fits of running and crying.

Dark Laughter, Perhaps Women, and Beyond Desire also reflect Anderson's continuing interest in the effect of machines on men.

As good a view as one can expect to get of what Anderson learned about sex in Clyde may be obtained from the *Memoirs*. Anderson has related in that book three episodes which may be taken, for lack of better evidence, as indicative. One (pp. 61-66) tells how he has ridicule heaped upon him when his first adventure with one of the town tarts is interrupted. Another (pp. 66-74) tells of his first "real adventure" when he was a "slender boy of fourteen." The third episode (p. 247) is mentioned in connection with his finding a mutilated "volume of Walt Whitman." It concerns the young lady who was willing to have intercourse with him but insisted on pretending she was asleep and knew nothing of what had happened.

After relating that incident he wrote:

No, I do not think that any of us at the time (approximately 1919) wanted to over-play sex. But we wanted in our stories and novels to bring it back into real relation to the life we lived and saw others living. We wanted the flesh back in our literature, wanted directly in our literature the fact of men and women in bed together, babies being born. We wanted the terrible importance of the flesh in human relations also revealed again.⁵²

From what one may gather Anderson had seen his first view of that "terrible importance" in Clyde.

While Anderson was absorbing information about these various facets of life in Clyde, he was constantly being indoctrinated with the chief American philosophy of the time. Although Anderson's father advised his sons to learn some craft with care, he and all the rest soon took up the cry, "Money makes the mare go."⁵³ The meaningfulness of America's "industrial Progress" was preached at him from every side.

We were all taught that there is a certain kind of disgrace in being poor. How sharply I remember how the men of my town spoke to me when I was a lad. The mayor of the town did it, the merchants did it, the judge spoke to me, a preacher spoke to me. I was a rather energetic, hustling boy . . .

There it was, right from the beginning. You have to make money to rise in the world, to be a bigger, showier man than others in order to respect yourself . . .⁵⁴

Later, as he has said, ". . . I was to take up the cry myself and become one of the most valiant of the hustlers . . .," but still later he came to

be one of its strongest opponents. It was to move him to a kind of satiric brilliance in a piece called "Ohio, I'll Say We've Done Well."⁵⁵ In the Clyde period, though, "I made great plans for my life. I was going to be a business man and grow rich."⁵⁶

In 1895 occurred two events which were to have far-reaching consequences. The first was his joining Company I, Sixteenth Infantry Regiment, Ohio National Guard, known in Clyde as the McPherson Guards. The record of his enlistment on March 28, 1895, states that he was 5 feet 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches tall, had black eyes, black hair, and fair complexion. Aged 18, he enlisted for a five-year period.⁵⁷

The assumption is that he joined the militia because "The better class of fellows generally joined the National Guard. It was a boost socially."⁵⁸

The McPherson Guard met usually once a week on Thursday evening to drill and learn certain military fundamentals. A five-day encampment was held for more realistic drill every summer. The company turned out in force for parades and such events as Memorial Day and the dedication of the monument to General McPherson, Clyde's Civil War hero. Occasionally the militia men attended church in a body. And sometimes they had to perform more serious duties, such as quieting disorders at strikes and guarding jails against lynch mobs. Apparently Company I was not called to do any such duty while Anderson was in Clyde, but on one occasion in 1894 the mayor ordered the captain of the company to use his men to protect the town against the demands of an "industrial army" and "160 foreigners." The guard unit moved "'Count' Bylakorrski" and his followers, who provided no "material resistance" but "many threats of an anarchistic nature," out of town and saw to it that they stayed there.⁵⁹

One is tempted to speculate on what the future author of "Let's Have More Criminal Syndicalism"⁶⁰ may have thought about such activity. One assumes he thought little or nothing, for there is no evidence that Anderson had begun to question the judgments of the society in which he found himself at that time.

This enlistment was to be of considerable importance to Anderson at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. For by that time he had been working in the warehouse in Chicago a little over a year and was quite tired of it. He was quite eager to go into service with his company when the time came. And it was his service in the Army that enabled him to make the break from manual labor; after coming back from

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the war, he did not strike out immediately for a job but made his last bid for formal education at Wittenberg Academy, from where he went to Chicago and the advertising business, in which he first had a chance to explore his ability to handle words.

The other important event of 1895 was the death of his mother on May 10. With that death began the gradual disintegration of the family, which process was slowed by the efforts of Stella, who apparently tried to carry on where her mother had left off. Anderson said he was "quite without any memory" of his father's presence at the time of his mother's death, and one gets the impression that the father had begun the process which was to make him almost completely dissociated with his children years before his death.⁶¹ Stella was to say when she got established in Springfield in 1899 that she was not sorry to be "away from those old worries and troubles."⁶²

But for the three older boys life was good.

We were getting along. We were working. A little money was coming in. We could buy new suits of clothes, usually on the installment plan, five or ten dollars down, a dollar a week. We could go to parties, walk about through the streets at night with gangs of boy friends, stopping to sing before the house in which some girl lived. It was a custom among us in our town in that time.

We could go in the winter to sleigh-ride parties, to spellings down in some country school house. Some of the prosperous parents of . . . the boys . . . would own horses and surreys. We could go . . . on a moonlight summer night for drives in the country with girls. Life having for each of us young males a certain gaiety—youth—what did having to work matter?⁶³

But in spite of this pleasant life, Sherwood was soon to leave Clyde and enter the drudgery of hard labor in a cold storage warehouse in Chicago. Just why the change was made is not known. Possibly opportunities were limited in Clyde. Little is known for certain. Even the date is conjectural.

Certain pieces of evidence enable one to fix the date of Anderson's leaving for Chicago within certain limits, however. Mr. John Becker is certain that Sherwood played right field for and helped manage Clyde's junior baseball team, the Clyde Stars, in 1896. Mr. Becker might well be in a position to know, for he says his tailor shop was "baseball headquarters." An inference from the attendance record of the encampment of Company I at Camp Moses Cleveland, Ohio, for July 20-25, 1896, agrees

with Mr. Becker's recollection that Anderson was in Clyde that summer. Anderson was, of course, on the company's roster. The attendance record for Company I states that every one of the three officers and 55 men in it attended camp.⁶⁴ Presumably Anderson had left Clyde for Chicago by the time the next encampment was held. At any rate, the attendance record in the adjutant general's report for 1897 shows that one man from Company I did not attend camp.⁶⁵

No consideration of the importance of Clyde to Anderson would be complete without consideration of the relationship between Clyde and *Winesburg, Ohio*. The attitude of the Clyde residents is perhaps well represented by what a man who lived there as a boy has written:

You will have noticed that Clyde and Winesburg both have a Buckeye Street, each a "factory for the making of barrel staves," each had a Duane Street, Clyde had a Piety Hill and Winesburg a Gospel Hill, and so on. There's a lot of Clyde in the book.⁶⁶

On the other hand, one must take into account Anderson's own statement on this point:

I myself remember with what a shock I heard people say that one of my books, *Winesburg, Ohio*, was an exact picture of Ohio village life. The book was written in a crowded tenement district of Chicago. The hint for almost every character was taken from my fellow-lodgers in a large rooming house, many of . . . (which people) had never lived in a village. The confusion arises out of the fact others besides practicing artists have imaginations. But most people are afraid to trust their imaginations and the artist is not.⁶⁷

Miss Evelyn Kintner in her study, *Sherwood Anderson: Small Town Man*, devoted considerable attention to the appearance of Clyde materials in Anderson's works. She found that a good many Clyde names could be recognized among the personnel of "Winesburg." She even found some characters which seemed to have been reproduced, at least in part, from the life. In the great majority of cases, however, there is no evidence that either names or, much less, "Winesburg" characters came from Clyde. Miss Kintner also reconstructed a map of "Winesburg" from the stories. She found many elements which coincide with the Clyde map. One can not deny her conclusion that this shows how widely the physical features of his home town were impressed on the writer Anderson's mind . . .⁶⁸ But one can not ignore the fact that the end-paper map of "Winesburg" in the first edition⁶⁹ of *Winesburg, Ohio* is far

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less detailed than Miss Kintner's and differs even in the arrangement and number of main features, such as streets and railways.

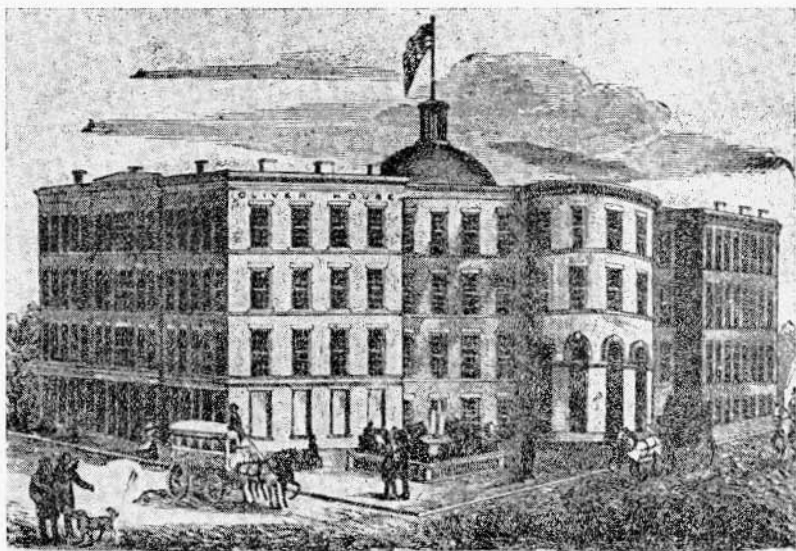
The conclusion is that one may say quite freely that there is much of Clyde in "Winesburg" but that "Winesburg" is not and was not intended to be Clyde. Anderson was not attempting to prepare a sociological document, as he was later to do in *Puzzled America*. Clyde must be seen clearly as one of the many springboards for Anderson's imagination. The imagination dominated the life-background completely.

NOTES

1. Anderson, Sherwood, *Sherwood Anderson's Memoirs*, Harcourt, Brace, and Co., New York, 1942
2. Anderson, Sherwood, "From Chicago," *Sherwood Anderson's Notebook*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1926, p. 43.
3. *Memoirs*, p. 13.
4. Anderson, Sherwood, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1926, p. 6.
5. pp. 50-53.
6. *Memoirs*, p. 59.
7. Liveright, New York, 1929, p. 301.
8. *A Story Teller's Story*, pp. 5-6.
9. *Harlan Miners Speak*, Harcourt, New York, 1932, pp. 306-7.
10. Mrs. Winfield Adare, Clyde, Ohio, reported in Kintner, Evelyn, *Sherwood Anderson, Small Town Man*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, August, 1942, p. 39.
11. "In a Box Car," *Vanity Fair*, October, 1928, 31:76.
12. Kintner, pp. 34-5.
13. Dinsmoor, Mary H., *An Inquiry into the Life of Sherwood Anderson as Reflected in His Literary Works*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, August, 1939, p. 71. Anderson letter of January 7, 1939.
14. Kintner, pp. 39-40.
15. Mr. F. Lauriston Bullard, Boston, Mass. Letter of March 22, 1942.
16. *Memoirs*, p. 55.
17. Miss Jeanetts Paden, Clyde, Ohio. Interview.
18. Records for 1883-1884 exist and have been examined.
19. For this complete analysis of the grammar school attendance I am indebted to Kintner, pp. 44-46. When I examined the grammar school records, I was interested chiefly in establishing the date of arrival of the Anderson family in Clyde. My date for that agrees with Miss Kintner's.
20. Mr. Herman Hurd, Clyde, according to Kintner, p. 46.
21. *Memoirs*, p. 150.
22. *Memoirs*, p. 360.
23. pp. 12-18.
24. Mr. Herman Hurd in interview of September 1, 1938, reported by Dinsmoor, p. 15.
25. Miss Paden.
26. pp. 53-4.
27. Mr. Albert Hayden, Tiffin, Ohio. Interview.
28. *Memoirs*, p. 39.
29. Kintner, p. 39.
30. *Memoirs*, p. 57.
31. *Memoirs*, pp. 58-60.

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32. Judge S. S. Richards, Clyde, Ohio. Interview.
33. Church records in possession of Mrs. John Becker, Clyde, Ohio.
34. Clyde *Enterprise*, June 13, 1886, and December 23, 1886.
35. Judge S. S. Richards, Clyde, Ohio. Interview.
36. *A Story Teller's Story*, p. 49.
37. *Hello Towns*, p. 323.
38. "Here They Come," *Esquire*, March, 1940, 13:80.
39. Kintner, p. 62.
40. *Memoirs*, p. 35.
41. Letter of June 26, 1939. Dinsmoor, p. 72.
42. Clyde Directory for 1887.
43. *Memoirs*, pp. 75-77.
44. *A Story Teller's Story*, p. 193.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
46. There is a Bidwell, Ohio, but it is near the Ohio River between Gallipolis and Pomeroy. Anderson's Bidwell has the same general geographical location as Clyde.
47. *Memoirs*, pp. 79-80.
48. Clyde *Enterprise*, 1886-1890, passim.
49. Letter of June 26, 1939. Dinsmoor, p. 72.
50. Letter of June 24, 1938. Dinsmoor, p. 64.
51. p. 195.
52. *Memoirs*, p. 247.
53. *A Story Teller's Story*, pp. 83-5.
54. *Puzzled America*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935, p. 162.
55. *Nation*, August 9, 1922, 115: 146-8.
56. *Memoirs*, p. 73.
57. Adjutant General's Department, State of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio. Letter of December 11, 1941.
58. Mr. Ira H. Squire, Clyde, Ohio. Interview.
59. Report of Capt. W. E. Gillett, Company I, in Howe, James C., *Annual Report of the Adjutant General . . . to the State of Ohio for . . . the Year Ending November 15, 1894*, The Westbote Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1895, p. 211.
60. *New Masses*, February, 1932, 7:3-6.
61. *Memoirs*, p. 75.
62. Letter from Springfield, Ohio, to Miss Alice Waugh, of Clyde, Ohio, March 15, 1899. Miss Waugh is now Mrs. W. H. Covell, Bellevue, Ohio.
63. *Memoirs*, p. 92.
64. Axline, Henry A., *Adjutant General's Report for November 15, 1896*, Laning Printing Co., Norwalk, Ohio, 1897, p. 264 (roster), p. 54 (attendance record).
65. This is only one of the places where this study has been handicapped by the fact that the Clyde *Enterprise* for the years 1890-1896 is not available. The paper may well have had an item about Anderson's going to Chicago. His leaving is not mentioned in the issues for 1897.
66. Mr. F. Lauriston Bullard, Boston, Mass. Letter of April 18, 1942.
67. "A Note on Realism," *Sherwood Anderson's Notebook*, p. 76.
68. p. 82.
69. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1919.



OLIVER HOUSE,

Corner Broadway & Ottawa Sts.,

Board Three Dollars per day. Free Omnibus to and from all Trains.

From Toledo City Directory for 1870, p. 12.

The Oliver House

KATHRYN MILLER KELLER

IN THE SPRING of 1859 Toledo was all agog; not over the ominous rumblings of the American slave question; not over the publication in England of the *Origin of the Species* by Charles Darwin; not over the release of a revolutionary tract entitled Critique of Political Economy by one Karl Marx. No, Toledo was more interested in a home town event: a new hostelry of fabulous beauty was soon to be opened. The Oliver house was being born. These were days when neither the town nor its inhabitants had achieved a point of sophistry where the opening of a four-story hotel could be only casually noted. Toledo was growing up and every new evidence of growth must be duly and boisterously acclaimed in the brash new American way.

The preceding decade had been unusually lively: 1848 had seen the coming of the first telegraph line; in 1852 Toledo had been finally established as a county seat; in 1853 the Toledo, Norwalk and Cleveland Railroad had entered the Middlegrounds; in 1855 the first bridge had spanned the Maumee river at Toledo, and the Island House Union Depot building had been erected on the Middlegrounds; in 1857 old St. Mary's Church with its tall spire had been completed. It was not a bad record of progress for a community of scarcely ten-thousand in population, and it was time for local hotel facilities to develop accordingly.

Most Toledoans knew hotel accommodations only of the kind to be had in turnpike taverns where one shared a bed with bugs and a stranger and ate meals at a common table elbow to elbow with waggoners or travelling notables. And so this new Oliver House was to be different. It was to be a "palace" hotel, with one hundred and seventy rooms, a ladies' parlor, gentlemen's parlor, billiard room, running water, gas lights, to say nothing of the furnishings being shipped in, such as rosewood chairs, carved piano, and lace curtains. So expectant were Toledoans of the approaching grand opening that, almost every day from April until the opening ball in June, 1859, the editor of the Toledo *Blade* wrote a paragraph or more on the wonders of the Oliver House.

The site of the Oliver House where Broadway and Ottawa Street meet was one of considerable interest. Pioneers in later years recalled that the "nose" or promintory where the hotel was located had always been a good hunting ground for deer in the early days. But about 1838 the spot was referred to as "Courthouse Square."¹

The Oliver House

It was an imposing spot for a court house, overlooking the widening Maumee River and the busy Middlegrounds where the railroads led into the new depot. The citizens of Toledo, anxious to have the county seat located in their town rather than in Maumee, bound themselves to contribute \$20,000 to build the court house which was "to be the size and arrangements of the Ashtabula County Courthouse." The proprietors of "Oliver's Addition" offered the land, and the ground was actually broken for the new court house in 1838. The foundation was partly in when Maumee won the county seat in 1840.²

But twelve years later, when stronger factors than subsidies and land grants decreed the transfer of the county seat to Toledo, Major William Oliver had different ideas about his "Addition." And the building of a great "modern" hotel was the central theme in his plan for greater profit.

Major Oliver had played an important role in the development of the Maumee river lands. Originally from Cincinnati, he had fought under Harrison at Fort Meigs during the War of 1812. After the war, when speculators were buying land in the Toledo area, Oliver represented the Baum Company of Cincinnati at the land office sales held in Wooster. It was William Oliver, together with Martin Baum, who built the celebrated log warehouse at the foot of Monroe Street in those early times.³ The Major's holdings in Toledo were extensive, and not the least of them was "Oliver's Addition."

Major Oliver began building his famous hotel in 1853, but he died shortly after starting operations. Then his son-in-law, James Hall, in partnership with William R. Morris completed the hotel so that it was ready to receive guests in the summer of 1859. However, death claimed Mr. Morris also just a few weeks before the formal opening.⁴

At this point it is necessary, in order to catch some of the enthusiasm of the time, to draw upon the columns of the Toledo *Blade* whose reporters were keen to note every step in the construction of the new hotel in the few weeks before the grand opening:

April 29, 1859 The large gas main . . . was yesterday successfully laid across Swan Creek . . . The mains will be laid up Ottawa St. to the Oliver House.

May 6, 1859 The capacity of our Artesian Wells to supply fire engines can now be seen at the Oliver House.

As most of our readers know, that extensive hotel is supplied with pure water by an artesian well located in one of the courts formed by the various parts of the building. The steam engine used in the

The Oliver House

house is now in operation, and to it is attached a powerful pump.

May 10, 1859 We saw to-day at the C. & T. Freight yard a splendid new Omnibus, designed for the use of the "Oliver House." It is named the "Toledo," and is of the most elegant construction and finish. It is from the manufactory of BRUCE of Cincinnati.

May 11, 1859 The notes of preparation are daily heard at the Oliver House. Car loads of material arrive frequently, and the cry is "still they come." The Editor quotes from a letter by C. B. Wilkinson, editor of the Waterville (N. Y.) Times: *The Oliver House, a very large and costly edifice near the Union Depot is nearly finished, and will soon be open for the reception of guests. It is the intention of the proprietors to make it the best hotel in the State.*

May 17, 1859 Good taste characterizes every part of the building, and that this will not be violated we have an earnest in the fine reputation and ample experience of Mr. Baker, the lessee. To mention him is but to make him known, for thousands who were guests at the International House, at Niagara Falls . . . will associate his name with whatever is kind, urbane, gentlemanly, attentive and accommodating in the annals of Hotel experience . . . Several families from Cincinnati have spoken for rooms which they will occupy during the summer months . . . Its proximity to the Union Depot, with which it is to be brought in still closer connection by the erection of a footbridge across the bayou between the two, will render it no less desirable as a stopping place for the most transient visitors. The street fronting the Oliver is to be immediately paved with cobblestones, and lighted with gas . . . It is the second Hotel in point of size, and first in point of style in the State of Ohio.

May 21, 1859 . . . Gas will be introduced into the Hotel next week . . .

May 26, 1859 We are informed that this splendid hotel will be opened to boarders on Monday next, and that as soon thereafter as it can be made ready, it will be formally thrown open to the public.

June 2, 1859 The gas mains up Ottawa St. and Broadway are completed as far as this celebrated "institution," and we understand that next week it will be ready for the reception of the travelling public.

The Oliver House

June 9, 1859 Gas was introduced into the OLIVER HOUSE yesterday, and last evening it was brilliantly lighted up, making a splendid appearance. The effect of the brilliant light in the Ladies' Drawing Room and the elegant Parlors of the first floor was superb . . .

June 11, 1859 The Oliver House . . . is now open to the travelling public. The Oliver House "Bus" was at the depot this morning . . . To "This way for the Island Bus;" "This way for Collins;" "This way for the 'Merican" will be added—"This way for the Oliver." A housewarming will be held about the twenty-third.

The much-advertised housewarming was not the first public function in the new hotel. It was the Strawberry Festival of the First Baptist Church of Toledo on June 15, 1859 which heads the long list of "events" that distinguished the history of the Oliver House. Advertisements for the Festival stated that omnibuses would go through the principal streets to convey free of charge those who were going to the Oliver House for the affair. Not to be outdone, the Methodists made haste to schedule their strawberry Festival at the new hostelry. The *Blade* editor, in the June 11 issue, said, that Mr. Baker showed "commendable liberality" in offering the First Charge Methodist Church the use of the hotel dining room for their Festival on June 17.

But these church meetings were mere previews to the grand opening. On the same date as the Baptist Strawberry Festival a committee of Toledoans met to make plans for the great event. The meeting was fully covered in the *Blade* of June 16, 1859:

OLIVER HOUSE—Opening Soiree—From the following correspondence it will be seen that our citizens are taking hold of this matter in a proper spirit, and that the "house warming" of this splendid Hotel is already a fixed fact among the coming events of the day.

Toledo, June 15, 1859

DeWitt C. Baker, Esq:

Dear Sir—A number of our citizens feeling that our city is highly favored in the enterprise which you have undertaken as Lessee and Landlord of the Oliver House, and that the opening of a Hotel of such elegant and ample accommodations should be signalized by some event which will keep it in public remembrance, and at the same time afford its proprietor some substantial evidence of public appreciation, have appointed us a Committee in their name and in behalf of our citizens generally to co-operate with you in making suitable arrangements for that purpose.

The Oliver House

Will you be pleased to designate an evening when it will be agreeable to you to have an entertainment, at which your friends, and those of the Proprietors of the House, may be invited.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv'ts,

M. R. Waite

W. Baker

Dennison B. Smith

A. D. Pelton

William Roff

E. P. Bassett

J. M. Ashley

D. Segur

Geo. W. Davis

Frank S. Scott

Chas. B. Phillips

J. S. Lyman

J. Woolsey Brown

Toledo, June 15, 1859

Gents—I have just received your note of this morning proposing to commemorate the inauguration of the Oliver House by a suitable entertainment, and asking me to designate an evening for the purpose.

If it will suit your convenience, it will afford me great pleasure to open the House to the contemplated entertainment on the evening of Wednesday, the 29th inst.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

DeWitt C. Baker

A meeting of our citizens and business men was held in the Gentlemen's Parlor of the Oliver House last night, at which, on motion of M. R. Waite, Esq., Hon. J. M. Ashley was appointed to the chair, and Geo. P. Este was appointed Secretary.

After consultation and an interchange of views in regard to making suitable preparation for properly celebrating the opening of the House, the following Committees were appointed:

EXECUTIVE:

Gen. C. B. Phillips

D. B. Smith

M. R. Waite

R. H. Bell

E. B. Hyde

Wm. Baker

Gen. C. W. Hill

Gen. J. B. Steedman

E. P. Bassett

Wm. Roff

C. A. King

D. O. Morton

Paul Jones

Wm. Kraus

ON INVITATIONS:

H. L. Hosmer

E. Bissell, Jr.

Wed. W. Clarke

Geo. Walbridge

J. Woolsey Brown

T. H. Hoag

Geo. W. Bartlett

Chas. Kent

Thos. Dunlap

John Sinclair

The Oliver House

RECEPTION:

Hon. H. D. Mason	Hon. Rich'd Mott	Hon. John Fitch
Gen. John E. Hunt	Gen. J. M. Ashley	Geo. H. Burrows, Esq.
W. Colburn, Esq.	Frank J. Scott, Esq.	Hon. E. D. Potter

FLOOR MANAGERS:

Geo. P. Este	John J. Barker	W. H. Smith
Rich'd Waite	J. S. Lyman	Charles H. W. Sibley

FINANCIAL COMMITTEE: Tickets may be obtained from:

C. H. W. Sibley, of Exchange Bank
W. H. Smith, of City Bank
E. T. Mortimer, of Bank of Toledo
John Berdan, of Ketcham Berdan and Co.

In addition there are managers for Toledo, Buffalo, Cleveland, Sandusky, Detroit, Cincinnati, Ft. Wayne, Lafayette and Adrian.

The *Blade* mentioned the coming affair frequently in the next two weeks.⁵ The "affair promises to be a glorious time" and was attracting attention "all over the country" having been frequently mentioned "in the papers of nearly all the Western Cities." The "splendid edifice will of itself be a sight worth seeing." And finally the event "bids fair to be one of the finest affairs of the kind ever heard of in the West."

On the day of days, June 29, it might appear that the editor had exhausted his supply of adjectives and enthusiasm what with the printing of this simple homespun sentence: "All who go will feel at home." But, not so. In the next edition he unfolded yards of brocaded prose. And in it we find one of the most complete descriptions of the Oliver House ever printed.

To put this description into other words than the editor's would be inappropriate because the long sentences and elaborate phraseology of the enthusiastic writer so truly match the "lofty ceilings," "solid rose-wood," and "heavy carved mirrors" of the ornate structure. This is the Oliver House as it stood in all of its newness and glory on the morning of June 30, 1859 when the editor wrote:

There was a very fashionable assembly convened in this new institution of our growing city, last night, but although the affair is deserving of more than a mere local item we feel ourselves incapable of doing justice to the splendor and truly magnificent appearance presented by the scene.

The Oliver House

Situated at the junction of Ottawa Street and Broadway, on about the highest ground in the city, overlooking and conveniently near the immense Union Railroad Depot, commanding a complete view of the river and bay, the city also and the surrounding country, and yet within four or five squares of the business centre of the city: the Oliver House has one of the best, airiest, and most commanding positions of any hotel in the country: and its plan designed by ISAAH ROGERS, of Cincinnati with especial reference to the spot is pronounced the most convenient and perfect of any ever made by that distinguished architect, who is well known as designer of the Burnet House, and many of the best Hotels in America.

The builders of this edifice were not cramped for want of room; and the accommodations, which in most "first class" houses, have to be sought among the stars, are here attained with an elevation of four stories, or, from the office, of only three. Along Ottawa Street and fronting the river, the house presents a front of 174 ft., while the irregular front toward the city consisting of a circular central portion and two nearly equal wings one at right angles with Ottawa St. facing the angle formed by the divergence of Broadway, and the other upon the latter street, presents a grand and imposing front of two hundred feet.

There are four courts formed by different parts of the building; the dining room and kitchen being rear wings, which are lower than the main building—thus giving perfect light and ventilation to every room in the house. It would be useless for us to attempt to carry our readers with us in a minute description of so large and so variously divided an edifice—the result would be unsatisfactory to those who had not personally seen the house or examined its plan. We will only specify a few particulars, leaving our readers to form their ideas of the establishment therefrom.

The main entrance is on Broadway through six large doors, in the circular central front of the building. The offices and grand entrance hall form an oval shaped apartment 66x32, with lofty ceilings, and finished in solid oak; the room being so large that it was converted into a dining room at the festival last night. From this hall six avenues or halls lead to all parts of the house—the rooms on the main floor—dining room, drawing room, and splendid suites of parlors being reached by an ascent of six steps.

In the basement are bath rooms, barber shop, bar room, billiard

room, laundry rooms, etc., with an engine room in which a fine steam engine, from the factory of G. D. Winchell & Co., Cincinnati, does duty in saving a world of labor.

On the main floor we find a splendid dining room, 33x90 ft., oval in shape, perfectly lighted on all sides, lofty, airy, and, in short, one of the finest rooms of the kind in the country. It is lighted, at night, by three heavy chandeliers, and, when filled by the beautiful and fashionable assembly last evening was indeed a splendid apartment. It is entered at either end from the halls of each main portion of the building, and extends across the angle thus formed like a cross bar of the letter A. The Ladies' Drawing room is located at the corner of the Ottawa St. front, and commands a beautiful view of the river and city. It is 47 ft. in length, about half as wide, and is furnished in the most magnificent style. Heavy carved mirrors, chandeliers of beautiful style, rich curtains, and a carpet of the most beautiful and gorgeous pattern, strike the observer's view at once; the furniture of solid rosewood; the piano, a splendidly carved and very superior instrument, made to order for the place by the celebrated firm of Hallet Davis & Co., of Boston cannot but be admired by everyone. Taken all in all, we know of few rooms in all the palace hotels in the country which can pretend to equal this in richness of furnishing.

In the centre of the Ottawa St. front is the Ladies' entrance, and this leads up through a grand stairway finished in solid oak to the upper story connecting with the halls on each floor. Before leaving this story, we may say that at the extreme end of the Broadway front, is the Gents' parlor 20x40 ft., and at the other extreme in Ottawa St., is the Ladies' Ordinary of the same size, and that in addition to these rooms and the ladies' parlor, there are a large number of splendidly furnished parlors upon this floor.

Traversing the halls of the upper stories, we pass above the office and find by weary experience that each main hall is 390 ft. in length; on either side are fine parlors and sleeping rooms in almost endless numbers, all lit with gas at night, and, in the day time, all lighted and ventilated from without:—there is not a dark room in the building.

The kitchens—ample, airy, and perfectly ventilated, are joined to the dining room by a large carving room, furnished with a steam heated table and all the modern appliances. The kitchen is 42x31 ft.

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less a large china room taken from one corner. The ranges are so contrived that all the odor of cooking is carried up the immense chimney, leading from the engine room, high above the rear wing of the building. All the appointments and furnishings of this new hotel are "first class" in every respect . . .

The Opening Festival was indeed a splendid affair. The dining room was thronged with merry dancers, and the fine promenades and attractive rooms of the house were filled with the gay crowd. The supper was appropriately the crowning glory of the occasion, possessing every imaginable dainty and achievement of the modern cuisine. It was not until daylight that the music was hushed, and the party broke up.

MR. BAKER, the landlord, and MR. COLBURN, his assistant in the office, won golden opinions from all by their bountiful provision and care for the wants of those in attendance. Long will the "Oliver House Festival" be remembered with pleasure by all who attended."

The Toledo Public Library has preserved a menu folder from the Opening Festival. The front cover lists members of the Executive Committee, the same list being printed in the *Blade* with the addition of a Mr. George Davis. The back cover has a drawing of the hotel including a fountain at the front entrance, the existence of which this writer has not been able to verify. Inside, the supper menu bears up well to the *Blade's* description of a "crowning glory—possessing every imaginable dainty and achievement of the modern cuisine." Supper was served from 10:30 until 2 o'clock. The Bill of Fare was as follows:

OYSTERS: Spiced oysters, Small Oyster Pies, Escollaped Oysters.

COLD BOILED DISHES: Cincinnati Sugar Cured Hams, Pressed Corned Beef, Beef's tongue, Leg Southdown Mutton.

COLD ROAST DISHES: Sirloin Beef, Spring Lamb, Chickens, Turkeys.

COLD ORNAMENTAL DISHES: Boned Turkey with Truffles a la Anglaise, Spiced Beef boiled in London Brown Stout, Beef a la mode Jelly Garnish, Boned Capon with Green Butter, Arcade of Chicken, Champagne Jelly, Chicken en Mayonnaise, Larded Round of Pickled Beef a la Bourgeoise, Chicken Boned a la Imperiale, Boned Boar's Head gelatine de Dinde, Forms of Jelly garnished with Lobster a la Richelieu, Cincinnati Sugar Cured Ham sur Sockle, Champagne Jelly, Beef's Tongue decorated a la Renaissance.

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COLD ENTREE DISHES: *Cheaux Froi of Breast Capon a la Soubise, Glazed Tenderloin Beef, a la Delmonico, Aspic of Mushroom, a la Imperiale, Larded Sweet Breads with Antelette, Aspic of Calf Tongue, a la Parisienne, Italien Salad with small Anchovies, Fillet of Veal, Sherry Wine Jelly, Larded Rib of Beef Flemish style, Veal Cutlets, Larded with Tongue, a la Zingara, Chicken Salad, a la Cardinal, Aspic of Cove Oysters, a la Tartare, Lobster Salad, a la Parisienne, Broiled Spring Chicken, a la St. Cloud, Potted Shoulder of Lamb, glazed, Grenadine of Veal brazed with Perrigeux sauce.*

RELISHES: *Sardines bordered with lemons, Spanish Olives, French Mustard, Chow Chow, Radishes, Lettuce, Worcestershire Sauce, Shrimp Sauce, English White Onions, Assorted Pickles, Harvey Sauce.*

ORNAMENTAL PYRAMIDS: *Corinthian Temple, Pyramid of Cocoa Nut Candy, Ice Cream Pyramid, Pyramid of French Kisses, Pyramid of Maccaroons, Grotto of Spirit Lake, Chocolate Pyramid.*

ORNAMENTAL CAKES: *Fruit, Jelly, Black, Sponge, Lady, Turkish, Delicate, French Pound, Madeira, Scotch, Citron, Queen, Lemon.*

SMALL PASTRY AND CONFECTIONS: *French Cream Cakes, Lady Fingers, Algerines, Jenny Linds, Cherry Maccaroons, Route Cake, Rum Drops, Chocolate Drops, Citron Drops, Rose Bon Bons, Cocoa Nut Cakes, Jelly Maringues, Strawberry Maringues, Candied Oranges.*

JELLIES AND CREAMS: *Charlotte de Russe, a la Vanilla, Vanilla Ice Craem, Burgundy Jelly, Bavarian Cream, Champagne Jelly, Beverer Blanc Mange, Sherry Wine Jelly, Strawberry Ice Cream, Claret Jelly, Curacao Jelly, Italien Cream.*

FRUIT: *Peaches and Cream, Layer Raisins, Pine Apples with Sherry Wine, Cherries, Strawberries and Cream, Oranges, Figs, Filberts, Texas Pecans, Soft Shell Almonds, Cream Nuts.*

COFFEE, GREEN AND BLACK TEA

Each waiter is provided with Wine Cards and Pencil to receive orders for Wine. Wine to be paid for on Delivery.

After reading this one feels like shouting in the modern idiom, "Make mine a bicarbonate!"

There is no guest list of that Opening Festival in existence. We can come close to learning the names of some people employed at the Oliver

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House in its first year by scanning the Toledo Directory of 1860:
Here are members of the staff:

Abrams, Edward — Clerk	McGinnis, Robert — waiter
Alexander, Thos. — fireman	Massey, Thoman — waiter
Baisha, Joseph — engineer	Pickett, H. — bus driver
Bewhipper, Joseph — engineer	Pierce, Ed — barkeeper
Coffey, John — waiter	Price, Nathaniel — waiter
Dangerfield, Charles — waiter	Quinlan, Sarah — chambermaid
Doons, Oliver — waiter	Sullivan, Mary — chambermaid
Ehle, Herman — clerk	Thomas, John — waiter
Green, Benjamin — waiter	Tilton, John — porter
Harris, Alfred — cook	Walker, E. P. — barber, saloon

The staff must have consisted of more people than this list contains for they were not all listed in the directory.

The Oliver House through the years had several managers, proprietors, lessees. DeWitt C. Baker, of course, was the first lessee. In 1860 John McKenster was manager according to advertisements. Other names, without giving dates, for they can be checked in the city directories, are: J. D. Bourne, C. D. Newcomb, Ferdinand Welch, Stewart A. Van Deusen, Donald McDonald, George Pulford, Frank J. Oakes, Harry M. Miller, Jacobs C. McClenathan, Stephen Mack, E. Lee Ross. Of all these people, George Pulford is most interesting because it was his father-in-law, Captain Charles A. Rowsey, who constructed the hotel. Beginning in 1879 Mr. Pulford ran the Oliver House in partnership with William O. Hall, grandson of Major William Oliver.

From the time of the Grand Opening to the years when the Boody House gradually overshadowed it, the Oliver House was the scene of every large important affair in Toledo. During the Civil war, for example, these functions took place in the old hotel:

October 26, 1861 the Toledo Bar game Col. J. A. Mulligan, the hero of Springfield, Missouri, a public reception at White's Hall and a supper at the Oliver House.⁶

January 8, 1864 a levee held at the Oliver where Bourne was manager for the Benefit of Toledo Soldiers' Aid Society netted \$600. Thanks were given to all who helped including James Hall, proprietor.⁷

February 22, 1864, the 67th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, having been in service three years returned to Toledo when their term of office was ended and marched to the Oliver House for

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dinner to commemorate Washington's Birthday. They left Toledo for the field again within a month. Incidentally, it was this company to which Captain Rowsey, already mentioned as builder of the Oliver House, belonged.⁸

The management of the hotel continued to advertise throughout the years still pointing out the wonders of the steam heated rooms, the bath-rooms, the million and a quarter bricks that went into its construction, the free omnibus rides to and from the trains. In 1870 it advertised itself as "the only first-class hotel in Toledo."⁹ In 1878, when the rivalry of the Boody House was doubtless being felt, the advertisement read that the Oliver House has been "always a favorite with the travelling public."¹⁰ It was a comfortable house in every respect with ample accommodations, a cuisine unsurpassed, and charges reasonable.

In 1894 the Oliver House disappeared from the Toledo Directory's Classified list of hotels. For a while the only reference is "Oliver House block, cor Broadway and Ottawa." As late as 1919 it was listed alphabetically as "Oliver House furn rooms 27 Broadway." From the glory of Toledo to a cheap rooming house all in the span of 60 years: *sic transit gloria mundi*. The ornate interior went from bad to worse as the building became more or less of a tenement house. Then the Riddle Company purchased it and, with extensive remodelling, turned the building into a manufacturing plant for electrical equipment. In 1947 the Oliver changed hands again and will be used by an axle manufacturer.

The Oliver House today is not the proud palace of the 1860's but despite its peeling, gray-painted walls and sooty window-panes, it maintains an air of aloofness even against the proud arch of the Anthony Wayne Bridge. Perhaps the wisps of mystery about its history lend something.

First, there is the Oliver House Register. What names did it contain and what has become of it? The Moriarity Machinery Company which has in its possession the old daybook beginning about 1862 once had the register also. But in lending it to someone it passed out of the hands of the Moriaritys and subsequently was lost. A reward was once offered for it by some history-conscious person but the register is still among the missing.¹¹

Secondly, and of course hinging on the loss of the register in part, is that persistent legend that Abraham Lincoln was once a guest at the hotel. Most students of Lincoln and Ohio history call the story just that, a legend. But against them is the recollections of an aged man who says

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that Lincoln patted him on the head kindly when he was a small boy as the two men in the Old Union Depot to which Lincoln had just come from the Oliver House. One Toledo family owns a picture of the Lincoln family said to have been given to one of its members at the time Lincoln stayed at the Oliver House. At the time he was also supposed to have visited in a Toledo home which has since become the Nurses' Home of Riverside Hospital.¹²

At this point of course, the history students leap up to point out a discrepancy—the Nurses' Home building was not built until the latter 1860's or early 1870's. And, Lincoln's visit supposedly took place in 1859—the year the Oliver House was completed. This writer prefers to take no sides in the argument but rather seek resort in the cliché:

"If that old building could only talk!"

NOTES

1. Clark Waggoner (ed.) *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio*. (New York and Toledo, 1878), 28.
2. Chub DeWolfe, "Among the Folks When Toledo Was Young," in *Toledo Blade*, Centennial Edition, October 24, 1936, Section F, p. 11; Nevin Winter, *History of Northwest Ohio* (Chicago and New York, 1917), 480.
3. *Toledo Blade*, Centennial Edition, October 24, 1936. Section C, p. 16.
4. *Toledo Blade*, February 1, 1929; Waggoner, *op. cit.*, 819; John M. Killits, *Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio* (Chicago and Toledo, 1923), 521.
5. *Toledo Blade*, June 17, 21, 22, 1859.
6. Waggoner, *op. cit.*, 90
7. *Ibid.*, 115.
8. *Ibid.*, 174.
9. *Scotts Toledo Directory for 1868-69*, p. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, 1876-77, p. 539.
11. *Toledo Times*, May 20, 1920.
12. *Toledo Blade*, February 12, 1947.

The Civil War Diary Of Fernando E. Pomeroy

EDITED BY RANDOLPH C. DOWNES

On July 2, 1862 President Abraham Lincoln called for 300,000 additional volunteers to help sustain the faltering fortunes of the union army. Michigan's share was 11,686 men who were to be organized into seven regiments. One of these, the Eighteenth Infantry, was to be recruited from Michigan's first Congressional district consisting of Hillsdale, Lenawee, Monroe and Wayne counties. Colonel Charles E. Doolittle of Hillsdale was placed in command, and on July 15 recruiting commenced at Camp Woodbury in Hillsdale. One of the recruits to enlist in the 18th Michigan Infantry was 25 year old, recently married, Fernando E. Pomeroy of Lambertville, just north of the Ohio line in Monroe County.

Pomeroy was just another recruit. He belonged to a regiment which, though it served in the West in the Department of the Cumberland, took part in no major battles. It was detained for over a year on provost duty in Nashville to assist Tennessee's military governor Andrew Johnson and spent the rest of the war in northern Alabama protecting the communications between Nashville and the Union armies in eastern Tennessee and Georgia. In all, only 11 men of the Eighteenth Michigan were killed in action, 2 died of wounds, and 297 of disease. Private Pomeroy plodded his way through the entire war without promotion, without distinction, was captured, paroled and returned to service, and so missed even the major skirmishes of his own regiment.¹

And yet his diary is eloquent as a description of the every-day life of the common soldier. There are no heroics, no pathos, and little moralizing. There is a simple, honest record of the days' events told by a serious minded soldier. The things he writes about, often with monotonous repetition, are the common things: what he had for meals (usually crackers, meat and coffee); how he performed his drills and kept his gun and tent cleaned; how he went out on patrol, picket, or scout duty; how he read his "testament" on Sundays; how he "griped" about the officers, enjoyed a night at the theatre, wrote home to Abbie, his wife, and looked for letters in reply, helped build barracks, advanced, retreated, with no knowledge of

the necessities and fine points of the grand strategy of which he was the merest pawn.

The story that Pomeroy tells is an important one. It shows that, though the Civil War had its episodes of hell and heroism, there were long, long periods of inaction and of the dull routine and grind of camp life. For many, like Pomeroy, practically the whole war was like that. It reveals, unwittingly, a grudging acquiescence in the suspension, for a while, of the enjoyment of the good things of life. It shows the concentration of the mind of the average soldier on the immediate objectives of fighting "rebles" and saving the Union rather than on such remote or controversial matters as freeing negroes, preserving democracy, or reforming the southern economy. Most eloquent of this state of mind is Pomeroy's description, on February 9, 1863, of a sale of slaves in Lexington, Kentucky without realizing how it contradicted the spirit, though not the letter, nor even the intent, of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863.

No effort is made to dress up Pomeroy's story. It is related in his own laborious, humorless, misspelled words and ungrammatical sentences.

1. *Joining the Army*

Aug 9 (1862). Inlisted and sworne in by M. L. Smith into John J. Stevens company.²

Aug 21 Recive orders to leave camp Woodbury.

Aug 22 Friday leave for Monroe at 3 oclock in morning . . . bid good by to friends and then went aboard the cars and start for camp Woodbury at Hillsdale where we arrived 1/2 1 oclock p m The citizen of Hillsdale firinished all of the crackers and cheese that the company wanted to eat and all of the lemonade that we could dring. Then we leave for camp about one mile from town where we arrive at about 4 oclock put up two tents At about 6 o'clock have supper At sun down we do leave for our sleeping place the boys have a good of fun

Aug 23 Saturday Return to camp at sun rise roll call detailed for guard breakfast detailed as ordely to Adjutant to run on earents at night to to the barn to sleep the boys have lots fun again

Aug 24 Sunday Return to camp roll call, Breakfast Report to Adjutant, discharged at about half past nine Weve sunday school in forenoon dinner at one oclock in afternoon I am inspected and pass At 4 oclock preaching here on camp ground the companies are marched

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down in front of the guard house where the sermon is delivered At sundown leave for the barn again and the boys do have a good deal of fun Sunday in camp does not seem much like that day for there is not much quite

Aug 25 Monday At sunrise Return to camp Roll call at half 6 breakfast I do help bring the uniforms up to capt tent Then help put up two tent In the afternoon receive our clothes at about half 6 oclock go on to dress prade at sunset dismissed then have supper then draw our great coats a part of our company Sleep in a tent tonight for the first time and without any straw with nothing but our blankets under us.

Aug 26 Tuesday Roll call Breakfast Do drill some in forenoon Draw our shoes and blouses In afternoon draw our knapsacks At about 5 oclock the company is formed and roll called and mustered into the united states service On dress prade supper after dark . . .

Aug 27 Wednesday Roll call at sunrise Then Breakfast Nothing more till drill hours drill hours commense at 9 oclock We have a rather late dinner Just as we begin to eat it does begin to rain take our dinners to tents while it rains It rains very hard and the wind blows verry hard and it all most blows our tent over it would went over if we had not held on to it but it got so loose that it leaked some After the rain we have to stake our tent down again In afternoon I do watch tent and do not drill any nor go on to dress prade

Aug 28 Thursday This morning I am up before 4 oclock and get wash watch tent while the rest of the boys eat breakfast Guard tent all of forenoon And do help pear a brush broom³ The Ladies of this vicinity does bring pies and cakes and cheese to the regiment for dinner so the Ladies have not quite forgot the soldier. I do go out on drill this Afternoon But not on dress prade I do begin to write a letter to Uncle Otis Through the night there is quite a number that run the guard And there is some that get into the guard house by the means

Aug 29 Friday Roll call Those that are in the guard house are let out. There is a great many vistors here in camp every day so far yet There was a picnic for one of the companys today but it did not here happen to be our company But it was the Hudson company I believe We do take down one of our tents and put another and get a more convenient one I think Drill a little at five oclock go on to dress prade then supper After sundown I do go down to the other part of camp and see some boxing . . .

Aug 30 Saturday It has been rather a cool night so that a fellow lays

some cool the last part of the night Drill a little bit this forenoon At noon I do start for home with knapsack on my back get home about 8 oclock at night.

2. *Tenderfoot Days in Kentucky*

After a four-day furlough at home private Pomeroy returned to Camp Woodbury where his regiment was under orders to entrain for Kentucky. The 18th Michigan Infantry was sorely needed in Kentucky for these were the days when General Braxton Bragg, Confederate commander in the West, was invading the Blue Grass state in an effort to win it into the Confederacy and foil the Union's efforts to invade the South via the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. On September 2 the Confederates occupied Lexington and a few days later advanced to the outskirts of Covington across the Ohio from Cincinnati. The latter city was in a panic of apprehension as its citizens built entrenchments about the heights overlooking the Ohio. Thousands of fresh troops, including Pomeroy and his regiment, were rushed across the river to Camp Mitchell on the outskirts of Covington ready to do battle with the invader. However, Pomeroy and his comrades were not destined to see combat action, partly because the Confederate lines were greatly overextended in the vain hope that the Kentuckians would abandon their neutrality in favor of the South, and partly because Union General Don Carlos Buell, operating from Nashville with superior forces was able to check Bragg on October 8, 1862 at the battle of Perryville (near Frankfort) and force him back to eastern Tennessee.⁴

Sept 4 Thursday Rol at three in a m Breakfast before daylight stricke our tents to leave for the south Go on the cars at Hisdale at about 11 oclock start for Toledo where we arrive at about 5 oclock at Adrian we do have all of the victuals that we do want to eat at Toledo do have all of the coffe that we want to drink At sundown do go aboard of the cars at Toledo for Cincinatti And the cars that we do have go in are cattle cars and they are not very nice

Sept 5 Friday At about 10 oclock we do arrive at Cincinti at about 10 oclock. We do march up town a mile and the people of that place gave the regiment a free dinner. Then the regiment starts for Kentucky the land of dixie we cross the Ohio river in a ferry boat we do stay in Covington Ky about 3 hours then we start for camp . . . it is about 8 oclock when get to camp and dirty set of men you never see pich our tents The name of the camp is Michiel.

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Sept 6 Saturday Eat what Breakfast what we have and that is not much Then we do take down our tents and pitch them again . . . This afternoon the 22 get frightened forms in line of battle and the 18th does form into line to and is line most of the afternoon but no rebels appear⁵ The regiment exercise some in bayonet charge up a hill and have three men wounded by accident . . .

Sept 7 Sunday . . . At night the regiment is order of with two days ration where to no one knows And alarm is given that the rebels (are near)

Sept 8 Monday . . . At night I do receive my gun and then I do go and help on hitsh a mule team and one gets away and a fine time a getting the mule again

Sept 9 Tuesday . . . detailed to do down to town to help get some mules Do go down a foot to Cincinnati get where the jackass is about 10 oclock a m The jackasses a caught with a lasso as they have never been handled any And there is some hard one to handle The way that they are held-after the bridle is on is to take them by the bit and ears and then the most of them can be handled in that way Do have lots of fun getting back to camp at about sundown . . . do hep on harness the jackasses

Sept 10 Wednesday . . There is lots of fun among the boys in breaking the jackasses today . . . We are ordered to lay on our arms in line of battle on top of the hill

Sept 11 Thursday At about 7 oclock we are waked up and ordered in to line of battle and then we are ordered to do to digging rifle pits from that till about noon Rifle pits is a trench dug 4 feet wide and deep enough with the dirt throwed out to protect a man from musketry back part of the trench or one half of the trench in width is dug deeper so to protect the men while loading . . .

Sept 14 Sunday . . . After dress parade the regiment is formed into a hollow square and then preach The preacher read the 47 psalm then a hymn sung then prayer then speaking betwixt sundown and dark . . .

Sept 15 Monday . . It is very warm today and very hot to march . . . so that some of them almost give out . . . Chale Deland and another fellow milk some cows so that we have some milk for supper and it does not go very bad I do at eight oclock go on to watch for two hours There is a horse that runs by us and two or three pass them it is fired upon some ten or twelve times as it does pass the post.

Sept 16 Tuesday . . . Charley lays down and goes to sleep for

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awhile then he go and gets some fowls I do eat some more crackers and milk for my breakfast and it eats very well but if I was at home I should not eat it if I could get read of it . . . At about one oclock we are releaved from picket duty and start for home camp where we arrive about four oclock p m some of the boys do about give out before we get back to camp We are station on the ground where the rebles held two or three days ago but we do not see none of the rebles round here as they are a falling back but the report is that the rebles are about three miles from our pickets . . .

Sept 18 Thursday This morning the regiment is not ordered out as it has been for the past week But the boys are a dirty set of boys that is verry often seen you cant hardly tell what color they are . . .

Sept 20 Saturday . . . There is some slaves here in these parts I should think The regiment marches about 20 miles today^b Some of the boys give out and my feet do get a little sore but I do stand it till the regiment halts for the night . . .

Sept 21 Sunday . . . We do pass by where the rebles do kill their beaf cattle and it is and afle stinking place to pass by The regiment . . . stop on a reble camp ground and it is not a verry nice place now You had better believe water is rather scarce and a fellow cant wash much and he haves to go all dirt Today is Sunday and it does not seem much like that day for I have all ways been learnt to respect that day but today we have marched about 15 miles . . .

Sept 23 Tuesday . . . The ordely does make me a little mad . . . Drill . . . at half past 1 oclock . . . our captain does not go out with us and our first Lieutenant does not know as much as I do and I do know that it is not much he does not know enough to give the comand when it is told him . . .

Sept 25 Thursday . . . We do almost freze tonight as our blankets are wet and the night is rather cold We do have some roast potatoes for breakfast this morning At 10 oclock we do receive orders to fall back to our reserve if we hear fireing on our right Then we receive orders to fall back immeadily the order is countermanded . . . The rebles take 51 men out of our regiment prisoners that were on picket The rebles came up with in sight of our camp the report is . . .

Oct 1 Wednesday . . . Nothing perticular happens today nothing more than my feet get some sore . . .

Oct 3 Friday . . . we do have some rost pig that we do confiscate . . .

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Oct 5 Sunday . . . At two oclock preaching the second time that there has been preaching to the regiment since we crost the Ohio river . . .

Oct 7 Tuesday. . . At sundown dres prade orders is read and they are rather strict no card playing . . .

Oct 8 Wednesday . . . At half past one battalion drill and our officer in command of the company does act very bad in giving orders . . .

Oct 12 Sunday . . . do shoot our guns off It is the first time that I ever shot a gun on Sunday . . . At noon the regiment is formed into line then the orders to the officer is that the men must give up all bad money that about 2500 dollars is found . . .

Oct 22 Wednesday . . . The regiment moves for Lexington where we arrive at about nine oclock at night . . . There is one slave taken out of the ranks and another tryed to be taken out of our company but did not get him . . .

Oct 24 Friday . . . Then the burial of one of our company He died this morning at 4 o'clock this p m the company does burry him his name is Martin Yulley There is an escort of 8 men withe guns that marched in front with reversed arms then the corps then the pall bearers then music playing a solemn tune with muffled drums. Then the company The soldier is buried with military rules the body is put into a vault in the Lexington burial ground near by Henry Clays monument Three volleys is fired over the corps then deposited in the vault Then the company looks at the ground around the monument . . .

Oct 27 Monday . . . There is some little excitement among some of the boys because some have been punished for passing poor money.

Oct. 29 Wednesday . . . The mail of the regiment does come in today and I do get 7 letters and I cant hardly wate till get my dinner eat . . .

Nov 8 Saturday . . . Dinner is crackers and supper is the same A darkey women gives me a pie this afternoon . . .

Nov 9 Sunday . . . The boys of our squad has got 3 boxes of things from home It does consist of books and eatables And we do have a good dinner it consists of soft bread and butter & honey can fruit pies and cakes . . .

Nov 15 Saturday . . . Our colonel is put under arrest and his sword is taken away from him because he would not give up a darkey that came inside the lines

Nov 23 Sunday . . . I do read three or four chapters in my testa-

ment . . . There is different amusements amongst the boys today some are pitch quotes some running races . . . some are playing checkers . . .

Dec 6 Saturday . . . Our squad does present quite a picture sitting around the cold stove Squire Johnson is reading a paper Oharman is holding candle for him to see Jap Smith is setting close by a swinging his cup around Ed Kelley sets next on the one side an on the other is Vickery John Miller Eli Trimble next Elwood Yanney is stand up a little in the background, and F. E. Pomeroy set opposite Squire and closes the ring Adison Richardson is out of the tent just now and Ed Bristol and Eli McClain and Jim Call . . .

Dec 7 Sunday . . . There is two of the boys that do get some liquor tonight and do get drunk one get asleep on his post the other get so drunk that he would not go on to his post . . .

3. *On Nursing Duty at Lexington*

The Union casualties in the Kentucky campaign, especially at the battle of Perryville, were severe. Lacking an organization of trained nurses, the Union command had to improvise a staff of male nurses to meet the situation. Thus, shortly after his arrival at Lexington, Pomeroy found himself assigned to hospital duty.

Dec 20 (1862) Saturday . . . I am detailed for nurse on the 18 of this month go in general hospital No. 2 I do leave the regiment today I do go into ward No. 5 there is ten sick in the ward Today I do help wate upon the sick . . .

Dec 21 Sunday Do get up at 7 and take care of the sick for six hours Then rest for six hours There is not any thing happens particular today The living is verry good There is preaching in the dineing room this afternoon

Dec 22 Monday . . . a Mr. Scranton does breath his last . . . There is one man dies in there tonight his name I do not know . . .

Dec 24 Wednesday . . . one of the men does die to night that was brought into the ward this after noon he belong to the 22 Michigan Regiment there was another one to that died tonight that belong the same Regiment

Dec 25 Thursday I am wished Merry Christmas this morning a few minutes after twelve oclock one of the men is out of his head all of the time and he is a good deal of trouble to keep him quite I do sit up my six hours do help clean up the room do take a little exercise out doors Then do go to sleep and sleep for a while Do get a letter from Mother there is a pocket combe in it we do have a verry good Christ-

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mas dinner today it is oyster soup Baked turkey Baked beef soft bread and pie is what the nurses have and the sick have about the same and convalescent do to And take everything in consideration it was a verry good dinner I do take care of the sick for six hours then go to bed one of the men is very troublesome and cant keep him on his bed . . .

Dec 28 Sunday . . . The day is most splendid and pleasant and it does make a fellow lonesome to be shut up in the sick room My Regiment is ordered to Louisville today . . .

Jan 9 (1863) Friday . . . Well the long looked for pay master arrive here to the Hospital to pay us I do get my pay up to the last day of Oct I do receive \$22.50 . . .

Jan 13 . . . At ten half past oclock the nurses and all of the convalescence that were ordered to form in front of the Hospital then there is a soldier that had been steeling cloths marched along in front of the line at the point of the Bayonett and five guards with him and the word Theif was on his back he had his hands tied behind him.

Jan 17 Saturday . . . Well it does seem a good deal like winter up in Michigan and there is more snow then is general known here . . .

Jan 19 Monday . . . I do go into the 3rd ward and see its Dr undo a broken leg and it was a bad looking one and smells very bad to . . .

Jan 21 Wednesday . . . there is a preacher come in to ward to see the sick and he does pray for them . . .

Jan 22 Thursday . . . one of the men does die his name is Eli Alvord Co H 18 Regiment Michigan Inft Do help lay him out do wash him it is the first one that I ever did wash

Jan 23 Friday . . . I do here that there is a man drumed out of our camp for deserting . . .

Feb 9 Monday . . . went into court house to a negro sale a sale of human flesh one man was sold for three hundred dollars one woman and two children for 750 dollars . . .

Feb 12 Thursday . . . get a letter from home stating that my sister Leavila is sick and do not much think she will be any better . . .

Feb 19 Thursday I do get a pass to go over to camp this forenoon . . . There has been a little change made with the looks of camp the cooks have got a shanty to cook under and there is floors in the tents to

Feb 23 Monday . . . Well there is quite a stir this morning about the rebels as the report is that the rebles are coming to take this place All of the nurses and the convalesense are called out and are sent down to the provost office to arm them . . .

Feb 27 Friday . . . Well ther is not much excitement today about rebles and they have not taken us all and paroled us . . .

Mar 5 Thursday . . . Well I do mend one of the boys pants for him as he is going to start for home this morning . . .

Mar 12 Thursday . . . do wake up with a shake of the ague I do quit work at about two oclock I am quite sick all of the afternoon and do rest very poorly all night

Mar 13 Friday . . . The Doctor does prescribe for me he orders one dollars worth of uncle sam quinine or four doses . . .

Mar 14 Saturday Well I do feel some better this morning had a very good night rest

Mar 16 Monday . . . Well I do get a little mad to night about nothing I do have quite a debate about the war R R Spalding think that peace will be in 6 months . . .

Mar 18 Wednesday . . . do mail two letters home with five dollars in each

March 21 Saturday . . . Well I do get my wifes likeness to day and I think it look very natural and it does make me almost homesick . . . I do get orders to get ready to join the regiment and all the rest that belongs to the 18

4. *Prisoner of War*

Although the Confederates had been mostly dispersed from Kentucky, they still carried on desultory activities in harassing the Union lines. Pomeroy's regiment was, therefore, ordered south to Danville, Kentucky where the young private got his first taste of combat action—and also got himself captured by the enemy.

Mar 22 Sunday . . . take up our line of march for Danville . . . we do arrive at Danville at about five oclock . . . we are a tired set of boys to night as you very often see as for my part I am very tired and lame sore to in the bargain

Mar 24 Monday Roll call Breakfast Then I do get a gun do clean it a little I do go out on picket We do go out on the Houstinville pike do go out about 2 miles Well there is some skirmishing today with the rebles and our forces do fall back and the pickets from the 18 & 104 are cut of from the Reg . . . we soon discover that we cant get through the town so we do take a roundabout way around town pass the rebles picket and continue our course we do pass a small stream the banks a hundred feet high There is a man that pilots us to a ford across Dix river that we do ford at about dark the water is crack deep

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Well we do travel till about 8 o'clock then we do find an old barn that we do camp in for the night well we are all wet and not much prospects of any sleep for us Lieut Adams does go on to see if he can find any thing of the Regiment but he does not

Mar 25 Wednesday Well this morning we do start again to find the Reg we do strike the Lexington pike we do follow that till we do come to the junction of the pike that goes to Lancaster there we do see some rebels and we do take to the wood again but the rebels do see us and give chase they do fire a few shots at us the rebels do overtake us near camp Dick Robison we are marched about a mile the halt then our blankets and overcoats are taken away from us haversacks and canteens to Then we are sent to Lancaster and put into an old court house and a cold place it is the most of us do not have any supper some ladies do bring in a little

Mar 26 Thursday Well we do have rather a sleepless night of it as the building is so cold that we cant sleep Well I do go out and get some breakfast and it does taste good Well I do not get anything much more today I do not have any supper to night not anything for the day

Mar 27 Friday Do have have rather a sleepless night again and cold one to as the wood does not hold out I do not get out to get any Breakfast but do get a little that is brought in by the Ladies of the place There is some more prisoners brought in do get our paroles^s but we are not let go yet

Mar 28 Saturday Not a very good night rest to night The rebels do go through town about all night on their retreat do get our breakfast this morning We do leave Lancaster at about 8 o'clock and the last of the rebels about the same time The paroled prisoners do start for Lexington some of the 18 boys do stop and stay with the Regiment

Mar 29 Sunday The Regt moves at 2 o'clock a m where to I do not know I do start this morning again at 7 o'clock for Lexington I do walk all of the from camp Dick Robison and it takes us till after dark before we do get to Lexington do report at the provo office get a bite to eat then I do go up to Hospital No 2

Mar 30 Monday Do lay in Lexington all of the forenoon At two o'clock we do take the cars for Covington do arrive there at about dark cross the river over to Cincinnati after a while we do get some supper

Then we do go to the city barracks where we are to stay all night and it is an awful dirty hole for a man to stay in

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Mar 31 Tuesday . . . Well we do stay in that dirty hole till four o'clock then we do start for Camp Chase . . .

5. *On Parole at Camp Chase*

While the war roared on into the battle tempo of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Vicksburg, private Pomeroy spent a rather unhappy four months in the prison-parole confines of Camp Chase near Columbus, Ohio where his boredom was interrupted only by a brief furlough back home.

April 1 Wednesday Well this morning do find myself at camp Chase Well it is not a very pleasant place we do clean out our shanty as it is a dirty place, we do not get anything to eat till noon only what we buy I do write a letter home to Abbie . . .

April 4 Saturday . . . Well it is quite a lonesome day to me for it is a very poor place for amusement not anything to do

April 5 Sunday Well there is not much of any thing going on today and it is a very lonesome day . . .

April 8 Wednesday Nothing new this morning I do try to play checkers but I do get beat every time Well I do write two letters today . . .

April 9 Thursday . . . do have a scuffle with some of the boys do see fight betwixt two small boys one does get knocked down with a stone we do go out a foraging for wood to night

April 10 Friday . . . I do see a lot of rebs that is agoing south again

April 11 Saturday . . . we do go over to the railroad so to see what we can see but it is not much Do return to barracks and lay the rest of the day

April 13 Monday . . . I do go a fishing with J. L. Lenhart but do not catch any fish . . .

April 15 Wednesday Well to day is a little lonesome for all of the boys are gone but two besides me . . .

April 16 Thursday Nothing new for to day only the same lazy routine of work right over again . . .

April 25 Saturday . . . I do go down to the river to see how the boys prosper in catching fish . . .

April 26 Sunday . . . do stay in shanty all do read some in testament but do not read much for my eyes are sore so that it hurts them to read -

April 27 Monday . . . Do have a game of ball tonight

April 28 Tuesday Well the excitement for today is a woman makes

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a bet that she can eat fifty oranges well she does accomplish the feat and wins the money . . .

May 4 Monday . . . I do have a scuffle with some of the boys . . .

May 5 Tuesday . . . I do bet on dice and do lose ten cents the first of my betting and I guess it will be the last

May 6 Wednesday Well I do wash some today finish a letter At night I do write a letter for one of the boys . . .

May 12 Tuesday Well today I do wash some And fool some There is some talk of our going to the regiment . . .

May 20 Wednesday . . . do my washing nothing more Some of the boys do get into a field fight I do look for a letter but do not get one . . .

May 24 Sunday . . . there is preaching the first I have heard for six months

May 25 Monday . . . a deserter runs away from the guard and then shoots an other man in the arm . . .

May 28 Thursday . . . One of the boys of our squad and his Father goes and gets drunk it is the first time I ever saw Father and son drunk and may it be the last

June 1 Monday . . . Some of the boys take a french leave of camp Chase

June 2 Tuesday There is some eight hundred men sent to their Regiment today . . .

June 13 Saturday . . . This afternoon I do like to get into a feel fight

June 18 Thursday . . . I do see a fellow get his apple cart up set and his nose barked to . . . Order comes that the Paroled men are to go to Nashville⁹

June 19 Friday . . . Well some of the boys make break for home Today is my birthday and I am 26 years old . . .

June 24 Wednesday . . . There is a lot of rebles Prisoners come here . . . some of the boys get drunk raise the old boy . . .

June 27 Saturday . . . I do try to get a pair of citizen cloths for I want to go home but I do not succeed . . .

June 29 Monday . . . I do get some clothes for the purpose of going home . . .

July 2 Thursday I do conclude to go home if I can get there or go to the bull pen . . .

July 4 Saturday Well to day is the glorious fourth but is rather a

lonesome day to me There is a small celebration of the soldiers near camp and some speeches made . . .

July 5 Sunday This forenoon I do go over to Sunday School about a mile and a half from camp the first that I have been at since I left home . . .

July 7 Tuesday . . . At Columbus in the evening there is quite an excitement over the fall of Vicksburg the firing of canon and bonfires and the firing of skyrockets & lots of rebles come in . . .

July 8 Wednesday . . . Well to day I do conclude to start for home . . .
(Furlough July 8-22)

July 26 Sunday . . . There is eleven hundred and forty of Morgans men brought in to camp that has been captured in Ohio . . .

July 27 Monday . . . The report is that Morgan is captured the report proves true¹⁰

Aug 1 Saturday First of August been here four months and not exchanged nor no prospect of being In the afternoon do go down to the river and take a wash At night some of the boys have a dance . . .

Aug 3 Monday . . . At dinner I do get a little mad about nothing but feel better after I do get over being mad . . .

Aug 5 Wednesday . . . Wm Bradford and myself are ordered to report to headquarters with things packed up we . . . are to leave in the morning . . .¹¹

6. *Patrol and Prison Guard Duty at Nashville*

While he was at Camp Chase Pomeroy's regiment had been put on provost guard duty at Nashville with orders to answer the demands of Tennessee's military governor, Andrew Johnson, for the enforcement of his authority.¹² Thus Pomeroy rejoined his regiment in Nashville on August 11, 1863. He was sick when he arrived and spent until August 27 in the regimental hospital. Not until September 17 was he ready for his first detail for patrol duty. From then until June 11, 1864 his life consisted of rather routine duty on military police in Nashville as prison guard, and occasionally as train guard on runs to Louisville and Chattanooga.

Sept 18 Friday This morning our releife is waked up at about four oclock to go down to the market house for guard so to keep the boys from stealing . . . At night I do go to the theatre as guard the first time that I was ever to one And I do not think it is much of a thing . . .

Sept 28 Monday . . . There is a locomotive boiler explodes and wounded to men this morning

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Sept 29 Tuesday . . . There is an accident happens at the barracks the floor give way and lets a lot prisoners down on the floor below 4 are killed and nearly a hundred more wounded some have since died

Sept 30 Wednesday . . . A part is sent to one depot and the rest to the other for the purpose of keeping the men that is passing through where they should be There is two trains that pass through on the way to the front . . . I am detailed to go to Louisville with prisoners . . .

Oct 10 Saturday . . . there is a Negro Regiment pass by They are a nice lot of darkies . . .

Oct 11 Sunday . . . The report does come that we are a going to the front

Oct 12 Monday . . . There is a good deal of excitement about our leaving this place R. S. Granger¹³ get us to stay here . . .

Oct 20 . . . We do arrest four drunken citizen

Oct 21 . . . At nine oclock I do over to the Recorders Court to get the pay for arresting the men yesterday do get 1.25 for my share . . .

Oct 30 Friday . . . At night Eli Mclain and myself are detailed to go out to the pickets for the purpose of arresting all that does not do their duty we do not arrest but one man . . .

Nov 4 Wednesday . . . At night do go up to the Military Prison with Prisoners and one does start to run away from us and he is shot and killed. There was to shots fired but who killed I do not know as both shots were fired at once

Nov 6 Friday . . . At night do go to the circus it is the first one that I ever saw and I think that it is a very good one it is Lake Robison & Co. . . .

Nov 7 Saturday . . . This morning do arrest two officers for fast riding This afternoon do arrest drunken citizens At night do arrest a drunken woman and take her to the police office . . .

Nov 11 Wednesday Detailed for prison guard . . .

Nov 24 Tuesday . . . There is a group of colored Refugees from some part of Tenn. and they are the most motly group that I ever saw Old men and women and children even as small as infants They were not clothed so as to hardly to cover their nakedness they were barefooted and bareheaded And all of the baggage that they had they carried on their heads What their destiny is I do not know but they are kept in the Military Prison for to day and night . . .

Nov 25 Wednesday . . . go and guard the victuals while they are fed the prisinors both union and the rebles to and also stay there while

some contrabands¹⁴ are fed they are fed the same as the rest of the prisoners and it is quite amusing to see them eat At ten oclock go on guard and stand till midnight do have lots of fun to night with some of the darkies . . .

Nov 27 Friday . . . There is a row at the circus tonight with some of the 7th Ky. Cav and one of our boys does get shot and killed and there is some more that is wounded There is 1,400 Reble Prisoners come in tonight from the front that was captured from Brags army

Nov 29 Sunday . . . we do have the little darkies dance some for us guards that is in the hall . . .

Dec 4 Friday . . . There is one of the Reble Prisoners get shot for putting his head out of the window and not getting it back when told to . . .

Dec 5 Saturday . . . There is about eleven hundred prisoners come in to night . . .

Dec 7 Monday . . . the morning is rather cold and frosty and the rebs are lay around shivering with the cold and also staing around poor fires to keep one side warm while they frose the other side as they have not got very good Blankets to keep themselves warm with . . .

Dec 8 Tuesday At midnight do have to go on guard again on account of some of the boys have been stealing and fighting with the rebs and the first relieve is broke up to guard them and keep them quiet . . . The morning is wet and nasty and the rebs are getting a little wet if no more but I rather think some are getting about as wet as thy like to be as they have not got any shelter to keep the rain off them They are sent down to the barracks so to get them out of the rain . . .

Dec 12 Saturday . . . There is some six or eight Reble officers sent here to night and hand cuffs are put upon them as they are bushwackers¹⁵ as they are called . . .

Dec 16 Wednesday . . . It rains all day and nearly all night our tents does leak about as bad as if there was no tent over head But we are soldiers and who cares for that as it is all in a soldiers lifetime . . .

Dec 17 Thursday . . . There is five prisoners trys to get away by diging out throught the cell but they are discovered in the atempt so that their plan is frustrated The five are Bucked and gaged for three hours and that they find is not none of the pleasant postures to be played in

Dec 18 Friday The night is windy and cold and the coldest of the winter so far yet. As our tent is poor and ragged and the wind blows

it is very cold for us and it is about all we can do to keep warm in bed We do lay three in bed and spoon at that and then lay cold . . . the boys have to go without their coffee this morning as there is no wood to make it with and also no wood to build fires in tents with so it is rather cold setting by the fireplace and no fire in it . . . I do have a slide on the ice in Tennessee as it has froze hard enough to hold a person up where there is not to much water . . . To night I do read the message of the Reble President Jefferson Davis to the boys in the tent . . .

Dec 19 Saturday . . . I do get my face pulled off for the purpose to put into a pin for to send to Abbie and one to Mother . . . the prisoners both union and Reble have been pretty plentiful supplied with whiskey today and they do get quite happy and between nine and ten oclock the union prisoners do get into a regular drunken row knock down and drag out, and what guards is there cant quite them and the Captain cant either and he sends for the rest of the guards and they are there in about ten minutes and they soon put a stop to the row the prisoners are then locked up in cells . . . and prisoners are searched for whiskey and there is quite a lot found Some of the Rebs are drunk and get into a fight but they fight it out among themselves . . . The captain of the guard does fire two shots at one of the union prisoners for calling him a G-d d-m son of a bitch

Dec 20 Sunday . . . the coldest morning yet as it freeze ice on to my beard . . . If this is what they call the sunny South deliver me from it . . .

Dec 22 . . . There is 170 Rebs (or thereabouts) that does go down to the Provost office over 100 takes the oath of Allegiance to Uncle Sam . . .

Dec 25 Friday This is Christmas morning the second one that I have seen in the army . . . on guard at half past five . . . Christmas breakfast . . . boiled Pork Bread and Coffee. I do get quite mad at some of the boys do get a Schuffling and get into the box where my dishes are and smash the cover of my pail up so that it spreads out . . . Christmas dinner is bean soup Bread and meat . . . Supper . . . a little better than my dinner was it was Baked meat peach and cherry sauce and Bread and butter . . .

Dec 26 Saturday . . . Some of the boys want to go to sleep and we wont let them because they come in in the night and waked us up by making a noise so we do not let them and we do have a shuffle over it but we do not let them sleep any . . .

7. *Combat Action in Alabama*

The diary for 1864 does not begin until May 1. Pomeroy was still on provost duty in Nashville and remained so until June 8. The only breaks in the monotony seem to have been his detail as train guard to Chattanooga on May 16-21 when he experienced the excitement of a train wreck, and his conversion to theatre going.

On June 8 his regiment entrained for Decatur in the district of Northern Alabama commanded by Brigadier General R. S. Granger. This meant that the 18th Michigan Infantry was assigned the role of protecting the rear of General W. T. Sherman's army as the latter left Chattanooga, in May, 1864 on its famous advance into Georgia. Such precautions were absolutely necessary. Until Sherman reached the Atlantic coast his army depended for its basic supplies on maintaining freedom of communication with Nashville, Tennessee, via the railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga. Granger's army at Decatur, with its railroad contacts with both Nashville and Chattanooga, was absolutely essential to keep the Confederates at a proper distance from the main railroad line between Nashville and Sherman's army.

From May 5 to about October 1, 1864, while Sherman was approaching Atlanta and preparing for his march on Savannah, the 18th Michigan contributed many men to expeditions sent out from Decatur to counteract the railroad-destroying raids and forays of such intrepid Confederate cavalymen as General Joseph C. Wheeler and General Nathan B. Forrest. On one of these near Athens, over 200 of the 18th Michigan were captured. (See Pomeroy's entry for September 26) After the march to Savannah was well under way, the whirlwind campaign of the indefatigable Confederate General John B. Hood to crush the armies Sherman left behind came so near to success that it was only the defensive genius of the Union General George H. Thomas, the "rock of Chickamauga," that saved the day. Although the spearhead of Hood's attack was at Nashville, the 18th Michigan had to evacuate Decatur in November, losing many prisoners, and was able to return only after Hood's decisive defeat at the battle of Nashville on December 15-16, 1864.¹⁶

June 24, 1864 Friday Do have to git up at one and sit up the rest of the night as half of the reserve haves to be up all of the time. Then there is some firing going on. By the sound I should think it was some

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four or miles out. There is five wounded of our Regiment one from our Company was Mortaly died in about three hours Name was Nelson D. Wright He is buried to night at sundown He was the first one to fall in the Regiment by the Enemys fire. A good soldier we have lost and friend . . .

June 29 Wednesday . . . The boys that went out yesterday does get back to night they do rout a small reble force and take a few prisoners and capture their train there is some seven or eight rebs killed none of our Regiment is hurt . . .

July 5 Tuesday Today I am on guard at the jail . . .

July 9 Saturday . . . on guard . . .

July 15 Friday . . . clean my gun . . .

July 19 Tuesday . . . one trick of guard . . .

July 21 Thursday . . . Dress prade . . .

July 22 Friday . . . on guard . . .

July 24 Sunday . . . Dress prade . . .

July 28 Thursday I do have to stand one trick of guard this morning . . . I do write a letter to Sylvester Curtiss. This afternoon the guards that is from our Company that is up to the guard house are relieved just because the Company Command thought that we did not have quite so much duty to do as those with the company but some men do not know how to use others esspecial those that wear shoulder straps but there is a day coming when we will be on eaquel The boys that went out on the scout do get in this afternoon and they are some wet . . . They do go to Courtland have a little skirmish with the rebs there is one man killed out of Co. F. all the one that was hurt from our Regiment they captured five rebs . . .

Aug 6 Saturday . . . detailed for picket . . .

Aug 12 Friday . . . detailed for picket . . . There is a scout come in that has been out they do bring in quite a lot of contrabands and some two hundred catle and as many sheep . . .

Aug 20 Monday on Picket to day all quiet in the night there is a false alarm to see how quick the men can get out . . .

Sept 1 Thursday . . . To night the regiment is ordered to get three days rations and leave right away . . .

Sept 2¹⁷ Saturday All quiet in camp today but rather lonesome I am on camp guard . . .

Sept 12 Monday . . . The regiment does get back to day noon.

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They boys are foot sore tired some lame and very dirty as they have been eleven days gone The Regiment did not get into any skirmish . . .

Sept 23 Friday . . . In the afternoon there is a detail of five men to go on the gun boat up the river . . .

Sept 24 Saturday We do weigh anchor at about daylight and proceed up the river land at about 6 o'clock to get rails for wood¹⁸ At about 10 o'clock there is some rebs seen a few shells are thrown after them the we do land from skirmish line and advance about a mile return to boat a foraging party is sent out to get potatoes and some meat The rebs return. We ar sent out again but do not see them . . .

Sept 25 Sunday . . . We do land and take on Wood . . . We do take one deserter and burn the House the fellows lived in that burnt the stockade across the river. We do lay at Whiteburg landing till after dark then drop down the river two or three miles with closed ports and all lights out we do land and march a mile or more for the purpose to surround a House but we do not find any rebs then we move up the river about a mile and a half and drop anchor and then there is six men sent out in the cutter to intercept some rebs that is agoing to cross the river but they did see nothing of them

Sept 26 Monday . . . We land for wood get a good surplie. A part of the boys are sent out a foraging they do get a beaf . . . we do get to Decatur about Mon. there we learn that what of the regt that was sent up the railroad are captured a few killed and a few do get away . . .¹⁹

Sept 28 Wednesday . . . on Picket . . .

Oct 2 Sunday . . . on Picket . . .

Oct 8 Saturday . . . There is a lots of new recruits for the regiment . . .

Oct 12 Wednesday I am on fatigue duty to day Work on the Magazine . . .

Oct 22 Saturday On camp police to day all I do have to do is to oversee some nigers to police some . . .

Oct 25 Tuesday . . . After Dinner all of the old men or soldiers are ordered to get three day rations as soon as possible at about one we do fall in and go aboard a gunboat . . .

Oct 26 Wednesday This morning we do run up the river as far as Claysville . . . We do land for wood once . . . we do hear Artillery firing somewhere some think it is at Decatur . . . we do learn that the rebs has attacked Decatur²⁰ We are then shoved for Decatur as soon as can be where we arrive at about 11 o.c. at night. There has been quite a

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skirmish with the rebs and some Artillery firing of our men there is some five killed and several wounded a few Horses killed to Some shot goes through Col. Doolittle Headquarters and one shot through Surgeons tent of our Regiment and a Shell hits our Company Cook shanty but no one hurt.

Oct 27 Thursday . . . on Picket there is a good deal of Skirmishing along the picket lines to day. In front of the lines where I am the rebs has been quite busy digging rifle Pits. They do fire at us a good but they do not hurt any one only make us bow when their bulls pass by. We do return the Compliment but that is all the good it does for they are of to great a distance . . . a part of our lines are driven some but at dark we do hold the old line . . .

Oct 28 Friday At 8 o. c. this morning the rebs does make a charge they do drive our pickets in. Capture a few of Pickets one or two killed There is a good deal of skirmishing along the lines. 40 men of our Regiment makes a sortie on the reble lines and capture 105 prisoners there is one or two rebs Killed. 3 of our men wounded slightly. The 14 U. S. Coloured makes a charge on the reble Battery the report is they spiked one or two guns they loose about 40 men killed and wounded . . .

Nov 6 Sunday At half past 3 o.c. we are got out and fall in on the Color line and march right off . . . Cavalry & skirmishers do see some rebs and do have a sharp skirmish with them drive them about 2 miles No one hurt of our men one or two rebs wounded. We do get back to camp at 3 o. c. in the afternoon tired and hungry . . .

Nov 8 Tuesday . . . on Camp guard . . . Picket to but does not go out till 1/2 10 o.c. as they stay and vote as to day is election day for president and vice President of these United States of America and for to say if we shall have a Country or not for one Canidate or the other is for or against the Union. I do Cast my vote for Old Abe again to day and Johnson also and may they be elected The Regiment gives little Mac²¹ 22 votes out of 340 cast in the Regt . . .

Nov 23 Wednesday On Picket a cold day At about eleven the rebs does attack our picket line on the left and the pickets does run without trying to hold their groun . . . a good deal of excitement in Camp all of the Regiments are ordered to pack up and be ready to evacuate the place at the shortest notice²²

Nov 24 Thursday . . . every thing is nearly all packed up to leave and every thing is to be distroyd All of the amunition is put on to

the gunboats to be taken to Bridgeport.²³ We do Have 2 days rations in Haversack I am detailed as escorte for General Granger and E. Hubble . . .

Nov 25 Friday At about midnight we are ordered to load up the baggage the teams cross the river before day light . . . At noon the rebs does attack our picket We do soon cross the river after setting fire to about all is left The pontoon bridge is lost as it does get lose and goes down the river but the boats are nearly all damage . . .

Nov 26 Saturday This morning the buildings and stores are set on fire as the train does not come . . .

Dec 19 Monday . . . Our Regiment or Brigade is under marching orders to return to Decatur²⁴ and occupy the place again Will strike tents at 2 o.c. P.M. and move down to the landing on the River . . . From the landing we are to go on Boats to Decatur . . . The news from Thomas is good . . .

Dec 21 Wednesday . . . some of the transports are poor boats for speed and we do not make the distance that we might with our boat . . .

Dec 25 Sunday Christmas morning and it finds me on an old gunboat laying at the shore of the Tenn. river said to be some 6 or 8 miles up the river from Decatur quite a different position then on former Christmas days . . . Well we do have quite a good Christmas supper for a Soldier as there was some very nice Porkers run down to us and we just took them down and dress them one half we roasted for our supper. So we had a supply of fresh meat Hard tack and coffee for a Christmas supper on the bank of the Tenn river 1864 . . .

Dec 28 Wednesday . . . At 9 o.c. we do do move down the river opposite Decatur as the place has been occupied without any opposition by the rebs as they do evacuate in the night sometime We do not cross the river till after dark and we occupy the same camp ground we did before we did leave the place but not the quarters we did for they were burnt. Pitch tent and lay down for the night At 10 o.c. I do have to get up and go out on picket, and that I do not like . . .

Dec 30 Friday . . . To day is the first mail we have received since the 2nd day of the month . . .

8. *Waiting for the War to Cease*

The reoccupation of Decatur, Alabama was part of the general collapse of the Confederacy in the lower South. Soon Charleston, South Carolina was to fall, soon Richmond, and then the surrender at Appomattox. Thus Pomeroy was left once more to the routine du-

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ties of camp police, guard duty and barracks construction. Now, however, with the strains of war relaxed, he was able to take full advantage of the return of spring to the Alabama countryside. The year begins with the transfer of the regiment to Huntsville, Alabama.

Jan 13 1865 Friday We do begin to build Winter quarters again for the fourth time this winter and not go into those what the 73th did Occupy but tare them down as the Major thinks they are not good enough for him so he is aging to strain at a gnat and swallow a Camel . . .

Jan 14 Saturday . . . I do receive a letter from Sylvester Curtiss this day he is in General Shermans army at Savannah²⁵ had a nice march through Georgia and South Carolina and arrived safe at their destination . . .

Jan 23 Monday Detailed for guard . . .

Jan 30 Monday . . . on Camp guard . . .

Feb 3 Friday . . . A detail for forage today with 3 days rations . . .

Feb 8 Wednesday . . . We also do go over to Maysville after a load of lumber do get it we do have to tare it out of the buildings but they all belong to secesh . . .

Feb 10 Friday We do get a load of brick and finish inclosing our shanty get our bunks made and a part of the chimney up I do act as Mason and build it and it is the first I ever done at brick laying and I do not make a very nice job of it either but who cares I do not if it does not smoke Some of the boys does not like it because I do build the Chimney . . .

Feb 12 Sunday . . . my Chimney is not finished and the wind does blow from the wrong direction so it does smoke some . . . the boys do think that it had better be tore down and rebuilt so they do tare it down and rebuilt it . . . I do not help any on the Chimney

Feb 13 Monday . . . The boys does get the Chimney done it does work very well . . .

Feb 16 Thursday The day has been verry pleasant and seemed verry much like a spring day as the merry birds have been singing quite lively . . .

Feb 19 Sunday . . . Meeting here in the army has played out as we generally speak as I have not had a chance to go to meeting in a long time . . .

Feb 22 Wednesday . . . We do get the news of the fall of Charleston²⁶ and fort Supter there is a salute fired

Feb 26 Sunday . . . The day I have spent in reading and writing.

do read a Novalette the book sent us by the Christian Commission but do not read any in my testament as I did intend to . . .

Feb 27 Monday . . . The report is that General Grant is killed but hope that it is all a report and false at that . . .

Mar 4 Saturday . . . Today Abe Lincoln retakes his seat again as president of these United States for another four years . . . May his second term be as good as the first, and may he see this rebellion closed while he is in office and peace restored to the Country . . .

Mar 5 Sunday . . . I do pay a few games of checkers with the Lieutenant and get beat . . .

Apr 3 Monday . . . The report is that Richmond & Petersberd²⁷ are held by our forces. I hope it may be true but afraid not . . .

Apr 4 Tuesday . . . The report is that Lee is Captured with a good many prisoners I hope it may be true . . . The news about Richmond is still better then last night . . .

Apr 8 Saturday . . . I do read Governor Brownlows²⁸ Message to the Legislat of Tenn and it does a fellow good to read it and see that he is a man for the place . . .

Apr. 10 Monday . . . We do hear the good news that Lee and his whole army has surrendered as prisoners of war . . .²⁹

Apr 13 Thursday . . . Freem and I do make an agreement not to play Cards while we are in the service any more . . .

Apr 15 Friday . . . Oh what news the telegraph brings from Washington, that is of the assination of the president last night and of Wm. H. Seward the latter is still alive. What a cold blooded Murder it is. but a traitor is not to good to be an assin and to Commit a more than a double murder if it need be for them to accomplish their end. At last the Southern traitors have accomplished one great act that they have been trying to for the past four years but not done till now so I suppose that they are satisfied with the Murderous deed if they are Compeled to come back into the Union so that they will not have to live under President Lincoln. But the man that will assume the reins of government will be no better for them and the man Andy Johnson of Tennessee one that has been driven from his home by the reblious mob because he stood up for the old flad the stars and stripes and not worship at the southern gods and kneel to the tyrants rod . . .

Apr 14 Wednesday . . . At about 4 o. c. some bushwackers does attack the railroad hands and telegraph all they are after is plunder they do get some 15 blankets then leave To day there is no work done

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as it is the day that the President is buried every thing about is trimmed with crape the cars were this morning at noon there is a salute to be fired so passes a great and good man from earth . . .

Apr 24 Monday . . . I do not do much of any thing except to go a fishing but do not get a bite so I do not get any fish . . .

Apr 27 Thursday . . . Our cooks does have rather easy time as they cook or boil meat enough at once for to last 2 or 3 days at a time as that is all they have to cook . . .

Apr 30 Sunday . . . The boys does get up a petition to have the cook removed

May 1 Monday . . . a fishing . . .

May 20 Saturday . . . To day there is a convention held at this place to appointe delegates or something else . . .

May 23 Tuesday . . . do go to the woods and saw one log through is all I do . . .

May 24 Wednesday To day I do work on the timbers some but do not hurt myself . . .

June 3 Saturday . . . There is an election held here to day to elect town officers so to begin the work of reconstruction . . .

June 4 Sunday . . . I do go a berrying get about 2 quart of black-berrys so that I do have quite a good Dinner for a Soldier to have . . .

June 5 Monday . . . Brigade inspection . . . Dress prade down to the Court House . . . The officers and men do not feel any the best good nature, there is some griping as the boys return to camp . . .

June 20 Tuesday The Regiment does get orders to proceed to Nashville the order had been delade or we would been there ere this day . . .

June 21 Wednesday . . . to Nashville without any accident But quite a dirty and hot ride as we had box cars for to ride in and on . . .

June 22 Thursday . . . the muster out Rolls for the Regt is commenced and discharge papers . . .

June 24 Saturday . . . The muster rolls does not progress very fast . . .

June 26 Monday . . . This after noon we do muster out the company Baggage is sent to the depot . . .

June 27 Tuesday . . . to Louisville . . .

June 28 Wednesday We do arrive at Indianapolis . . . a very good dinner at this place the best that we have had for a long time . . . do get coaches to ride in the first since we left the state . . .

June 29 Thursday . . . on to Jackson . . . a splendid reception is wait-

ing for us in form of a good Supper all that a Soldier needs to have set before them, but the most pleasantest part is to have the Ladies wait on the table . . .

June 30 Friday . . . The pay rolls are signed but no pay till next week at soonest . . .

July 7 Friday . . . we do conclude to go home as we are not to be paid off till next week. Start at 11 o. c. go to Petersburg by rail then foot it out home and do get some wet get home at dark

July 8 Saturday I do go over and take Breakfast with Mother Do have quite a visit today . . .

July 9 Sunday to day I go to Sunday School for the first time for nearly 3 years stay to meeting a funeral service is preached to day of one of the boys of the 18 Regt Co. B one that died while a prisoner in the Southern Confederacy

July 10 Monday . . . Return to Jackson . . .

July 11 Tuesday No prospect for pay to day Colonel say not till Thursday so we do all go home again and stay till sent for . . .

July 14 Friday Return to Jackson receive my pay for three years labor for Uncle Sam. The Regt is payed off and the most returns to their homes after a long time

July 15 Saturday This Morning I do start for home again after 3 years service for Uncle Sam with my free papers in my pocket

NOTES

1. John Robertson, *Michigan in the War* (Lansing, 1880), 212-219.
2. Officers of Company K were Captain John J. Stevens, First Lieutenant Henry D. Spaulding and Second Lieutenant Henry C. Elliott, all of Monroe. Robertson, *Michigan in the Civil War*, 213.
3. Paring a broom out of a stick of wood was a standard practice in broom making in these days.
4. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1888), III: 1-61. (Cited hereafter as Johnson and Buel.)
5. On September 6 Confederate General Henry Heth had advanced north from Cynthiana to the outskirts of Covington, but was under orders from his superior, General Kirby Smith, not to attack.
6. The Confederate troops were being withdrawn from their extended positions because Bragg had ordered a concentration of his troops farther west in order to do battle with Buell who had occupied Louisville and had an army greatly outnumbering the Confederates. Johnson and Buel, III: 10.
7. Following the battle of Perryville Bragg decided that the superiority in numbers of Buell's forces required the abandonment of Kentucky and a retreat to Knoxville, Tennessee. Johnson and Buel, III, 18.
8. The practice of paroling prisoners of war was a very ancient one which had

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become quite general by the 18th century. Thus its adoption by both sides in the Civil War was in accordance with international usage. When a belligerent could not or did not take care of its prisoners adequately, it gave them the opportunity of release under oath not to bear arms again in the same war. If they agreed and were released on their word of honor (parole) and then violated their pledge, they could be shot if taken prisoner again. On July 22, 1862 authorities of the Union and Confederate armies drew up an agreement pledging to follow the parole system. It was added, however, that men could be released from their parole if an equal number of prisoners were returned to the opposite side. Thus several prison and parole camps were set up on both sides to facilitate the process. One of these was Camp Chase to which Pomeroy was sent. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), 437. See also H. C. Fooks, *Prisoners of War* (Federalburg, Md., 1924).

9. This proved to be a false alarm.
10. As General Bragg doggedly withdrew from Kentucky and northeastern Tennessee in the summer of 1863, he sought to cover his retreat to Chattanooga by ordering a detachment of cavalry under General John H. Morgan to ride into Kentucky as far as Louisville and break up the railroad wherever possible. With about 2500 men Morgan disobeyed Bragg's orders, crossed over into Indiana and rode wildly across southern Indiana and Ohio, pillaging, burning bridges and pursued by federal troops and state militia. Gradually his forces were captured and he himself gave up on July 26 at Beaver Creek on the Ohio just across the Pennsylvania line. Johnson and Buel, III: 634-635.
11. Pomeroy does not say so, but he was obviously released from his parole by the return of some Confederate prisoner in accordance with the agreement of July 22, 1862. See footnote 8. Notice Pomeroy's solicitude about the return of Confederate prisoners in his diary entry for April 10.
12. Johnson and Buel, III, 701; see also Robertson, *Michigan in the War*, 218.
13. Brigadier General R. S. Granger, U. S. Volunteers, graduate of West Point, veteran of the Mexican War and native of Zanesville, Ohio, was commander of the U. S. forces at Nashville. See Wm. H. Powell (comp.), *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1779 to 1900* (New York, 1900), 337-338.
14. Contrabands were slaves escaping into the Union lines. Frederic L. Paxson, *The Civil War* (New York, 1911), 105.
15. Bushwackers were members of guerrilla bands which, by concealing their identity as Confederate soldiers, were able to operate behind the Union lines.
16. Thus did Pomeroy get his second taste of combat action though he was never chosen for special actions involving great risks. Johnson and Buel, IV: 425-474; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII: 284; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), 1289.
17. General Sherman occupied Atlanta on September 2, 1864.
18. Getting "rails for wood" was an essential service to repair the damages being committed on the railroads by the Confederate raiders.
19. This action, which Pomeroy missed, was the opening stages of the raid by General "first with the most" Forrest, September 21-October 5, which put the Nashville-Decatur railroad out of action for over a month, captured 2360 Union troops, 800 horses, 7 guns, 2000 stand of small arms, 50 wagons and great quantities of supplies. Robert Selph Henry, *"First With the Most" Forrest*, (Indianapolis, 1944), 345-365.
20. General Hood had elected to seek the defeat of Sherman by attempting a

swift re-conquest of Tennessee and Kentucky. Plunging west for Nashville while Sherman made east to the sea, Hood's army moved for a supply depot at Tusculumbia, Alabama, 40 miles west of Decatur, late in October. Thus Hood refers to the action noted by Pomeroy: "While the army turned Decatur, I ordered a slight demonstration to be made against the town till our forces passed safely beyond, when I moved toward Tusculumbia, at which place I arrived on the 31st of October." Johnson and Buel, IV: 427.

21. General George B. McClellan was the Democratic candidate.
22. By this time Hood was within 50 miles of Nashville, and Decatur was in danger of being encircled. Johnson and Buel, IV: 429.
23. In Alabama about 20 miles down the Tennessee River in Chattanooga on the main line of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad.
24. Hood was severely defeated by Thomas at the battle of Nashville, December 15-16, 1864, after which the Confederate army fled southward, thus enabling the 18th Michigan to return to Decatur. Johnson and Buel, IV: 435-37, 456-64.
25. Sherman's army arrived at Savannah on December 13, 1864.
26. Charleston was evacuated February 17, 1865.
27. Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond on April 2, 1865.
28. William Gamaway Brownlow, a Knoxville Unionist, was elected in 1865 as first civil governor of Tennessee. His message to the Tennessee legislature described the needs for the reconstruction of Tennessee and called for the disfranchisement of all who had fought against the United States. Allen Johnson (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), III: 178.
29. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865.